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# ENCYCLOPEDIA of WORLD ART

## VII

1687

GREEK ART

—

INDIAN ART

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## Vol. VII

## GREEK ART – INDIAN ART

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# ABBREVIATIONS

*Museums, Galleries, Libraries, and Other Institutions*

Antikensamml. — Antikensammlungen
Antiq. — Antiquarium
Bib. Nat. — Bibliothèque Nationale
Bib. Naz. — Biblioteca Nazionale
Brera — Pinacoteca di Brera
Br. Mus. — British Museum
Cab. Méd. — Cabinet des Médailles (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)
Cleve. Mus. — Cleveland Museum
Conserv. — Palazzo dei Conservatori
Gall. Arte Mod. — Galleria di Arte Moderna
IsMEO — Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
Kunstgewerbemus. — Kunstgewerbemuseum
Kunsthist. Mus. — Kunsthistorisches Museum
Louvre — Musée du Louvre
Medagl. — Medagliere
Met. Mus. — Metropolitan Museum
Mus. Ant. — Museo di Antichità
Mus. Arch. — Museo Archeologico
Mus. B. A. — Musée des Beaux-Arts
Mus. Cap. — Musei Capitolini
Mus. Civ. — Museo Civico
Mus. Com. — Museo Comunale
Mus. Etn. — Museo Etnologico
Mus. Naz. — Museo Nazionale
Mus. Vat. — Musei Vaticani, Vatican Museums
Nat. Gall. — National Gallery
Öst. Gall. — Österreichische Galerie
Pin. Naz. — Pinacoteca Nazionale
Prado — Museo del Prado
Rijksmus. — Rijksmuseum
Samml. — Sammlung
Staat. Mus. — Staatliche Museen
Staatsbib. — Staatsbibliothek
Städt. Mus. — Städtisches Museum
Tate Gall. — Tate Gallery
Uffizi — Uffizi Gallery
Vict. and Alb. — Victoria and Albert Museum
Villa Giulia — Museo di Villa Giulia

*Reviews and Miscellanies*

AAE — Archivio per la Antropologia e la Etnologia, Florence
AAnz — Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AAs — Artibus Asiae, Ascona, Italy
AB — Art Bulletin, New York
AbhAkMünchen — Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
AbhBerlAk — Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
AbhPreussAk — Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin; after 1945: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin
ABIA — Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Leiden
ABME — Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens
AC — Archeologia Classica, Rome
ActaA — Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
ActaO — Acta Orientalia, Leiden, The Hague
AD — Antike Denkmäler, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, Leipzig
AEA — Archivio Español de Arqueología, Madrid
AEArte — Archivio Español de Arte, Madrid
AErt — Archaeologiai Értesitö, Budapest
AfA — Archiv für Anthropologie, Brunswick
AfO — Archiv für Orientforschung, Berlin
AfrIt — Africa Italiana, Bergamo
AJA — American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore
AM — Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Athens, Stuttgart
AmA — American Anthropologist, Menasha, Wis.
AmAnt — American Antiquity, Menasha, Wis.
AN — Art News, New York
AnnInst — Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome
AnnSAntEg — Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Cairo
AntC — L'Antiquité Classique, Louvain
AntJ — The Antiquaries Journal, London
AnzAlt — Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, Innsbruck, Vienna
AnzÖAk — Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna
APAmM — Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York
AQ — Art Quarterly, Detroit
ArndtBr — P. Arndt, F. Bruckmann, Griechische und römische Porträts, Munich, 1891 ff.
ARSI — Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C.
ArtiFig — Arti Figurative, Rome
ASAtene — Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Bergamo
ASI — Archivio Storico Italiano, Florence
ASWI — Archaeological Survey of Western India, Hyderabad
AttiDeSPa — Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria
AttiPontAcc — Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome
Atti3StArch — Atti del III Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura, Rome, 1938
Atti5StArch — Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura, Florence, 1957
AZ — Archäologische Zeitung, Berlin
BA — Baessler Archiv, Leipzig, Berlin
BABsch — Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke Beschaving, The Hague
BAC — Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section d'Archéologie, Paris
BAcBelg — Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres, Brussels
BACr — Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome
BAFr — Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires des France, Paris
BAmSOR — Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, South Hadley, Mass.

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BArte — Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Rome
BByzI — The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, Paris
BCH — Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris
BCom — Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale, Rome
Beazley, ABV — J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure Vase-painters, Oxford 1956
Beazley, ARV — J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-painters, Oxford, 1942
Beazley, EVP — J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-painting, Oxford 1947
Beazley, VA — J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, Cambridge, 1918
Beazley, VRS — J. D. Beazley, Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils, Tübingen, 1925
BEFEO — Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, Saigon, Paris
BerlNZ — Berliner Numismatische Zeitschrift, Berlin
Bernoulli, GI — J. J. Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie, Munich, 1901
Bernoulli, RI — J. J. Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie, I, Stuttgart, 1882; II, 1, Berlin, Stuttgart, 1886; II, 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1891; II, 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1894
BHAcRoum — Bulletin Historique, Académie Roumaine, Bucharest
BICR — Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome
BIE — Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Egypte, Cairo
BIFAN — Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar
BIFAO — Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
BInst — Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome
BJ — Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn, Darmstadt
BM — Burlington Magazine, London
BMBeyrouth — Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, Beirut
BMC — British Museum, Catalogue, of Greek Coins, London
BMCEmp — H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, London
BMFA — Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, Boston
BMFEA — Museum of Far-Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin, Stockholm
BMImp — Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero, Rome
BMMA — Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
BMQ — The British Museum Quarterly, London
BPI — Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana, Rome
BrBr — H. Brunn, F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer un römischer Skulptur, Munich
Brunn, GGK — H. Brunn, Geschichte der griechischen Künstler, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1889
Brunn, GK — H. Brunn, Griechische Kunstgeschichte, Munich, I, 1893; II, 1897
BSA — Annual of the British School at Athens, London
BSEI — Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Saigon
BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
BSPF — Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, Paris
BSR — Papers of the British School at Rome, London
Cabrol-Leclercq — F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris 1907
CAF — Congrès Archéologique de France, Paris, 1841–1935
CahA — Cahiers Archéologiques, Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen-Age, Paris
CahArt — Cahiers d'art, Paris
CAJ — Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden
CEFEO — Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris
CIE — Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Lipsiae
CIG — Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini
CIL — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berolini
CIS — Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Parisiis
Coh — H. Cohen, Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain, Paris
Collignon, SG — M. Collignon, Histoire de la sculpture grecque, Paris, I, 1892; II, 1897
Comm — Commentari, Florence, Rome
Cr — La Critica, Bari
CRAI — Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
CrArte — La Critica d'Arte, Florence
CVA — Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
DA — N. Daremberg, N. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris, 1877–1912
Dehio, I-V — G. Dehio, Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Berlin, I, Mitteldeutschland, 1927; II, Nordostdeutschland, 1926; III, Süddeutschland, 1933; IV, Südwestdeutschland, 1933; V, Nordwestdeutschland, 1928
Dehio, DtK — G. Dehio, Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, 4 vols., Berlin, 1930–34
Dehio-VonBezold — G. Dehio, G. von Bezold, Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes, Stuttgart, 1892–1901
DissPontAcc — Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome
EA — Photographische Einzelaufnahmen, Munich, 1893 ff.
EAA — Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Rome, I, 1958; II, 1959; III, 1960; IV, 1961
EArt — Eastern Art, London
EB — Encyclopaedia Britannica
'EEBΣ — 'Επετερὶς 'Εταιρεία Βυξαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, Athens
'Εφημ — 'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς Athens
EI — Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1929 ff.
EphDR — Ephemeris Dacoromana, Rome
'Εργον — Τὸ 'έργον τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας, ed. A. K. Orlandos, Athens
ESA — Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, Helsinki
Espér — E. Espérandieu, R. Lantier, Recueil général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine, Paris
FA — Fasti Archaeologici, Florence
FD — Fouilles de Delphes, Paris
Friedländer — Max Friedländer, Altniederländische Malerei, Berlin, 1924–37
Furtwängler, AG — A. Furtwängler, Antiken Gemmen, Leipzig, Berlin, 1900
Furtwängler, BG — A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig I zu München, Munich, 1900
Furtwängler, KlSchr — A. Furtwängler, Kleine Schriften, Munich, 1912
Furtwängler, MP — A. Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, London, 1895
Furtwängler, MW — A. Furtwängler, Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik, Leipzig, Berlin, 1893
Furtwängler Reichhold — A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, Munich
GBA — Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris
GJ — The Geographical Journal, London
HA — Handbuch der Archäologie in Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft . . . , herausgegeben von Walter Otto, Munich, 1939–53
HBr — P. Herrmann, F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums, Munich, 1907
Helbig-Amelung — W. Helbig, W. Amelung, E. Reisch, F. Weege, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom, Leipzig, 1912–13
HIPBC — A Handbook for Travellers in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, London, 1955
HJAS — Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
Hoppin, Bf — J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases with a Chapter on the Red-figured Southern Italian Vases, Paris, 1924
Hoppin, Rf — J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C., Cambridge, 1919
HSAI — J. H. Steward, ed., Handbook of South American Indians, 6 vols., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 143, Washington, D.C., 1946–50

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IAE — Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leiden
IBAI — Bulletin del l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare, Sofia
IFAN — Institut Français Afrique Noire
IG — Inscriptiones Graecae, Berolini
ILN — Illustrated London News, London
IPEK — Ipek, Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst, Berlin
JA — Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAF — Journal of American Folklore, Lancaster, Pa.
JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore
JAS — Journal of the African Society, London
JBORS — Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, India
JdI — Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin
JEA — Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
JhbKhSammlWien — Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, Vienna
JhbPreussKSamml — Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berlin
JHS — Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
JIAI — Journal of Indian Art and Industry, London
JIAN — Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique, Athens
JISOA — Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta
JNES — Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
JPS — Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, New Zealand
JRAI — Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JRS — Journal of Roman Studies, London
JS — Journal des Savants, Paris
JSA — Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Paris
JSAH — Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Charlottesville, Va.
JSAm — Journal de la Société des Americanistes, Paris
JSO — Journal de la Société des Océanistes, Paris
Klein, GrK — W. Klein, Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, Leipzig, 1904–07
KS — Communications on the Reports and Field Research of the Institute of Material Culture, Moscow, Leningrad
Lippold, GP — G. Lippold, Die griechische Plastik (W. Otto, Handbuch der Archäologie, II, 1), Munich, 1950
Löwy, IGB — E. Löwy, Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer, Leipzig, 1885
MAAccIt — Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia d'Italia, Milan
MAARome — Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Rome, New York
MAF — Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, Paris
MAGWien — Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vienna
Mâle, I — E. Mâle, L'art religieux du XII° siècle en France, Paris, 1928
Mâle, II — E. Mâle, L'art religieux du XIII° siècle en France, Paris, 1925
Mâle, III — E. Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France, Paris, 1925
Mâle, IV — E. Mâle, L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente, Paris, 1932
MALinc — Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Milan, Rome
Mattingly-Sydenham — H. Mattingly, E. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, The Roman Imperial Coinage, London
MdI — Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Munich
MdIK — Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, Wiesbaden
Mél — Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Ecole Française de Rome), Paris
MemLinc — Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome
MGH — Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin
MIA — Material and Research in Archaeology of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, Leningrad
Michel — A. Michel, Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours, Paris 1905–29
MInst — Monumenti dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome
MJhb — Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, Munich
MLJ — Modern Language Journal, St. Louis, Mo.
MnbKw — Monatsberichte über Kunstwissenschaft
MPA — Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia, Rome
MPiot — Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires, Paris
MPontAcc — Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome
NBACr — Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome
NChr — Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, London
NIFAN — Notes de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire Dakar
NR — Numismatic Review, New York
NSc — Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, Rome
NZ — Numismatische Zeitschrift, Vienna
OAZ — Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vienna
OIP — Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
ÖJh — Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Vienna
ÖKT — Österreichische Kunsttopographie, Vienna
OMLeiden — Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheten te Leiden, Leiden
OpA — Opuscola Archaeologica, Lund
Overbeck, SQ — J. Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen, Leipzig, 1868; reprint, Hildesheim, 1958
Oxy. Pap. — The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, H. I. Bell et al., eds., London, 1898 ff.
ΠΑΕ — Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιριας, Athens
PEQ — Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London
Perrot-Chipiez — G. Perrot, C. Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité, Paris, I, 1882; II, 1884; III, 1885; IV, 1887; V, 1890; VI, 1894; VII, 1898; VIII, 1903; IX, 1911
Pfuhl — E. Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, Munich, 1923
PG — J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 162 vols., with Latin trans., Paris, 1857–66
Picard — C. Picard, Manuel d'Archéologie, La Sculpture, Paris, I, 1935; II, 1939; III, 1948; IV, 1, 1954
PL — J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–64
PM — B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, 7 vols., Oxford, 1927–51, 2d ed. 1960 ff.
Porter — A. Kingsley Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, Boston, 1923
Post — Charles Post, A History of Spanish Painting, 10 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1930 ff.
ProcPrSoc — Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge
PSI — Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, Florence, 1912 ff.
QCr — Quaderni della Critica, Bari
RA — Revue Archéologique, Paris
RAA — Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Paris
RACr — Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome
RArte — Rivista d'Arte, Florence
RArts — Revue des arts, Paris
RBib — Revue Biblique, Paris
RDK — Reallexicon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1937 ff.
RE — A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1894 ff.
REA — Revue des Etudes Anciennes, Bordeaux
REByz — Revue des Etudes Byzantines, Paris

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| | |
|---|---|
| REG | — Revue des Etudes Grecques, Paris |
| Reinach, RP | — S. Reinach, Répertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines, Paris, 1922 |
| Reinach, RR | — S. Reinach, Répertoire des Reliefs Grecs et Romains, Paris, I, 1909; II and III, 1912 |
| Reinach, RS | — S. Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine, Paris, I, 1897; II, 1, 1897; II, 2, 1898; III, 1904; IV, 1910 |
| Reinach, RV | — S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints, grecs et étrusques, Paris, I, 1899; II, 1900 |
| REL | — Revue des Etudes Latines, Paris |
| RendAccIt | — Rendiconti della R. Accademia d'Italia, Rome |
| RendLinc | — Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome |
| RendNapoli | — Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli, Naples |
| RendPontAcc | — Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome |
| RepfKw | — Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin Stuttgart |
| REthn | — Revue d'Ethnographie, Paris |
| RhMus | — Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Frankfort on the Main |
| RIASA | — Rivista dell'Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome |
| RIN | — Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, Rome |
| RlDKg | — Reallexicon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1937 |
| RLV | — M. Ebert, Real-Lexicon der Vorgeschichte, Berlin, 1924–32 |
| RM | — Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Berlin |
| RN | — Revue Numismatique, Paris |
| Robert, SR | — C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, Berlin, 1890 ff. |
| Roscher | — W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Leipzig, 1884–86; 1924–37 |
| RQ | — Römische Quartalschrift, Freiburg |
| RScPr | — Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche, Florence |
| RSLig | — Rivista di Studi Liguri, Bordighera, Italy |
| RSO | — Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Rome |
| Rumpf, MZ | — A. Rumpf, Malerei und Zeichnung (W.Otto, Handbuch der Archäologie, IV, 1), Munich, 1953 |
| SA | — Soviet Archaeology, Moscow, Leningrad |
| SbBerlin | — Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin |
| SbHeidelberg | — Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Heidelberg, Heidelberg |
| SbMünchen | — Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Munich |
| SbWien | — Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna |
| Schlosser | — J. Schlosser, La letteratura artistica, Florence, 1956 |
| Scranton, Greek Walls | — R. L. Scranton, Greek Walls, Cambridge, Mass., 1941 |
| SEtr | — Studi Etruschi, Florence |
| SNR | — Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum |
| SPA | — A Survey of Persian Art, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, Oxford, 1938 |
| SymbOsl | — Symbolae Osloenses, Oslo |
| Tebtunis | — The Tebtunis Papyri, B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt et al., eds., London, 1902 ff. |
| ThB | — U. Thieme, F. Becker, Künstler Lexikon, Leipzig, 1907–50 |
| TitAM | — Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vindobonae, 1901–44 |
| TNR | — Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar-es-Salaam |
| Toesca, Md | — P. Toesca, Il Medioevo, 2 vols., Turin, 1927 |
| Toesca, Tr | — P. Toesca, Il Trecento, Turin, 1951 |
| TP | — T'oung Pao, Leiden |
| USMB | — United States National Museum, Bulletin, Washington, D. C. |
| Van Marle | — R. van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, The Hague, 1923–38 |
| Vasari | — G. Vasari, Vite, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1878 ff. (Am. ed., trans. E. H. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, 4 vols., New York, 1913) |
| Venturi | — A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, Milan, 1901 ff. |
| VFPA | — Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York |
| Vollmer | — H. Vollmer, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1953 |
| Warburg | — Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London |
| Weickert, Archaische Architektur | — C. Weickert, Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien, Augsburg, 1929 |
| Wpr | — Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin |
| WürzbJ | — Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg |
| WVDOG | — Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Berlin |
| ZäS | — Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin, Leipzig |
| ZfAssyr | — Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Strasbourg |
| ZfbK | — Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, Leipzig |
| ZfE | — Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin |
| ZfKg | — Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, Munich |
| ZfKw | — Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, Munich |
| ZfN | — Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin |
| ZfSAKg | — Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, Basel |
| ZMG | — Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig |

*Languages and Ethnological Descriptions*

| | |
|---|---|
| Alb. | — Albanian |
| Am. | — American |
| Ang. | — Anglice, Anglicized |
| Ar. | — Arabic |
| Arm. | — Armenian |
| AS. | — Anglo-Saxon |
| Bab. | — Babylonian |
| Br. | — British |
| Bulg. | — Bulgarian |
| Chin. | — Chinese |
| D. | — Dutch |
| Dan. | — Danish |
| Eg. | — Egyptian |
| Eng. | — English |
| Finn. | — Finnish |
| Fr. | — French |
| Ger. | — German |
| Gr. | — Greek |
| Heb. | — Hebrew |
| Hung. | — Hungarian |
| It. | — Italian |
| Jap. | — Japanese |
| Jav. | — Javanese |
| Lat. | — Latin |
| Mod. Gr. | — Modern Greek |
| Nor. | — Norwegian |
| Per. | — Persian |
| Pol. | — Polish |
| Port. | — Portuguese |
| Rum. | — Rumanian |
| Rus. | — Russian |
| Skr. | — Sanskrit |
| Sp. | — Spanish |
| Swed. | — Swedish |
| Yugo. | — Yugoslav |

*Other Abbreviations* (*Standard abbreviations in common usage are omitted.*)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abh. | — Abhandlungen |
| Acad. | — Academy, Académie |
| Acc. | — Accademia |
| Adm. | — Administration |
| Ak. | — Akademie |
| Allg. | — Allgemein |
| Alm. | — Almanacco |
| Amm. | — Amministrazione |
| Ann. | — Annals, Annali, Annuario, Annual, etc. |
| Ant. | — Antiquity, Antico, Antiquaire, etc. |
| Anthr. | — Anthropology, etc. |
| Antr. | — Antropologia, etc. |
| Anz. | — Anzeiger |
| Arch. | — Architecture, Architettura, Architettonico, etc.; Archives |
| Archaeol. | — Archaeology, etc. |
| attrib. | — attributed |
| Aufl. | — Auflage |
| Aufn. | — Aufnahme |
| B. | — Bulletin, Bollettino, etc. |

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b. — born
Belg. — Belgian, Belga, etc.
Berl. — Berlin, Berliner
Bern. — Berner
Bib. — Bible, Biblical, Bibliothèque, etc.
Bibliog. — Bibliography, etc.
Bur. — Bureau
Byz. — Byzantine
C. — Corpus
ca. — circa
Cah. — Cahiers
Cal. — Calendar
Cap. — Capital, Capitolium
Cat. — Catalogue, Catalogo, etc.
Chr. — Chronicle, Chronik
Civ. — Civiltà, Civilization, etc.
cod. — codex
col., cols. — column, columns
Coll. — Collection, Collana, Collationes, Collectanea, Collezione, etc.
Comm. — Commentaries, Commentari, Communications, etc.
Cong. — Congress, Congresso, etc.
Cr. — Critica
Cron — Cronaca
Cuad. — Cuadernos
Cult. — Culture, Cultura, etc.
D. — Deutsch
d. — died
Diss. — Dissertation, Dissertazione
Doc. — Documents, etc.
E. — Encyclopedia, etc.
Eccl. — Ecclesiastic, Ecclesia, etc.
Ep. — Epigraphy
Esp. — España, Español
Est. — Estudios
Et. — Etudes
Ethn. — Ethnology, Ethnography, Ethnographie, etc.
Etn. — Etnico, Etnografia, etc.
Etnol. — Etnologia
Eur. — Europe, Europa, etc.
ext. — extract
f. — für
fasc. — fascicle
Fil. — Filologia
Filos. — Filosofia, Filosofico
fol. — folio
Forsch. — Forschung, Forschungen
Gal. — Galerie
Gall. — Gallery, Galleria
Geog. — Geography, Geografia, Geographical, etc.
Giorn. — Giornale
H. — History, Historie, etc.
hl. — heilig, heilige
Holl. — Hollandisch, etc.
Hum. — Humanity, Humana, etc.
I. — Istituto
Ill. — Illustration, Illustrato, Illustrazione, etc.
Ind. — Index, Indice, Indicatore, etc.
Inf. — Information, Informazione, etc.
Inst. — Institute, Institut, etc.
Int. — International, etc.
Ist. — Istituto
J. — Journal
Jb. — Jaarboek
Jhb. — Jahrbuch
Jhrh. — Jahreshefte
K. — Kunst
Kat. — Katalog
Kchr. — Kunstchronik
Kg. — Kunstgeschichte
Kunsthist. — Kunsthistorische
Kw. — Kunstwissenschaft
Lett. — Letteratura, Lettere
Lib. — Library
ling. — linguistica, lingua, etc.
Lit. — Literary, Literarische, Littéraire, etc.
Mag. — Magazine
Med. — Medieval, Medievale, etc.
Meded. — Mededeelingen
Mél. — Mélanges
Mém. — Mémoire
Mem. — Memorie, Memoirs
Min. — Minerva
Misc. — Miscellanea, etc.
Mit. — Mitteilungen
Mnb. — Monatsberichte
Mnbl. — Monatsblaetter
Mnh. — Monatshefte
Mod. — Modern, Moderno, etc.
Mon. — Monuments, Monumento
Münch. — München, Münchner
Mus. — Museum, Museo, Musée, Museen, etc.
N. — New, Notizia, etc.
Nachr. — Nachrichten
Nat. — National, etc.
Naz. — Nazionale
Notit. dign. — Notitia Dignitatum
N.S. — new series
O. — Oriental, Orient, etc.
Ö. — Österreichische
obv. — obverse
öffentl. — öffentlich
Op. — Opuscolo
Pap. — Papers
per. — period
Per. — Periodical, Periodico
Pin. — Pinacoteca
Pr. — Prehistory, Preistoria, Preystori, Préhistoire
Proc. — Proceedings
Pub. — Publication, Publicación
Pubbl. — Pubblicazione
Q. — Quarterly, Quaderno
Quel. — Quellen
R. — Rivista
r — recto
Racc. — Raccolta
Rass. — Rassegna
Rec. — Recueil
Recens. — Recensione
Rech. — Recherches
Rel. — Relazione
Rend. — Rendiconti
Rép. — Répertoire
Rep. — Report, Repertorio, Repertorium
Rev. — Review, Revue, etc.
Rl. — Reallexicon
Rom. — Roman, Romano, Romanico, etc.
rv. — reverse
S. — San, Santo, Santa (saint)
S. — Studi, Studies, etc.
Samml. — Sammlung, Sammlungen
Sc. — Science, Scienza, Scientific, etc.
Schr. — Schriften
Schw. — Schweitzer
Script. — Scriptorium
Sitzb. — Sitzungsberichte
s.l. — in its place
Soc. — Social, Society, Società, Sociale, etc.
Spec. — Speculum
SS. — Saints, Sante, Santi, Santissima
St. — Saint
Sta — Santa (holy)
Ste — Sainte
Sto — Santo (holy)
Sup. — Supplement, Supplemento
s.v. — under the word
Tech. — Technical, Technology, etc.
Tecn. — Tecnica, Tecnico
Tr. — Transactions
trans. — translator, translated, etc.
Trav. — Travaux
u. — und
Um. — Umanesimo
Univ. — University, Università, Université, etc.
Urb. — Urban, Urbanistica
v — verso
VAT — Vorderasiatische Tafen
Verh. — Verhandlungen, Verhandelingen
Verz. — Verzeichnis
Vf. — Verfasser
Wien — Wiener
Yb. — Yearbook
Z. — Zeitschrift, Zeitung, etc.

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# NOTES ON THE ENGLISH EDITION

*Standards of Translation.* Contributors to the Encyclopedia, drawn from the outstanding authorities of over 35 different countries, have written in many languages — Italian, Spanish, French, German, Russian, etc. To ensure faithful translation of the author's thought, all articles have been translated into English from the original language, checked for the accuracy of technical terms and accepted English forms of nomenclature by English and American art historians, and correlated with the final editorial work of the Italian edition for uniformity and coherence of the over-all presentation. Naturally the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., assumes full responsibility for the accuracy and completeness of all translations. Those articles written in English appear in the words and style of the authors, within the bounds of editorial attention to consistency and stylistic and organizational unity of the work as a whole. Article titles are in most cases parallel to those in the Italian edition, though occasionally they have been simplified, as *Dravidian Art* for *Dravidiche Correnti e Tradizioni.*

*New Features.* Although generally the English-language edition corresponds to the Italian version, a small number of purely editorial changes have been made in the interest of clear English-language alphabetization and occasional deletions or amplifications solely in the interest of clarity. Three major differences between the two editions do exist, however:

A considerable number of cross-references have been added in many places where it was felt that relating the subject under consideration to other pertinent articles would be of value to the reader.

A more extensive article on the Art of the Americas was projected for Volume One of the English edition with an entirely new text and many plates in black and white and color. This article was designed to give the completest possible coverage within the existing space of some 100,000 words to a subject which, because of its interest to the English-speaking public, was entrusted to a group of well-known American scholars, each expert in his respective area.

Some 300 separate short biographies have been added to the English edition to provide ready access to data on the lives, works, and critical acceptance of certain artists identified with schools, movements, and broad categories of historical development that are treated in the longer monographic articles. These articles are unillustrated, but works of the artists are represented in the plates accompanying the longer articles.

*Bibliographies.* The bibliographies of the original Italian edition have been amplified at times to include titles of special interest to the English-speaking world and English-language editions of works originally published in other languages.

In undertaking these adaptations of the Italian text and preparing original material for the English edition, the publisher has been aided by the generous advice and, in many cases, collaboration of the members of the Editorial Advisory Commitee.

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# CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME VII

Achille ADRIANI, University of Palermo
Giovanni ALVISI, Scuola Archeologica, Rome
Pierre AMANDRY, University of Strasbourg
Giulio Carlo ARGAN, University of Rome
Rosario ASSUNTO, University of Urbino
Jeannine AUBOYER, Curator, Musée Guimet, Paris
Eugenio BATTISTI, University of Genoa
Etta BECKER-DONNER, Vienna
Padmini BHATIA, Lecturer, National Gallery of Modern Art, Delhi
Jan BIALOSTOCKI, Curator, National Museum, Warsaw
Kurt BITTEL, President, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin-Dahlem
Sergio BOSTICCO, University of Florence
Hermann J. BRAUNHOLTZ, Harpenden, England
Joseph BURKE, University of Melbourne
Mario BUSSAGLI, University of Rome
Ernesta CERULLI, Istituto per le Civiltà Primitive, University of Rome
Fernando CHUECA Y GOITIA, Madrid
George CŒDÈS, Honorary Director, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris
R. M. COOK, Cambridge University
Piero CORRADINI, University of Rome
Ágnes CZOBOR, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
Philip J. C. DARK, Carbondale, Ill.
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**GREEK ART.** The phenomenon of Greek art is so rich in creative force, development, and achievement, so important for the world history of the human spirit, so diversely and fundamentally present in all the problems and theories of art that it would be an impracticable task indeed to treat it exhaustively in a single article, no matter how ambitious. For the ancient world Greek art represents a cycle comparable, in a developmental sense, to that of European art from the Middle Ages to modern times. Because each of its great phases has its own values, defined and conditioned by ideal concepts and style, it seemed best to treat these distinctive strains in separate articles. The origins and early definition of Greek art are discussed in the study of Aegean art in the 2d millennium B.C. (see CRETAN-MYCENAEAN ART), as well as in those of the Geometric style and the Orientalizing style (qq.v.). In addition, there are articles for the major artists and studies of regional groups and schools, in so far as they represent identifiable currents within the vital and abundant artistic tradition of the Greek world (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; GRECO-BOSPORAN AND SCYTHIAN ART; GREEK ART, AEGEAN; GREEK ART, EASTERN; GREEK ART, NORTHERN; GREEK ART, WESTERN; PELOPONNESIAN ART). Greek influence on the art of Mediterranean areas peripheral to the Greek world is also examined in special articles (see ASIA, WEST: ANCIENT ART; CYPRIOTE ART, ANCIENT; ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART; MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN). Finally, the expansion of Hellenism to Italy and the continuity of the representational ideals of the classic world during the imperial Roman age are also considered (see HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART; ROMAN ART OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE; ROMAN IMPERIAL ART). The spread of Hellenism farther into Asia is discussed mainly under GANDHARA; late developments of the Greek tradition, under LATE-ANTIQUE PERIOD and BYZANTINE ART; the continuity and renewal of classical ideals, under ANTIQUE REVIVAL and CLASSICISM.

But the same immense and complex subject matter that encourages such a multiplicity of viewpoints and studies also calls for an over-all picture of Greek art, in order to recount its historical development in a unified way and to indicate its significance with respect to the modern point of view — which is, after all, the only basis on which we can judge the phenomenon historically. This, then, is the aim of the present article.

SUMMARY. Historical development of Greek culture (col. 1). Greek art and the modern world (col. 17).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK CULTURE. If a series of striking and lasting expansions well beyond original geographic or political confines is considered evidence of the vitality and inner richness of a culture, that of the ancient Greeks is beyond compare. Generally the spread of a cultural tradition may be associated with political and military events, as is the case with the Islamic world, or is due to an effective religious penetration, as with Hindu art in the wake of Buddhism. But for Greece this continuous overflowing of its narrow natural confines was almost a congenital characteristic; and merely to relate this great phenomenon to the narrow measure of its beginnings does not fully convey the magnificence of its accomplishments.

Geographically, Greece occupies the southern extremity of the Balkan Peninsula, stretching toward the Mediterranean with a deeply indented and sinuous coastline and a series of large and small islands placed like stepping stones in the Aegean Sea. Historically, however, much of the Anatolian coast and a large part of Sicily and southern Italy can for certain periods be rightfully considered continuations of Greece proper. Furthermore, if the definition of Greek artistic hegemony is extended to all regions affected and vitalized by the Hellenic expansion through colonies, conquests — even temporary ones — importations, and contacts of every kind, the list must include the entire northern Mediterranean coastline, from Spain to Syria, as well as the Nile Delta and Cyrenaica, the coast of the Black Sea from Trebizond to Apollonia and the Crimea, and, finally, much of western Asia, this last constituting the lands touched by the triumphant advance of Alexander the Great.

Greece proper can be conveniently divided into northern Greece, middle Greece, and the Peloponnesos. Northern Greece extends from the mountains of Macedonia to the point of constriction formed by the Ambracian and Lamian gulfs; middle Greece stretches from this point to the Isthmus of Corinth, where the peninsula of the Peloponnesos begins. But this elementary division of the land does not take into account that which seems to be the prime factor, and the essential condition, of Greek civilization. This overriding influence is the sea, which, penetrating the irregular coastline and surrounding the groups of islands, has constituted an omnipresent invitation to commerce and encouraged the general spirit of inquiry among the Greeks. The coast of Asia Minor in particular is connected to the Hellenic peninsula by a series of land bridges and easy marine routes. Consequently, the sea never represented a disjunction for the Greek consciousness, nor did it signify limitation, a psychological and material boundary; rather, it was a means of connection that facilitated relations with other lands. This beneficial adaptation to its marine geography underlies some of the important facts in the development of Hellenic civilization, such as the alliances between distant cities, the wide diffusion of colonial centers, and especially the close union based on common traditions that existed between the Ionic peoples of Attica and Asia Minor.

In the country that was to be Greece, signs of intense life and noteworthy cultural development were found as early as the Neolithic age. During that period it was the flat and fertile lands, especially the great Thessalian plain, which were heavily inhabited. In Crete also, neolithic strata of great thickness have been found below the Minoan level, indicating an extensive duration for this age. In fact, because of this extraordinary and precocious development of Cretan civilization, even in the Neolithic period, many innovations substantially preceded those in mainland and insular Greece. This time element then would explain and confirm the difference which has been noted between the two cultural facies. Beginning with the 3d millennium B.C., a Bronze Age culture of surprising achievement and individuality developed in Crete, reaching its high point in the elaborate civil administrations established in the famous palaces of the island, centers of a splendid and highly sophisticated culture.

Modern historians do not assign much importance to that unique document (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, p. 226;



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cf. J. L. Myres, *JHS*, XXVI, 1906, p. 84 ff.) which attempts to establish the succession of thalassocracies in the Mediterranean. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the existence of cities without defense systems and sumptuous palaces without surrounding walls presupposed an absolute security which could derive only from decisive rule of the seas. Nor is there any doubt, even though the only testimony is indirect and inductive, that the Cretan state had a place among the great powers of the eastern Mediterranean, along with Egypt, the Hittite empire, and the various coastal states of Syria. The Keftiu and the "sea peoples" are frequently mentioned in Egyptian and Hittite documents. Precious objects obviously of Cretan origin have been found in Egypt, and Cretan men are represented in Egyptian frescoes of the New Kingdom.

Both its extraordinary artistic production and its predilection for the sea, commerce, and colonization make the Cretan civilization a significant harbinger of the "Hellenic miracle." Centers where Cretan culture was established are found throughout the eastern Mediterranean — Syria, Asia Minor, mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, the Ionian Islands — and as far west as Sicily. Through vestiges of this early civilization archaeological exploration, first with the revelations of Heinrich Schliemann in Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns and then with more methodical investigations in Crete, has given surprising confirmation to ancient and disjointed mythical traditions. The fabulous wealth of King Minos, who demanded tribute from subject peoples, and the myths relating to his labyrinth and the Minotaur and the incomparable artist Daidalos have found correspondences and astonishing illustrations in monuments that have come to light.

Together with other facts, the presence in Hellenic territory of at least six cities named Minoa is sufficient to recommend some degree of control by the Cretan dynasties over the mainland. Consequently, notwithstanding criticism, reservations, and modifications, the basic interpretation of these facts and the chronological framework presented by Sir Arthur Evans as his conclusions from decades of investigation in the palace of Minos in Knossos still remain substantially valid. In the Late Minoan period the expanding Cretan culture found a new fulcrum on the mainland, centered on the powerful city of Mycenae in Argolis. Disasters on Crete, including destruction of the palaces, can to some degree explain this notable shift in cultural spheres. The cultural and artistic world called "Mycenaean" is in effect a development of premises that had already been established in Crete for more than a millennium, although under wholly different conditions. Uncontested rule of the seas and quiet safe life in great unfortified palaces were no longer a reality for the inhabitants of the mainland. Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens, and Gla at this time presented themselves as the massive, warlike fortresses usually associated with a feudal and bellicose society.

In opposition to the Pan-Cretan or Pan-Knossan idea supported by Evans, which assumes a close and continued dependence of Mycenae on Knossos, a radically different interpretation has subsequently been gaining strength. It has, for example, been proposed that the cultural and artistic ascendancy which distinguished Knossos from the rest of Crete might be explained, at least in part, by its closer relations with the mainland. The frescoes of Knossos seem more akin to those of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Thebes than to those of Hagia Triada. The production of vases in the "palace style" is known only in Knossos and on the mainland, and pottery found in Knossos that is now recognized without doubt as imported Mycenaean ware is of even greater significance. The decisive factor in this argument is the presence in Knossos of numerous documents in the script known as Linear B, as yet undocumented in other parts of Crete but widespread in mainland Greece. Through the work of M. G. Ventris (1922–56), the Linear B of Pylos and Knossos has been read as an archaic Greek language, suggesting the conclusion that Linear A of Crete represents the Minoan language and Linear B, known on the mainland and at Knossos, is the language of the Greeks imported to the Cretan city most closely linked with the mainland culture. For the supporters of this interpretation of Linear B, the most serious and decisive consequence is the identification of the Mycenaeans with the Greeks, since no longer would it be reasonable that the latter group had slowly penetrated the Mycenaean world; instead, the early Greeks themselves would more likely be representatives of Mycenaean culture, developed by transforming and enhancing the contributions of Cretan civilization.

Whichever of the two theses is adopted, it is obvious that, although a sufficiently precise idea of the ethnic and artistic personality of the Cretan Minoans emerges, the question of the predecessors of the Greeks on the mainland remains obscure. The expression "Greeks of the classic age" generally calls to mind the earliest of the historical inhabitants of the land, variously termed Carians, Leleges, and Pelasgians, groups whose origins are obscure and uncertain. The most detailed and credible evidence of these peoples has been gained from linguistics and toponymics. The most illustrious cities and sacred places of the entire Greek world bear non-Greek names: Mycenae, Athens, Corinth, Tiryns, Parnassos, Hymettos. Similarly, the fact that the Greeks accepted words from their predecessors to designate elementary concepts of prime importance for daily life (e.g., sea, olive, fig, cypress) strongly suggests that they were a Nordic and continental people, who only later assumed typical Mediterranean conditions of life and interests.

On the other hand, it is interesting to ponder that existing side by side with this obscurity concerning the early history of the mainland inhabitants — evidencing a decided lack of interest in the fate of an alien people far removed in time — are the vivid recollections of the Minoan-Mycenaean past, which imply a more definite continuity, notwithstanding the vague interval of the so-called "Greek Dark Ages." The great legends almost invariably mention the cities or locales where traces of Mycenaean culture have been found and appear to have been significant. Mythical material may thus be regarded as a sort of poetical transposition of historical situations, a tenuous bridge of memories and fantasy stretching over the abyss of destruction and obscurity.

After a prolonged period of gradual exhaustion, attested by increasingly poor and devitalized archaeological finds, the Mycenaean world both in Crete and on the mainland collapsed amid impoverishment and destruction. Evidently this failure was a reflection of more spectacular upheavals such as the fall of the Hittite empire and the conspicuous decline in Egypt toward the end of the 12th century B.C. The uprisings and migrations that struck close to the heart of the Greek world, both along the coast of Asia Minor and on the Hellenic peninsula, appear to have ended in the so-called "Dorian invasion," which marks the definite settlement in the Peloponnesos of the last of the migrant Hellenic groups. Continuing on, the Dorians pushed across the southernmost chain of islands as far as Crete, Rhodes, and the Anatolian coast.

Evidently this "invasion" can be evaluated in completely different ways. One interpretation calls this the "Greek Dark Ages," a period of disaster and almost total ruin, with obvious analogies to the epoch of the barbarian invasions that in furious waves destroyed the weakened organism of the Western Roman Empire. An opposing interpretation sees this as a period of almost undisturbed continuity. It is possible that the Dorian invasion was not actually a changeover through destructive force but a dynastic superposition, such as the return of the Herakleidai recorded in mythology. It is undeniable that, at least in some parts of the Greek land, such as Athens, such transitions were accomplished without notable crises. However, the cumulative import of the general poverty of the eastern Mediterranean basin, attested also by Egyptian sources, the indisputable artistic decline, and the evidence of miserable Hellenic dwellings rising from the ruins of fabulous destroyed palaces is clear. There is no doubt that in this long and dramatic adjustment period some important positive events took place, such as the colonization of Asia Minor by the peoples of Ahhijava and Iaones (the Achaians and Ionians), traces of whom remain in Hittite and Egyptian sources. On the whole, it can be maintained that the process of decline reached a climax about

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the 10th century B.C. According to information gained from archaeological exploration, the entire Mycenaean world was at that time disrupted. With the old cultural and economic structure destroyed, however, the people were now free to develop in a new direction.

The Greeks, an extrovert people ever ready for trade as well as admirers of the new, were in continuous contact with the outside world. Despite this inclination, Greek art is in the main so original and distinctive that scholars have periodically advanced the idea of a completely isolated and independent development. The severe discipline, the spirit of abnegation and asceticism suggested by the geometric forms of the 10th to 8th century B.C. seem without precedent. This singularity is certainly true of the best work of the Geometric age. In many areas, Crete especially, outmoded Mycenaean traditions survived well into the new period; but in Attica, where the Geometric style was most clearly and skillfully developed, there appears to have been a pronounced break with the past. The devitalized formulas of the Mycenaean epoch were replaced by completely new structural and decorative principles.

In other fields of intellectual endeavor, however, persistent interest in the past during the dark interlude seems ultimately to have favored renewed productivity. As if a reserve of creative energy had accrued during the centuries of dormancy, poetry and mythology again flourished, nostalgically recreating the splendors of the past. As remarked earlier, the more notable legends concerned cities and places thriving during the Minoan-Mycenaean era: Crete, Troy, Ithaca, Argolis, Pylos, Thebes, Athens.

The greatest surviving document of the age, the poetry of Homer, written in Ionia about the 8th century B.C., recreates in poetic legendary form the wars apparently connected with Aeolian expansion in Asia Minor. In his work certain basic qualities attributed to the Greeks are already to be observed, such as their passionate attachment to tradition and the worship of the heroic ideal. Based on deeply rooted feudal and tribal traditions, the Homeric poems reflect a world of privilege dominated by the aristocrat and the warrior. Its faithfulness to tradition communicates a deeply felt homage to the past. Still, the poetic spirit that animates Homer's work transcended its specific derivation and encouraged its adoption by an entire people as a sort of epic ideal, or even sacred scripture. Consequently this poetry, which at first must have been on the level of recounting familiar and courtly feats (χλέα 'αγδρῶν) of some of the Aeolian or Ionic races, permanently fixed the religious beliefs, the cosmogony, the way of life, and above all the heroic aspirations of an entire people. Moreover, in the Homeric poems the old assertive individualism of the various cities and races had already disappeared. Dispensing with narrow local allegiances, these epics deal with the common glories of Greece, of a Panhellenic undertaking in which the first place is given to the Argolid and Mycenaean peoples and no longer to the Ionian heroes.

The perplexing statement of the late T. J. Dunbabin — namely, that Greek history begins in 776 B.C. with the Olympiads — has surprising validity, since it was apparently in this century that the Homeric poems were written and that colonial expansion began with the founding of Cumae, Syracuse, Sybaris, Taras (Taranto), and Kroton (Crotone). It was also in this period that regular sponsorship of the Panhellenic games was initiated, thereby providing a strong bond of tradition for the Hellenic peoples. Also at this time, eastern Greece (called "Ionia" even though Aeolian and Dorian peoples were included within its boundaries) finally became a conscious cultural entity, for the ancient Hellenic penetrations into Asia Minor during the 2d millennium B.C. had not resulted in the emergence of any definite national character. This cultural diffuseness is demonstrated, at least in part, by the fact that the earliest known sources for the Ionic world are Oriental records of the Ahhijava people (Homer's "Achaians") and those of the Iaones and Yavana of Cyprus and the Anatolian coast. It is clear that many of these peripheral settlements merged to a great extent with the peoples of Asia Minor. There was a general interpenetration of Greek and indigenous elements along the coast of Asia Minor. In Caria and Cilicia, Greek races adopted the local language and way of life; the Iaones and Yavana, settled at the borders of the Oriental world, were essentially soldiers of fortune without strong cultural identity. It was mainly through worship of tradition and the heroic ideal, both of the present and the past, that Ionia established its identity and its union with the Hellenic peoples.

As far back as its earliest historically documented period, Greece proper evidences a well-defined and distinctive character. Although the cultural unity of the Greek peoples, their superior civilization and adaptability, seems to have been widely recognized, their political organization was an assemblage of the most diverse and contrasting elements. Hereditary monarchies, landed aristocracies, mercantile oligarchies, and aggressive democracies (Bowra) were found side by side, almost as if to emphasize the explosive vitality and individuality of the Greeks. The basic unit of this fragmented world was the largely autonomous polis, which exalted and guaranteed the passionate desire for liberty characteristic of the Hellenic people from the beginning. Thus, Greek history is in reality the cumulative history of the Greek cities — their rivalries, battles, and ever-shifting alliances. Because of the dearth of documented information concerning most of these centers, their character must be deduced from a few external facts and from the interpretation of archaeological evidence.

From the 8th century B.C. on, one of the prime demonstrations of the wealth, political stability, and vitality of a polis was the foundation of colonies. The commerce stimulated by the network of major colonies and smaller commercial centers established by the Ionian cities was the principal source of the economic prosperity of Greece. The commercial empire on the Black Sea and throughout most of the Mediterranean must have attained its maximum development in the period lasting from about the mid-7th century B.C., when Phoenician commerce declined as a result of the destruction of Tyre, to the restoration of prosperity and power to the Phoenician colony of Carthage, the heir to antique traditions.

The founding of a colony was an act of great social and political significance and was preceded by religious consultations and deliberations. From this practice was derived the early importance of the oracles, who inspired (or diverted) and directed these activities, and the unquestioned authority of Delphi, which was soon manipulating the colonial policies of all Greece. Usually a colony bore the stamp of the city responsible for its founding. In exceptional cases, however, when the establishment of a colony was of more widespread import, cultural elements deriving from more than one Greek city or from several ethnic groups were consolidated (synoecism). Occasionally colonies were almost Panhellenic, such as Naukratis, the Greek commercial center in Egypt. Participation in colonial enterprise differed in degree and purpose in various cities; in general, the founding of a colony presupposed maritime and commercial interests. For a state such as Sparta, however, a traditionalist power situated at the center of the Peloponnesos and primarily interested in land for its empire, the founding of colonies — among others, Taras (Taranto) and Akragas (Agrigento) — was primarily a question of prestige, and probably also a measure of Laconian influence at Delphi. Athens had almost no part in these colonial undertakings; whereas Chalkis was probably the initiator, with a string of ancient and splendid western colonies (e.g., Cumae, Messina, Reggio Calabria, Catania) that soon became more important than their metropolis, or mother city. Even more impressive was the colonial activity of the modest city of Megara, which became the metropolis for Byzantium, Chalkedon (Chalcedon), Selimbria, and Megara Hyblaia (Hyblaea). But the dominant influence in this enormous political and commercial activity is revealed in archaeological finds from this period: everywhere in Greece proper, on the islands, and in the farthest colonies and most forsaken barbarian centers in the Mediterranean, pottery made in Corinth or in the Corinthian style predominates.

Accompanying this expansion in the Mediterranean area was a comparable increase of contacts with the Oriental world. Although the influence of Near Eastern civilizations had long been present in Greece, the most regular and intense cultural

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contact, borrowing, and dependence occurred in the period following the Geometric age. This phase of Greek artistic development has been characterized by the term "Orientalizing." A noteworthy indication of this confluence was the importation — perhaps by way of Lydia — of the Semitic Phoenician alphabet and system of measures and coinage. On the other hand, the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians of Asia Minor, penetrated the great Near Eastern kingdoms in many ways. There was undoubtedly the customary trading and an exchange of artists and craftsmen, as well as the accepted use of Greek mercenaries attested in Assyria and Egypt. The Anatolian states, especially Lydia and Phrygia, which had been built up on the ruins of the Hittite empire, were Hellenized to a great extent. This bond is confirmed by the number of ex-votos left by Asiatic rulers in the Greek sanctuaries, such as the tripods of the Lydian kings Alyattes and Croesus at Delphi, and by the substantial importation of Greek pottery even in remote inland places such as Gordion. Most significant of all, however, is the Hellenic character of the Anatolian art created by the Carians, Lydians, Phrygians, and Lycians. The results of this exceptional process of amalgamation are found in the most diverse works of art, for example, the reliefs from the Lycian tombs and the very fine Gordion frescoes. It is also possible that Greek artists may have worked on the great frieze of the palace of Darius at Ctesiphon.

Assuredly the attitude of the Greeks toward the peoples of the Near East was one of familiarity and friendship. The opposition between Greek and barbarian so often mentioned had as yet no reason to exist, especially in the Ionic world of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. In effect, the threat of the true enemy, Persia, was just beginning to take shape, while a more or less peaceful coexistence was being established with Lydia and Phrygia. At this time the name "barbarian" — far from implying contempt, enmity, or even opposition — simply meant "those who stammer" (i.e., speak languages other than Greek).

Generations of scholars have believed the contacts of the Greek world with the ancient Eastern civilizations to have existed solely or primarily through the mediation of Ionia. Present opinions are varied but are in general allied against this conviction. The recognized importance of Urartu, estimated mainly by the exportation of bronzes throughout the Aegean littoral, Etruria, and other areas, the subjective and variable evaluations of the importance of Phoenician commerce, the exploration of previously unknown trade centers such as Al Mina in northern Syria, which suggests close contacts with Assyria, and the study of Syro-Hittite sculpture have all resulted in a continual shifting of opinion. To these factors can be added the flow of trade with Egypt, the intermediary function of the easternmost islands, such as Cyprus and Dorian Rhodes, and the peculiar adaptations of Oriental elements in Crete and Corinth. It can be concluded that the main avenues of penetration and trade were continuous and varied, a condition to be expected in countries so receptive to the new and thoroughly infused with an attitude of enlightened tolerance. A continuous, revitalizing flow of Oriental forms and schemata clearly entered the purportedly closed world of the Geometric style. Noteworthy among these influences were the importation of Syrian and Phoenician ivories and the progressive Hellenizing of the ivory industry, which transformed the rich and sensual hieratic statuettes of Syrian origin into the clear-cut logic of the severe Dipylon figurines.

In the 8th and 7th centuries the development of colonial politics and the intense interest in new contacts generated remarkable vitality at the margins of the Hellenic world, in Asia Minor and the Italian colonies more than in Greece proper. It was at this time that the distinctive character of the various Greek territories became more clearly defined. Simultaneous with this newly developed emphasis on national awareness of the Hellenic peoples, their inborn love of liberty found expression in the expansive individuality of a propitious political unit, the city-state, with its unceasing affirmation of independence. The decay of the monarchic institution was by now almost general: in Athens the king continued solely as a religious functionary, and the principle of absolute monarchic authority was nullified even in the restrictive and traditionalist atmosphere of Sparta by a system of dual kingship. Fundamental differences in political regimes, economic interests, and levels of development produced varied attitudes toward environment and events, and hence the prevailing diversity of cultures in this period.

The cities of Ionia were all commercial or colonial powers, closely tied to the fortunes of the Anatolian states for which they served as outlets. The region later inclusively called Ionia, along the coast of Anatolia, should be separated into the Aeolian territory in the north, whose principal poles were represented by the city of Kyme and the great island of Lesbos, and the Ionic territory proper, whose richest and most powerful centers were the cities of Miletos and Phokaia. The Dorian cities to the south — Halikarnassos and Knidos — were allied to Dorian Rhodes. This entire region played an important role in preserving and developing the pure Hellenic spirit, at the same time evidencing a continued absorption of Oriental elements. In effect, despite fusion of races on the periphery and the frequence of mixed marriages (such as those of the King of Phrygia with the daughter of Agamemnon, the monarch of Kyme, and of the tyrant Thrasyboulos of Miletos with a daughter of King Alyattes), the Hellenic spirit remained dominant and spread its wealth, rather than being itself substantially modified by contacts and external influence.

The colonial activity of Miletos, the most important Hellenic city of the 8th to 6th century B.C., developed a network of colonies and commercial outposts — about eighty according to ancient historians — on the Black Sea. The foundation of Milesios Teichos and the subsequent participation of Miletos in establishing Naukratis mark the limits of her far-reaching interests in the Eastern world. Phokaia, on the contrary, was decidedly oriented westward; and its foundation of Massilia (ca. 600 B.C.; mod. Marseilles), well beyond the Etruscan-ruled Italic coast, established the farthest bulwark of Hellenism to the west. When the Persians later destroyed Phokaia, its populace sought a new homeland and eventually settled on the Italian mainland at Velia (Elea), in the region of Lucania, after an unsuccessful attempt to install themselves in Corsica.

On the whole, the same tolerance and harmony that existed between the Hellenic groups and the peoples of the Asian hinterland must also have existed among the cities of the Ionian coast, regardless of racial distinctions. The apparent use in the Homeric poems of both the Aeolian and the Ionian dialects encourages the assumption of a basic identity of interests, just as the Trojan War, which the poems celebrate, had a Panhellenic character. Furthermore, the formal language used from Dorian Rhodes at the extreme south as far north as Phokaia and in Lesbos seems to have been basically uniform, or at least more closely related than dialects used by cities on the Hellenic peninsula that were geographically much closer. The prolonged rivalry between Miletos and Samos does not seem to have impaired their general affinity of interests. Added proof of the common level of understanding among Ionian centers is found in the pottery style, provisionally called "East Greek," that developed during the 7th and 6th centuries. Rich stores of this pottery which have appeared in Ionian cities and their colonies on the Black Sea exhibit a great range of subtle local variations on uniform over-all principles of form and decoration.

On the island of Crete, by this time deeply impregnated with Dorian elements, the prestige of ancient traditions continued. In the almost total obscurity of historical events, only archaeological remains furnish an occasional ray of light. The important examples of bronze production, such as the shields from the Cave of Mount Ida and the later examples from Assos, together with the discoveries of very fine pottery, are sufficient to indicate the high level of artistic and social development on the island. Moreover, it is on Crete that the Daedalic style, which provides the first known examples of monumental sculpture, seems to have originated. Daedalic traditions thereafter rapidly spread to the Peloponnesos, Argos, and Corinth, where the high quality of this artistic mode was maintained in a long, continuous development.

The splendid city of Argos, the oldest in Greece according to tradition, steadily declined in the face of the growing military

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power of Sparta. The great Peloponnesian confederation that had its seat in Argos was dissolved, while the authority of Sparta was slowly and inexorably consolidated. As a result, because of the balance of power or the opposition to the unbending traditionalism and uncompromising oligarchy of Sparta, Argos regularly found herself allied with Athens. With regard to artistic production, archaeological finds for the period do not correspond to the glories suggested by literary tradition. Evidently bronzes were the chief forms, and it is therefore understandable that archaeological remains are scarce and furnish inadequate evidence. The ceramic ware of Argos had a distinctive character but remained a local phenomenon without wide commercial diffusion; it did not spread even to nearby centers in the Peloponnesos.

Corinth, a naval and commercial metropolis bridging two gulfs, and consequently in contact with both eastern and western cities, was the most powerful and flourishing trade center of the Greek mainland. Here, too, in the shadowy ages bordering on legend, there was a monarchy that apparently deteriorated into an oligarchy dominated by the Bacchiadai, descendants of an ancient ruling dynasty. As usual the oligarchic rule alternated with periods of tyranny — in the classical sense — which in Corinth, under the enlightened government of Kypselos and his descendants, seem to have coincided with the periods of greatest splendor. Although Corinth itself did not produce many monumental works of art, sufficient idea of the characteristics of Corinthian production can be gained from the pediments of Kerkyra (I, PL. 343), the metopes of Thermon (I, PL. 336), and the Karapanos terra cottas in Athens. Corinth, as might be expected, was closely tied to her powerful colonies Kerkyra and Syracuse. In addition, her artistic influence dominated all western Greece, from Olympia, where a large number of Corinthian bronze shield lamina decorated in very delicate relief have been found, as far as Dodona and Trebenište in Illyria. From the 8th to the mid-6th century B.C., the wide diffusion of Corinthian pottery throughout the Mediterranean littoral gives evidence of the magnificence of her commercial empire. The tiny, highly refined perfume vases of Corinth have been found in the most widely scattered cities and centers around the Mediterranean. Such testimony of the superior products and commercial preeminence of Corinth has been found even in the eastern Ionian cities, despite flourishing local production completely different in character. Politically, Corinth remained the implacable enemy of Athens. At first allied with Argos, Corinth later sided with Sparta, but all the while maintaining a degree of autonomy, in part made possible by her great fleet. In the bitter contests with Athens, the point of encounter was usually Megara, which, because it was situated between the two adversaries, was continually allied with or temporarily annexed by one or the other.

The more primitive and mountainous areas such as Arcadia, Anatolia, and Acarnania were neither politically nor artistically very active. The small region of Phocis, however, in its role as custodian of Delphi, one of the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries, found itself the hub for the subtle game of diplomacy and the interacting spheres of influence. Through the homage paid by Oriental countries and because of its growing directorial function in colonial politics, the Delphic oracle and hence Phocis became increasingly important. The proximity of Delphi even affected Boeotia, an aristocratic and conservative region in which religious considerations were of vital importance. Traditionally, Thebes remained hostile to the greater, enlightened power of nearby Athens; politically, it was invariably bound to the Peloponnesian powers, especially Sparta and Corinth. Artistically also, the region seems to have been under Corinthian influence — Corinthian and proto-Corinthian pottery was widely imported — and it is only at the end of the archaic age, for example, in the large sculpture, that significant contacts with Attica and the Cyclades are to be noted.

Chalkis in Euboea was one of the great commercial metropolises of Greece in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. At its zenith it ruled over the Northern Sporades, including Skiathos and Peparethos, and simultaneously in the west founded the oldest and most renowned of the Greek colonies (Cumae; Naxos in Sicily; Rhegion, mod. Reggio Calabria; Zankle, mod. Messina), as well as participated in the founding of Catana (mod. Catania) and Leontinoi (mod. Lentini). Later the wars with its great Euboean rival Eretria drained the strength of both combatants, preventing them from expanding their power further. The bronzework of Chalkis was praised by ancient commentators, but examples have not been identified as yet. There is no confirmation of the hypothesis attributing to Chalkis the production of the vases commonly known as "Chalcidian," which in reality were probably made in Italy. What is indisputably Euboean pottery is clearly a provincial production with but slightly differentiated characteristics that in general depend on Attica.

Thessaly, the large and wealthy area in the north of Greece made illustrious by the legends of Achilles, the Minoans, and the Argonauts, also remained of marginal importance in the great historical movements so identified with Greece proper during these centuries. Grouped about a large and fertile plain, the Thessalian cities were among the first to unite in amphictyonies, religious confederations that did not violate the liberty of the individual cities yet permitted a more united front and a valid basis for political action. On the other hand, her predominant land interests diverted Thessaly from engaging in colonial politics and the far-reaching commercial activities of the coastal cities. Thessaly thus oriented her political activity almost exclusively about the sacred city of Delphi and succeeded very often in imposing her will through this occult moral center of the Hellenic world. Later the chief function of Thessaly was to supply sturdy horses and well-trained cavalry to the other Greek territories, and eventually to Macedonia.

In this variegated assemblage of Greek cities and races, in the vitality of their military activities, commercial enterprises, and literary and artistic production, the influence of Sparta and Athens became ever more distinct and imposing. Even if only for short periods and imperfectly, these two cities more than any others attempted to unify the fragmented Greek world on an imperialistic basis. From the beginning Sparta remained a military and land power, alien to widespread commerce and great foreign undertakings. Her success in the Messenian wars having assured a rich, extensive agricultural territory to exploit and vast numbers of subjugated peoples to employ as slaves or second-class citizens in farming, Sparta was not impelled to take an active part in the colonial politics of the rest of Greece, although Taras and Cyrene recognized her as their metropolis. All the efforts of this small tenacious populace were instead turned to the articulation and maintenance of a state organization marked by the greatest austerity and discipline. The famous codex attributed to Lykourgos typifies this regime which, in the framework of a strict class hierarchy, demanded extremes of virtue from its first-class citizens, at the same time elevating them and encouraging their fidelity by granting dignity and special privileges. The kingdom of Sparta has been quite justly but paradoxically defined as a socialist despotism of a strictly aristocratic character. Only the small nucleus of first-class citizens had the right to bear arms and join in the political life. The monarchic institution, a languishing and unnatural survival that sanctioned the immobility of Spartan political thinking, was a purely nominal rather than an effective agency. The first-class citizens (Spartiates), who lived on the work of their serfs (Helots), and the second-class citizens (Perioikoi) were, in a sense, slaves of the state, which regulated nearly all their acts with merciless rigor. This state regulation included complete charge of the education of children and the right to do away with offspring judged deficient.

The Spartan hegemony developed slowly and inexorably as the chief Laconian city gradually drew the lesser powers of the Peloponnesos into her sphere. Finally, when Corinth sided with the Peloponnesian League, the only notable Athenian ally left was Argos. Nor did Spartan power remain confined to the Peloponnesos, for by supporting Boeotian interests and through a veiled but pervasive influence over the oracle of Delphi, Sparta attained a position of central importance in the Greek world. Faithfulness to the heroic ideal, aristocratic traditions, and disdain for material gain and territorial expansion gave Sparta a unique character and incomparable prestige in

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the eyes of all Greece. Undoubtedly, the guarded and reactionary conservatism associated with her politics in subsequent centuries was not yet manifest. Throughout the 7th century Sparta, in addition to political and military activity, intensified her relations with the entire Hellenic world and excelled in poetry and art. Surprisingly, it was the Ionian world of Asia Minor with which Sparta appeared most closely linked. The presence of such great artistic personalities as the poet Terpander of Lesbos and the sculptor Bathykles of Magnesia — the latter summoned for the construction of the altar of Apollo in Amyklai, one of the most famous and venerated works of all antiquity — provides some measure of the cultural level of the city. Similarly, the enormous production of carved ivory in Sparta during a very early period implies especially intense contact with Syria and Phoenicia; interruption of this activity in about the mid-7th century seems to correspond to the fall of Tyre. The quality of Laconian bronzes and pottery and their appreciable diffusion — the enormous and splendid bronze crater found at Vix (I, PL. 354) has been considered Laconian by some authorities — contribute to an image of the cultural attainment of Sparta quite different from that traditionally accepted.

The Athenians did not foster an excessive reverence for the past, as did Argos, or the preoccupation with civic and military obligations so identified with Sparta. Nor did Athens have the wide commercial interests of Miletos and Corinth. The early history of the city reveals consistent but unspectacular development, a measured progress never seriously impeded by disasters and political upheavals like those marring the history of other Greek cities. Changes of rule appear to have been effected by quiet transitions; moreover, according to legend, even the Dorian invasion was miraculously evaded. Athens seems to have assumed a leading position in the Geometric period, in so far as the elements of severe lucidity and rigorous logic governing this style found their highest expression and greatest center of diffusion there. The Geometric pottery produced in Athens not only expressed the characteristics of this phase most definitively but was also the most widely prized and exported ware in the rest of Greece. For a time Attic pottery yielded its sway to Corinthian exports, which in quality and volume became unrivaled in all markets. Nevertheless, even as a local phenomenon Attic pottery of the 7th and the early 6th centuries B.C., as revealed in modern discoveries and sustained by a different orientation of taste, has been judged one of the highest expressions of Greek art. Equally significant in the slow and enlightened advance of Attic power was the fact that, after centuries of quiet and concentrated preparation, Attic production began in the first half of the 6th century to impose itself everywhere, eventually to the point of annihilating the Corinthian industry and those of all other Greek centers.

For Greece as a whole, the 6th century marked a gradual fading of the great contrasts that the Greek cities, in their insistent affirmation of individuality, had formerly presented. Even in the 6th century the need to associate and to form units more comprehensive than the polis, which through leagues and amphictyonies emerged in the hegemonies of Sparta and Athens, also led to unifying tendencies in the artistic idiom.

Toward the middle of the 6th century, a new distribution of power evolved in Asia Minor. The prodigious growth of the Persian Empire by then threatened the sovereignty of the tolerant Hellenized kingdoms on whose margins the Ionian coastal cities prospered. With the downfall of the powerful kingdom of Lydia in 546, this threat became immediate. At first, by means of treaties and through nominal or partial subjection, the relations of Persia with the Ionian cities seemed to preserve the tolerance and mutual understanding that had existed with the kingdoms of Lycia and Caria. But soon the incompatibility of the Greek disposition toward freedom with the increasingly rigid centralization of the Persian Empire in the period of its greatest strength led to the desperate revolt of the Ionian cities and the destruction of Miletos in 499 B.C.

The danger arising to the east, however, did not disrupt the flourishing artistic and humanistic spirit of the Hellenic world. The greater part of the timeless artistic forms and principles attributable to Hellenic civilization evolved in this century: theater, architectural orders, and the Greek concept of the human form acutely perceived in naturalistic guise but expressing ideals of the universal and eternal, the essential and harmonious. Athens, moreover, became heir to the threatened Ionian culture; consequently the lucid, serene Attic spirit again represented a dominant note in the congeries of Hellenic cities.

The unsuccessful revolt of the Ionian cities had made the Persian menace even more imminent. Until the mortal duel with Alexander this vast empire, already firmly entrenched on the shores of the Aegean, comprised one of the constants in Greek politics, at once the barrier to and the aggressive threat of the Orient. For two centuries Persian influence or aid represented the deciding factor in the continually shifting balance of power in the wars between Greek cities. Although Athens at the height of her political glory was considered heir to the spiritual force of Ionia, Sparta was regarded as the heart and the bulwark of the Greek peninsula and was called upon to take the initiative in confronting the danger threatening all the Greeks. Persia, still a new empire vitally interested in permanent conquest, had become aware of how unstable was its hold over the Ionian cities of Asia Minor unless the Greek cities on the opposite coast were also captured or at least severely weakened. The rebellion of the Ionian cities had painfully demonstrated the impossibility of exercising tranquil rule over a freedom-loving people who, furthermore, were in continuous contact with their free brothers and sailed regularly among the islands and along the Aegean coasts.

The heroic marshaling of forces that ensued gave Athens her most glorious opportunity to affirm her spiritual authority over the Greeks and her mission as protector of Western civilization. At no time did Sparta display the same firmness and moral initiative, even in the most critical circumstances; the narrow and strongly domestic Spartan point of view had led her to dissociate her own political fortunes from those of the punished rebel cities. Even the Delphic oracle, which for generations had been under Spartan influence, did not raise its voice except to caution and utter veiled advice against such a tremendous military undertaking. Only Athens, with her resolution and calculated daring, knew how to implement the plans that carried the Greeks to victory despite the uncertainty and outright opposition of the Spartan commanders. A Spartan force provided an example of unflinching heroism at Thermopylai, but even this tragic and inspiring episode was largely the consequence of uncertainty and sluggishness on the part of the main body of the Greek army.

In the two great campaigns of 490 and 480 B.C., the Persian Wars in many ways represented the proving ground of the maturity and moral development of the Greek peoples. Politics, special interest, close calculation or an over-all outlook, and the uncertainty of the weak and immature, all these were relentlessly exposed by the awesome events of the time. It would almost seem as if the positions assumed at this critical moment by the various Greek cities determined their character and viewpoints for centuries after. There was the pacifism of Thessaly, and the neutrality of Argos, which because of irreconcilable hostility toward Sparta approached treachery. There was the indecisive yet tolerant human wisdom of the Delphic oracle, never forgetful of the deep respect shown by the Persians at the sanctuary of Delos. And there was the obstinate delay of Sparta and the generous imprudence and capacity for heroic sacrifice of Athens. Ultimately it was Athens that, in this supreme attack of the East on the West, took up the challenge and with glowing victories ended one of the most tremendous and fateful adventures in all history.

In this battle Athens showed herself ready to face any sacrifices, be they material or spiritual. Subjecting themselves to the supreme command of the rival Sparta and relying solely on their fleet, the Athenians sacrificed their city and the territory of Attica to Persian destruction. Since the great victories halting the Persian invasions — Marathon in 490 B.C., Salamis and Mykale in 480–479 — were essentially Attic victories attesting the efficiency of the Athenian fleet, it was to Athens that all Greece subsequently turned for political and moral

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guidance. As a result, the Peloponnesian League under the command of Sparta was transformed into the Delian League under the supreme command of Athens. The Hellenic cities had recognized that the greatest threat to the Greek way of life would remain Persia and that the continuing arena of battle would be the sea. The shortsighted landbound policies of Sparta, which were tied to her immediate interests, and her exclusively land forces had proved inadequate against the great eastern adversary; and later a democratic uprising, headed by Argos, was organized in the Peloponnesos against Sparta. The Hellenic cities banded together to form a lasting maritime defense system against Persia, at first entrusting Athens with their ships and later — the result of an increasing sense of security — paying a tribute that permitted Athens to maintain an adequate force alone.

Thus Athens triumphed; and under her aegis for nearly a century, during what has come to be called the "classic age," the literary and figural arts as well as social and political institutions flourished. This constituted one of the rare periods in history when nearly all achievement seems to have been graced by incomparable nobility.

During the following decades, in an atmosphere still charged with success and exhibiting the most varied creative impulses, Greek political activity was marked by three constant elements: Persia, its incursions arrested but still a threat; the traditionalist principles of aristocratic and conservative Sparta; and the persistent democratic aspirations of Athens. In this unending political struggle two of the most famous Greek adventurers, Themistokles and Pausanias, were exiled from Athens and Sparta, respectively, and found honorable asylum with the Persian enemy.

In Athens the foremost political figure for about two decades was Kimon, son of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon and prince of Chersonesos; Kimon was himself an able and gallant general. Leader of the conservative faction, and therefore circumspect in his political acts, Kimon was accused of not making sufficient capital of the brilliant Attic victories over the Persians. In reality the hegemony of Athens was mainly, if not solely, exercised through the Delian League, or Athenian Alliance, whose justification and very reason for existence was the Persian threat. Under the leadership of a military man such as Kimon, with his politics of equilibrium and diplomatic consolidation, the league seems to have been drained of its purpose. He did not conceal his sympathy with the aristocratic traditionalism of Sparta and even sent a token Athenian unit to aid the long-standing Peloponnesian rival in the last Messenian War.

When external dangers had apparently been removed, or at least diminished, and vigorous and aggressive policies had been replaced by a general climate of relaxation and conciliation, the cities of the league began to find the supreme command of Athens an unjustified burden. This discontent resulted in a series of rebellions among the most powerful member cities, initially Thasos and Naxos. Many of the most famous and worthy generals and political figures of the country, among them Kimon, were ostracized. After the removal of Kimon, Perikles became almost the uncrowned king of the Athenian democracy for nearly thirty years. His authority was maintained by popular consensus through his repeated reelection to the office of strategos, a commander-in-chief or chief magistrate. This election was significant tribute from a politically sensitive citizenry to a benevolent, admirably detached leader — "Olympios" ("the Olympian") his contemporaries called him — who never actively sought the favor of his electorate. Under his enlightened and tolerant guidance, that marvelous balance between liberty and moral discipline which conditioned the spiritual and artistic development of Athens was realized.

More than a century before Alexander's expedition, clever imperialistic intuitions can be discerned in the foreign policy of Perikles. His aim was to consolidate the authority of Athens, to secure for his city a hegemony with a wider and firmer base of Panhellenic interests. Consequently there were impressive displays of force by Athens in the decade 460–450, with timely interventions of her renowned fleet in Egypt, Sicily, and at Naples. These efforts entailed a grave consumption of resources and caused huge losses among the Attic forces, pushed hard on many fronts, and the outcome did not at all justify the cost. The Attic expedition in Egypt was on the whole a failure; the only result of value, due mainly to the prestige of Athenian naval power, was a negotiated peace declaring the Aegean Sea out of bounds to Persian ships and concluding the wars of liberation against Persia. Final dissolution of the Delian League was marked by the transferral of the common treasury from Delos to Athens and the use of these reserves for the erection of the great chryselephantine *Athena Parthenos* of Phidias (III, PL. 385). Although a surprising gesture, this imposing commission was after all consistent with the Olympian temperament of Perikles, disdainful of both criticism and popular favor.

After contention with Persia was thus brought to an end with the Peace of Kallias and the century-long Eastern threat faded, the innate vitality of the Greeks, their cult of heroism, and aspirations to more encompassing hegemony seem to have impelled Athens to the thirty years of fratricidal war with the Peloponnesos. This long and exhausting war was fought on far-flung battlefields because of the scattered locations of the allies, and perhaps also because of their reserve in committing themselves fully and continuously. In fact, Athens and Sparta — the one with its mighty fleet, the other an invincible land power yet slow to organize and act — had no meeting ground in common. Another influence contributing to this prolonged contest was the moderate and generous conduct of the protagonists, or at least of the two principal rivals, notably the reluctance of Sparta to take part in recurring internal wars, despite vehement pressure from Corinth and Megara. The Peloponnesian War concluded with the disastrous Sicilian campaign, to which Athens had committed all her resources, and the staggering defeat of the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamoi. Moreover, Athens had been defeated on the sea, of which she had formerly held undisputed mastery. Thereafter, encouraged by new alliances and the use of Phoenician ships, Sparta entered a new phase of wide-ranging political activity.

During this long period, that is, from the time when the idea of a large-scale joint campaign against Persia took hold in the Hellenic world, the number of individualistic and contrasting artistic tendencies diminished, and artistic energies were channeled into broader, more unified currents. Perhaps the desire for unity that prompted establishment of the various hegemonies, leagues, or political alliances also served to undermine the jealously defended autonomy and creative individualism of the Hellenic cities. Toward the end of the 5th century the prestige and moral authority of Athens were such that the Attic dialect became the language of all Greece and Attic art ruled uncontested, its influence reaching even to such distant areas as the Peloponnesos and Ionia, themselves rich in local traditions. Paradoxically, this was the very period — the latter part of the 5th century, until the peace with Sparta in 402 B.C., which imposed hard conditions and signified the final relinquishment of Athenian aspirations to hegemony — in which Athens was struck by a series of unparalleled disasters. It is thus extremely significant that, in its acceptance of Attic supremacy in spiritual and artistic values, Hellenic civilization was apparently unaffected by the decline in Attic political fortunes.

In the early 4th century B.C., Greece was in a state of political anarchy and desolate from long internecine wars. Sparta, impoverished both in resources and manpower, faced new and difficult conditions, for which she was peculiarly ill-adapted and unprepared. The Sparta that had dared to challenge Athens on the sea found herself heir to the Ionian and Aegean policies and responsibilities of Athens. When Sparta intervened in Asia Minor against the Persians, the Ionian cities willingly returned to the comparative tolerance and perhaps only nominal authority of Persia in order to escape the heavy hand of the Lacedaemonians. Symptomatic of the confused and unnatural situation in Greece was the brief and paradoxical interlude of Boeotian hegemony. The triumph of Thebes was not due to moral superiority, effective power, or singular ability for ruling, as had been the case with Sparta and Athens, but was merely the result of the inspired maneuvering of Epaminondas,

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the Theban general who defeated the Spartans at Leuktra in 371 B.C., and of the general exhaustion of the Greek world.

The short-lived Boeotian episode, however, provided significant testimony of a new orientation of the Greek political conscience toward the possibility of national unification, a policy purposefully adopted by Macedon later. This peripheral and barely Hellenized state, after being unified through the efforts of Philip II in the mid-4th century, introduced itself into the very heart of the Greek community with its well-calculated intervention on behalf of the Delphic sanctuary, lately occupied by the Phocians and its treasury exhausted.

With Greece in this state of confusion and political anarchy, a strong unified state with an excellent army and a gifted, ambitious monarch, must inevitably gain military and then political dominion. The struggle was harsh and unceasing, however, since for many Greeks the prospect of losing their political liberty was so terrible that they even sought the aid of Persia, a choice that at the moment seemed less risky. With ruthless campaigns and skillful diplomacy Philip succeeded in reuniting Greece and then took on the task of confronting the age-old Eastern enemy. His ultimate success came with a general alliance of the Greeks, under Macedonian command, against the Persians. Soon afterward Philip was killed by a hired assassin (336), and the twenty-year-old Alexander became king and found himself faced with grave responsibilities. In this crisis as well, the solidarity of the Macedonian army and the military prestige of the new king turned aside all threats.

Everything about the life of Alexander, even when viewed by the cold eye of the historian, has an air of the fabulous. Apart from the wonders that supposedly marked his birth and adolescence, even Alexander's first military action — a lightning expedition into Thrace, from which he returned victorious after news of his death had already coursed through Greece and reawakened hope among the liberals — seemed to herald his epochal mission. The war against Persia was nominally waged by all Greece but was in actuality sustained only by Macedon. Since Persia had become a formidable maritime power and Athens did not want to commit her fleet to the conflict, Alexander was forced to conquer the entire Mediterranean coast as far as Syria and Egypt and to destroy the ports where Persian ships might find refuge. While the incredible series of victories and advances can to some degree be credited to the splendid efficiency of the Macedonian army, the inexplicable and deciding factor was the personality of Alexander, his extraordinary personal magnetism, military genius, and magnanimity as a conqueror. All doors seemed to open, all obstacles to disappear before him. Besides his legendary battles, from Granikos to Gaugamela (where Darius was decisively put to flight), the significant events of his career included his pilgrimage to the tomb of Achilles at the promontory of Sigeion; his adoption by Ada, princess of Caria and sister of Mausolos; and his visit to the Libyan oracle of Zeus Ammon, which proclaimed him the legitimate heir of the Pharaohs. After the death of Darius, Alexander was proclaimed king of Persia, and with daring expeditions to India and central Asia he reconstructed the shattered empire of Darius.

In 323 Alexander, only thirty-three years old, died in Babylon, where he had established the center of his immense empire; he left unrealized his grandiose plans for new conquests and political organizations. With his death a new period of turmoil and political cataclysms began. As head of the immense and disorganized empire, there remained initially Alexander's deficient brother Philip Arridaios and later Alexander IV, his posthumous son by Roxana — both too feeble to withstand internal revolts and the ambitions and quarrels of Alexander's brilliant generals. Consequently the empire was soon broken into a number of more or less Hellenized autonomous states once more, the most stable and important of which were Syria under Seleukos I and Egypt under Ptolemy I.

Whatever the evaluations of Alexander's undertaking may be from a strictly political viewpoint, there is no doubt that its moral and cultural effects have been of fundamental importance in world history. The brilliant attempt to reconcile in a single immense empire the age-old conflict between the Greek world and the Persian Empire was fatally bound to the person of Alexander and thus had a life as brief as his. However, elements of Hellenic culture had already been successfully engrafted on old Asiatic stocks as far as India and central Asia, where they developed in a variety of ways, at times curiously hybrid but sometimes coherent and charged with new vitality.

The formation of new Greco-Asiatic monarchies in Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor produced a complete revolution in the conditions of life, in artistic development, and in Greek culture. As might be expected, new vital forces from the older Greek territories gravitated toward these new centers, which were richer and more promising than the cities of the mother country, exhausted by wars and revolts. The luxurious new courts patterned on Oriental traditions, and the centering of attention on the person of the sovereign, postulated a new artistic orientation. In place of the sanctuary and cult worship, the monarch, court life, and a feudal organization became the focal elements of artistic activity. The tendency to secularize the arts that had been encouraged by the highly cultivated Alkibiades, who had even dared to hang paintings in his house, became firmly established. Artists were called upon to create works for luxury purposes and purely for man's enjoyment. The abandon and charm of the art of this "Hellenistic" period became the koine of the entire Mediterranean world and a large part of western Asia. The great creative centers of the era were Alexandria, Rhodes, and Pergamon, while Greece proper appeared spent from the desperate fight to maintain its political liberty.

The Hellenistic period in Greece was characterized by alternate phases of surprising vitality and political importance among various peripheral groups. After the ascendancy of Macedon came that of Epirus, whose King Pyrrhos fought the last battle in defense of the Greek world in Italy and Sicily in 279 B.C. Politically important also were the Aetolians, a mountain people who played an influential role in a great anti-Macedonian coalition.

The Romans intervened in Greece when they defended the island of Kerkyra and its colonies against the raids of Illyrian pirates. Subsequently reverberations of the Punic Wars, the occupation of Syracuse, and the alliance of Philip V of Macedon with Carthage inevitably brought about increasing penetration of the Romans into Greece. In its constant opposition to Macedon, the Achaian League was the unwitting instrument of Rome, which upheld the league's aspirations to liberty until, with the final defeat of Perseus of Macedon at Pydna (168), its cities were completely occupied. An Achaian uprising ended in the complete destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. and a decrease in civic autonomy. Greece's final attempt to regain her liberty after the war of Mithradates ended with the campaign of Sulla and the conquest of Athens in 86 B.C.

During the Roman occupation there was a partial return to cultural standards of the past. In Alexandria a new library was attached to the Serapeion to hold the overflow of manuscripts from the famous museum and library founded by Ptolemy II and burned in the Caesarean war. In this era of classicism and academism, Athens once again became the spiritual capital of the world. The activity of Athenian sculptors undoubtedly contributed to the defeat of Hellenistic tendencies in art and to the reestablishment of pure classical traditions, unfortunately devitalized in the form of faithful but mechanical copies.

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Enrico PARIBENI

GREEK ART AND THE MODERN WORLD. For centuries after the dissolution of the Roman Empire no clear distinction was made between the civilizations of Greece and Rome other than the obvious one, evident from their languages and writing, that the Greeks and Romans were different peoples with different origins. Greece and Rome were together regarded simply as classical antiquity. As the West lived in the Latin tradition, so the East continued the Greek; Christianity at its beginnings had Greek as well as Roman Church Fathers. In the Byzantine world, the numerical superiority of Greeks over Romans in what had formerly been the eastern half of the Roman Empire ensured the uninterrupted continuation of Greek culture — although modified by Eastern elements and the vicissitudes of history — until the Turkish conquest, when the Byzantine dominion was sharply reduced and afterward, with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, entirely destroyed.

Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, although founded by the Greeks, had conserved no Greek buildings within its walls. Some masterpieces of ancient Greek sculpture did, however, find their way to the city: for example, the chryselephantine statue by Phidias from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, taken to Constantinople after the abolition of the Olympic games in A.D. 394, and the serpentine bronze column, a votive offering for the victory of the Greeks at Plataia, which came from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and has remained in Istanbul. In Asia Minor and especially on the Greek mainland, vestiges of Hellenic monuments survived. After the outlawing of pagan cults by the edict of Theodosius II in 426, which ordered the destruction of the temples, the venerable sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia fell into decay and were subsequently destroyed by earthquakes and landslides. In Athens, however, most of the sacred buildings remained intact, despite later transformation into Christian churches, mosques, harems, or fortresses. The Parthenon was not seriously damaged until the Venetian siege of 1687. For the medieval period, there is almost no information concerning the preservation of ancient Greek monuments. Only a few isolated travelers, among them Cristoforo Buondelmonti (b. ca. 1380–90) and Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–ca. 1455), are known to have visited Greece, and especially the islands; and their travel descriptions do not date before the early 14th century.

The Latin west, on the other hand, became ever more Romanized throughout the Middle Ages, and ancient traditions were filtered through Rome until the time of the Italian Renaissance. Formed in part of Greek elements, Rome was the mediator for the spread of Greek values throughout the Latin west. Still, although some direct contacts with Greek ideology did exist — among others, the emperor Otto III, whose mother Theophano was a Byzantine princess, knew Greek as well as Latin — most Greek elements appeared throughout the medieval west in Roman disguise. Thomas Aquinas, for example, read Aristotle in Latin translation and resorted to this version as if it were an original document. The ancient gods and heroes were usually given Latin names and Roman dress — if they were not so changed in nature as to become mere demons (e.g., Phoebus Apollo). Only Venus and Cupid retained their traditional attributes and gave the poets an opportunity to invoke beauty and eroticism in a form that indirectly reflected antiquity. Greek fables deriving from Aesop, current in Latin versions, not only were widely used as school literature but were so popular that they are evidenced even in the sculpture of medieval churches. Great figures of antiquity such as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Euclid, Archimedes, and Apelles were also represented on buildings of the Christian west, for instance, on the west and north portals of the Cathedral of Chartres.

Monuments of Greek architecture survived in southern Italy and Sicily but for centuries had no influence on western culture, since these territories gravitated largely toward the Byzantine and Islamic world during the medieval period. Greek sculpture was almost unknown. The *Boy Removing a Thorn* of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, and the *Dioscuri* on the Quirinal, though already known (the latter bore the inscriptions "opus Fidiae" and "opus Praxitelis"), were probably not recognized as Greek-inspired works. In a manuscript preserved in Cambridge, Magister Gregorius, a traveler in 13th-century Rome, wrote an extensive and lively appreciation of a nude Venus. This need not have been a Greek statue, however, and it is improbable that his subject could have been the Capitoline *Venus*. Therefore it cannot be claimed that such interest marked the beginning of an awareness and an appreciation of Greek art.

The first direct and authentic contacts with the Greek way of life were through the work of the Renaissance Humanists, who studied the language and salvaged the original texts (see HUMANISM). Petrarch owned Greek manuscripts of Homer and Plato. Essentially Latin in temper and unable to read Greek, Petrarch nevertheless became vitally interested in Greek letters by way of texts sent to him by the Calabrian monk Barlaam and the Byzantine Sygeros. In a letter thanking Sygeros for the gift of a codex of Homer, Petrarch expressed gratitude that the text had now been given to him "... not forced into the artificial channels of an alien language, but pure and uncorrupted in its Greek eloquence, just as it flowed from that divine genius" (*Familiarum rerum*, xviii, 2, 6). As insignificant in impact as this letter was when it was written in 1354, all the greater is its importance for the history of the rediscovery of Greek culture. Perhaps even more than Petrarch, Boccaccio may be praised for having various Greek authors (including Homer) translated into Latin and for even quoting from the Greek, a device unheard of at the time.

From the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and especially after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, there was a steady westward migration of Greek teachers that stimulated the rediscovery and rebirth of Greek culture in 15th-century Italy. It was in the Academy of Florence, founded under Cosimo de' Medici by Georgius Gemistus Pletho, that the new interest in Greek produced its first important result, the Platonism of Marsilio Ficino (1433–99). Not long afterward, however, in the 1520s, Italian interest in Greek studies was already dying out, in part because of the death of the refugee scholars from Constantinople.

Throughout this period there was not yet a genuine knowledge of Greek art. Lorenzo Ghiberti owned some classical sculpture, possibly including the so-called "Ilioneus" (Munich, Glyptothek; no. 270). For the figure of Isaac in his famous contest panel of the Sacrifice of Abraham, Ghiberti was probably inspired by an antique statue. The Belvedere torso (PL. 367) was in the possession of the Colonnas in 1430. At the end of the 15th century the *Apollo Belvedere* (III, PL. 383) was found, and in 1501 the "Pasquino," a fragment of a Hellenistic group, probably Menelaos with the body of Patroklos, was exhibited in Rome in its present location outside the Palazzo Braschi. In 1506 the most famous of these finds, the *Laocoön Group* (PL. 189), came to light in Nero's Domus Aurea. Among the first to admire this work was Michelangelo, who was also greatly impressed by the Belvedere torso and clearly learned much from both of these late Hellenistic originals. It must be remembered, however, that at this time these were accepted merely as works of classical antiquity, not as specifically Greek works. Both the Renaissance and the baroque era were to pass before there was a true recognition of Greek art.

The literary preparation of the rediscovery of Greek art is, therefore, of extreme importance. In the 16th century, scholars outside Italy were studying the Greek language and literature as well. In particular, Huguenot France and Lutheran Germany during the Reformation accepted Greek as the lan-

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guage of the New Testament, of Plato and Aristotle, in contrast with the Latin of the Roman Catholic Church and medieval tradition, as has been pointed out by Werner Jaeger. On the advice of Guillaume Budé, Francis I founded the Collegium Trilinguae, the present Collège de France, in which Greek as well as Latin and Hebrew were taught. In 1572 Henri II Estienne, under the Latin name Stephanus, edited the first edition of a *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*. In 1525 Melanchthon performed the *Hecuba* of Euripides at Wittenberg, in the translation of Erasmus, an important beginning for the rediscovery of Greek tragedy; but the endeavor was not pursued further until Lessing. Moreover, none of these Humanistic writers mentioned Greek works of art. Isolated signs of influence can be found in the work of individual Renaissance artists such as Ghiberti and Michelangelo, who have already been mentioned. For a drawing by Albrecht Dürer (Br. Mus.) that bears the inscription "Apolo" a derivation from the *Apollo Belvedere*, by way of an etching from the circle of Mantegna, has been suggested.

During the baroque period, acquaintance with Greek sculpture — either directly or through faithful copies — continued to grow in Italy. Among the most famous of the works rediscovered were "The Dying Gaul" (PL. 164), the Capitoline *Aphrodite*, and the *Boy Strangling a Goose* after Boethos (cf. VI, PL. 58), all now in the Capitoline Museum; the Barberini *Faun* (PL. 169); the Kassel *Apollo*, deriving from Phidias (III, PL. 353); and the *Aphrodite* by Doidalsas in the Vatican Museums. For the most part they correspond to works of a late Greek period which has been descriptively termed the "Greek baroque." Were these similar discoveries pure coincidence, or was attention focused on sculpture particularly close to the taste of the times? In any case, the finds were far richer than this summary indicates. So many statues were salvaged that Cardinal Ludovisi was able to collect more than 300 pieces in a single year (1622–23). The Albani family also formed a large collection of ancient sculpture in the 17th century, which in 1733 was added to the Capitoline collections. Still, however, these were regarded as the works of antiquity, not specifically as "Greek art."

In France, too, interest in the antique was concentrated on the Roman. All the more noteworthy therefore is the French classicist Racine, who, in opposition to the traditional "Romanist" Corneille, appeared as an isolated Hellenist. He translated parts of Plato and Aristotle's *Poetics* into French, had a special love for Euripides, and was the first to discover the "tragic" in Greek drama. For the rediscovery of ancient Greek buildings and monuments, the age of Louis XIV was exceptionally important. At that time the Marquis de Nointel was French ambassador to the court of the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople. The marquis passed through Athens, and included in his retinue were Cornelio Magni, who described the places they saw, and a number of painters and draftsmen. Among these artists was a Fleming (formerly identified with Jacques Carrey) who made the famous drawings (Paris, Bib. Nat.) of the pediment and metope sculptures of the Parthenon as they appeared before the devastating explosion of 1687. Regarding the growing number of visitors to Greece, particular mention should be made of the sojourn of Jacques Spon (ca. 1675), a doctor of Lyons who, traveling with the Englishman George Wheeler a year or two after Nointel, observed the country and the monuments with the objective attitude of the interested scholar and studied topographical problems, buildings, inscriptions, and coins; in a sense, he created that study of the visible remains of the ancient world which has come to be known as archaeology. He was also one of the first to use the terms "archaeologia" and "archaeographia."

It was not until about the middle of the 18th century that explicit awareness of the importance of Greek culture as the source of the essential spirit of the ancient world arose. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68) is commonly placed at the beginning of this intellectual movement and acknowledged the initiator of a new epoch. He may rightfully be considered the founder of the scientific history of ancient art, and more particularly of Greek art; that trend which led to the prevalent classicistic taste of the early 1800s (see NEOCLASSIC STYLES) may be traced to his intense interest. Undoubtedly this movement was generally inspired by acquaintance with the sculpture, which encouraged investigation into the essence of the Greek spirit. It should be noted, however, that Winckelmann himself was originally captured by Homer's poetry and that his interest in Greek sculpture developed later. When still a boy, with prophetic instinct he persuaded his parents to send him to a Latin school; and in 1735, at the age of eighteen, he went to Berlin to further his study of Greek literature at the Gymnasium of Cologne, under the guidance of C. T. Damm (1698–1778). The recognition of the importance of Greek culture seems to have been a turning point not only for Winckelmann but for all of modern culture. Winckelmann's generation and that immediately following witnessed the emergence of Greek philology, studied by a series of scholars that culminated with the great figure of F. A. Wolf (1759–1824).

Winckelmann had as yet seen few ancient works of art, and strangely enough had paid little attention to the statues in Dresden he could have studied at close range, when in 1755, in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, he wrote "The only way for us to become great, even inimitable if possible, is by imitating the ancients . . . and particularly the Greeks." In addition to noting the "antiquities" of Dresden, these writings contain specific mention of the *Laocoön*, which Winckelmann evidently knew through a copy. Nor was it only for Winckelmann that the *Laocoön* was the first work of Greek sculpture to achieve such importance; Lessing entitled his important treatise on esthetics, published in Berlin in 1766, *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesia*. Although taking issue with Winckelmann, Lessing sided with him in the fight against the Roman orientation of French baroque classicism and also urged the renewal of the ideals of Greek art. And in 1798 Goethe dedicated an essay on esthetics to the *Laocoön*, a critique published in the classical periodical *Propyläen*. It may seem strange that a late Hellenistic work created at the end of the Greek development should have provided the stimulus and the archetype for exaltation of the Greek sculptural ideal. Nevertheless, the Belvedere torso was equally admired, and it would be a distortion if this phenomenon were to be attributed solely to the meager knowledge in the second half of the 18th century of classical Greek works of the age of Perikles, or to the fact that archaic sculpture had not yet been discovered. More properly, it should be remarked that the late baroque was still bound by intellectual and esthetic affinity to the creations of the Hellenistic period.

Winckelmann's first contact with the *Apollo Belvedere* and his Roman stay, beginning on Nov. 19, 1755, resulted in a new appreciation of Greek art of the 4th century B.C. and ultimately in the writing of his masterwork, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764), If the undiscriminating, encyclopedic attitude of the baroque world toward antiquity is borne in mind, the novelty of Winckelmann's work lies precisely in his having recognized and evaluated the sculpture of the ancients as works of art. On the one hand, he adduced ideal esthetic canons; on the other — and on a more historical level — he discerned a progression in the development of ancient art. When Winckelmann contemplated the course of this development and remarked that the purpose of art is beauty, or when, inspired by Polybius, he spoke of the role of geography and climate in the evolution of Greek art, he evidently formulated his esthetic criteria directly from Greek ideas. Moreover, his historical instinct, inclined to interpret events as a natural life process, places Winckelmann in a leading position in the development of historism (F. Meinecke).

The direct successor to Winckelmann was Goethe. It might even be asked whether, without this apostle, Winckelmann's fame and influence would have subsequently become so great. Goethe's interest in Greek sculpture also began with the *Laocoön*; and as with Winckelmann, his taste developed and refined with time, especially during his trip to Italy. Of still greater significance for Goethe's conception of the Greek world was his acquaintance with the large volume of plates illustrating the sculpture of the Parthenon published in 1816 by Thomas

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Bruce, Earl of Elgin. In a letter of July 27, 1817, addressed to the "Verein der Deutschen Bildhauer," Goethe warmly advised artists to study and draw the Parthenon sculptures with exactitude. He was convinced that the smallest and most damaged part would teach them something, appending, however, that it was not actually necessary to become "a Phidias." In place of the slavish imitation advocated by Winckelmann, Goethe now emphasized the need to learn from the Greeks in order to produce in a manner faithful to the classical spirit and ideals. Goethe had advanced this idea earlier when he said of Raphael that he never "Grecized" but thought, worked, and felt like a Greek.

Winckelmann and Goethe can hence be considered the discoverers of the "Greek" for the modern phase of the cultural history of the Christian West. It should be emphasized, however, that this was an essentially intellectual discovery. Neither Winckelmann nor Goethe ever visited Greece, much as they desired and planned to do so. Winckelmann saw only Paestum, while Goethe was able to visit Sicily as well. The latter's understanding of Greek art was profoundly influenced upon seeing the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum. He said of this temple that it was the most magnificent "idea" (*die herrlichste Idee*) that he carried back across the Alps.

Paestum was the most accessible site for western Europeans to view and admire Greek architecture. The Neapolitan architect Mario Gioffredo (1718–85), after a visit to Paestum in 1746, published information on the architectural orders of the Greeks. He was followed there, in 1750, by J. G. Soufflot, the builder of the Paris Panthéon, traveling in company with G. P. M. Dumont, and in 1758 by Winckelmann. By about the middle of the 18th century journeys into Greece itself were becoming more frequent, and noteworthy visitors included the following figures: in 1749, R. Dalton (1715–91); in 1750, the architect J.-D. Leroy (1724–1803); and in 1751, the painter J. Stuart (1713–88) and the architect N. Revett (1720–1804), who published reproductions of Attic and Cycladic monuments under the title *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762–1816). These and other names highlight the decisive efforts made in the 18th century to rediscover the Greek world.

From that time the number of visitors to Greece increased steadily, and with them the appreciation of Greek art and the study of the land and monuments. Beginning in the 19th century, important archaeological excavations on Greek soil furthered the knowledge of classical remains (see ARCHAEOLOGY: RESEARCH AND DISCOVERIES). Whereas Winckelmann was barely acquainted with Greek sculpture of the classical and archaic periods, Goethe in his old age was able to admire, at least in reproductions, the metopes and pediment sculpture of the Parthenon, the reliefs of the Bassai frieze, and the late archaic sculpture of the Aegina pediments. Greek pottery began to be known — and to be recognized as such — only after 1828, owing to finds in Etruscan tombs. Then, in 1871, the first Geometric vases were found near the Dipylon of Athens. Archaic sculpture was brought to light in the years 1886–88 with the salvaging of the kouroi of the Acropolis. Finally, also in the last decades of the 19th century, and with results beyond all expectation, Greeks, Americans, Germans, English, French, and Austrians vied with each other in exploration of the sanctuaries of Argos, Delos, Athens, Delphi, Dodona, Eleusis, Epidauros, Kerkyra, Corinth, Olympia, Pergamon, Priene, Perachora, Samos, and others, all rich mines of art treasures.

After the generations of Winckelmann and Goethe, however, discoveries of the vestiges of antiquity lost that immediate fascination which has significant effects upon culture and artistic expression. In the course of the 19th century, historical research and artistic taste followed paths that were often divergent, if not completely opposed. This separation went so far that the art scholar Alois Riegl (1858–1905) eventually asserted that the best art historian was he who had no personal taste. Archaeology and the preservation of ancient monuments became more organized pursuits, with more funds allocated to their purposes. In 1828 young scholars and friends of antiquity in various countries of the world founded the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, with chapters in Germany, England, and France. The Deutches Archäologisches Institut followed, also in Rome, with a second seat in Athens established in 1874. A generation earlier, France had already founded a French school in Athens, followed in 1882 by an American, in 1885 by a British, in 1898 by an Austrian, and in 1928 by an Italian school; all were dedicated to the study of Greek archaeology. In 1837, shortly after the restoration of their independence, the Greeks themselves had founded an archaeological society of similar intent (see INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS). The value of many important finds made on Greek territory by these institutions was not immediately recognized. Although the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, together with those of the Parthenon in Athens, have come to be considered among the finest surviving works of Greek sculpture, at the time of their discovery the later *Hermes* of Praxiteles aroused much greater admiration. The archaic works excavated on the Acropolis also were at first received coolly, as the Aegina sculptures had been in the time of Goethe.

It is, of course, most instructive to concentrate not upon the general taste of the time but upon the reactions of the most creative spirits brought face to face with Greek art during the century and a half following the period of Winckelmann and Goethe. Winckelmann's exhortation to imitate Greek works had met with a receptive and willing audience not only among sculptors but architects and painters as well. Such copying was pushed to the ridiculous by his friend in Rome, Anton Raphael Mengs (q.v.), who painted *Jupiter and Ganymede* (V, PL. 228) "in the Greek style" and had it brought to the attention of the unsuspecting Winckelmann, who in turn published the falsification as a Greek masterpiece. Leo von Klenze (1784–1864) imitated the Parthenon in his Walhalla near Regensburg (I, PL. 305), and the Swiss Peter von Nobile (1774–1854) the Theseion in his Theseus Temple in the Vienna Volksgarten (1820–23). It is interesting that Nobile reproduced a Greek Doric temple, while in Paris the almost contemporary Madeleine imitated a Roman podium temple. In the Ingres *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (1808), the figure of Oedipus was inspired by Greek sculpture seen at the Louvre. Canova in his *Perseus* (1800) and Thorvaldsen (qq.v.) in his *Jason* (1802–28) derive their figure types from the *Apollo Belvedere*. The *Jason*, moreover, shows a clear Polycletan influence. Thorwaldsen, when old, confessed to having hated this statue into which he had put all he could assimilate from the antique, without the least personal inspiration. The lack of artistic truth in such slavish imitation of the classical Greek could find no clearer statement. Nevertheless, its powerful attraction is demonstrated by the persistence of classicizing tendencies in Germany throught the 19th century.

The Latin countries reacted more quickly against the classicism of Winckelmann's followers, in such biting commentary as the lithograph caricatures of ancient mythology by Daumier (q.v.). Their mockery is, however, most likely directed against the falseness of the assumed "Greek style" of the classicists rather than against the Greeks themselves. With Aristophanes, after all, Daumier had a close kinship. For Rodin (q.v.), the leader in France of the romantic anticlassical school of sculpture of the late 19th century, sculpture was an art of convexities and concavities, of representing forms in a play of light and shadow. He favored photographic reproductions in which his statues were in part brilliantly illuminated and partly immersed in darkness. The contrast with Greek sculpture could not have been greater.

Immediately following Rodin, there was a reaction against this almost painterly romanticism in sculpture, a change exemplified by the work of Aristide Maillol (q.v.), who favored figures that were solid, heavy, and bulky. Karl Scheffler wrote that an ancient Greek reborn in modern times would work like Maillol. In company with the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Maillol visited Greece in 1908. Unfortunately, the sculptor's impressions are not recorded, but perhaps they are reflected in his poet companion's *Augenblicke in Griechenland*, where he wrote: "Our washed-out Winckelmannesque vision, which brought the beautiful too close to the charming — charm lacking nerves and marrow — too close to Canova, and which still

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lurks somewhere within us, had made us forget how closely related beauty and power really are." Of the archaic kouroi, Hofmannsthal wrote, "They have a breathtaking sensual presence . . . there is a tension in this material, so powerful that it also grips me. I have never before seen anything like this mass and surface." In such phrases, one seems to hear Maillol express his sculptural ideal. Like Maillol in France, Gerhard Marcks in Germany signified the departure from the preceding impressionistic sculpture and a conscious return to the sculptural principles of the Greeks in the archaic and classical periods — namely, to a monumental, tense, and cubical handling of form. Like Maillol, Marcks turned to the Greeks for inspiration, without mechanically imitating them, however. He often visited Greece and found there, as he said, "not the classical form, but the classical way of life."

This kinship with the classical spirit has continued into the 20th century. The work of modern sculptors such as Jean Arp, Marino Marini (qq.v.), and Bernhard Heiliger, while devoid of classicized subject matter and form, retains much of the essence of Greek sculpture. There are still other sculptors who revived ancient themes and Greek devices, in order to treat them in an expressionist manner. Thus O. Zadkine, using the late Hellenistic composition of the Three Graces, showed it to be a subject still capable of vital reworking. Zadkine also created a variation of the Greek Orpheus theme in which he distorted the human figure and fused it with the conventional attribute of the lyre in a way completely opposed to the conception of the Greeks; yet he created a convincing symbolic expression of the all-consuming power of music, the meaning of the Greek myth of Orpheus. In a final analysis, however, with its dissolution of the integrity of the body, this figure was in marked contradiction to the Greek tradition.

Up to this point, what might be called the history of the Greek spirit "as action," according to the definition of Benedetto Croce, has been considered particularly in relation to the work and critical response of the artists when confronted with the sculptural ideal of the Greeks. Now the general history of the very concept of the Greek way of life must be considered. What insights and opinions concerning the essence and development of Greek art have been arrived at by the scholarly research and philosophical interpretation undertaken by the great intellects since Winckelmann?

First, let us recapitulate Winckelmann's ideas on the place of Greek art in the history of world art, which he views as following a cycle of birth, growth, suspension, and decline. The arts began with the essential, then sought the beautiful, and in the end concentrated on the superfluous. From the arrangement and order of his work *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, it can be deduced that according to Winckelmann's concepts — which remained constant throughout his life — the arts of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Persians (that is, the arts of the ancient East), although they advanced somewhat, did not succeed in getting very far beyond an initial stage of development. When he wrote that art under the ancient Egyptians did not reach the high level it attained under the Greeks, Winckelmann did not intend to suggest that Greek art derived from and was simply an advancement over the Egyptian. On the contrary, he insisted that the Greeks did not take the seeds of their art from any other peoples but were themselves the innovators in their earliest images. Through rapid growth they then attained the apogee, the middle of the three principal stages of art — namely, the seeking of the beautiful. With the Romans the art of antiquity reached the stage of decadence and eclipse. Hegel, in his *Philosophie der Geschichte*, adapted Winckelmann's historical concept to the succession of the ages of human life. The Oriental was its infancy, the Greek world its youth, the Roman Empire the manhood, and the Germanic successor states its old age. In his esthetics, with more logical consistency, he made three formal distinctions: the "symbolic art form," which he found above all in the East; the "classic art form" of Greece; and the "romantic art form," which he associated with works of the Christian West. Hegel considered the acme of art to have been realized by the Greeks.

During the 19th century the search for Greek values decidedly took a first place among Winckelmann's successors and, in the general field of archaeology, among the successors of F. A. Wolf. Alongside the professionally dedicated students of antiquity Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), who wanted to become the "Winckelmann of Greek poetry," must also be remembered. During the first half of the 19th century, philological and historical studies of antiquity markedly predominated over archaeological research proper. With the truly important works by Wolf's immediate disciples, such as A. Boeckh (1785–1867) and A. I. Bekker (1785–1871), and with those of F. G. Welcker (1784–1868) and K. O. Müller (1797–1840), a student of Boeckh, such writers as L. Ross (1806–59), E. Gerhard (1795–1867), and A. Blouet (1795–1853) could in no way compete. Conversely, in the second half of the century it was the archaeologists who became preeminent in the study of classical antiquity. Among these were H. von Brunn (1822–94), A. Furtwängler (1853–1907), W. Dörpfeld (1853–1940), and P. Orsi (1859–1935). These archaeologists turned their interests exclusively, or primarily, to Greek art. But it was F. Wickhoff (1853–1909), an art historian rather than an archaeologist, who first drew attention to the distinctive characteristics of Roman art, in a memorable introduction to the publication of the Vienna Genesis manuscript in 1895, thus opening the way to the wide-ranging modern interest in non-Greek aspects of ancient art.

The emphasis that, beginning with Winckelmann, had been placed on the "golden age" of Greece shifted during the first half of the 19th century toward the darker, more primitive aspects of Greek civilization. In the first decade of the century, J. Zoega (1755–1809) investigated the prehistoric stages of Greek mythology and religion. A half century later, J. J. Bachofen (1815–87) studied problems concerning the primordial forces of the earth, primitive man, eternal origin or creation, and funerary practices. Finally, Jakob Burckhardt (1818–97), in a lecture of 1875, placed in the mouth of the Vatican *Hermes Psychopompos* these pessimistic words: "We blessed Olympians lived only for ourselves and made all others suffer. We were not good and so we had to perish."

Winckelmann's statement that the prime quality of Greek art was a noble simplicity and serene grandeur both of attitude and expression was so overworked during the 19th century that it has come to seem false — merely a pleasant classicistic illusion. But it must be remembered that this statement, reflective of his time, was directed against the agitated, coloristic effects of late baroque art. Winckelmann's thesis that the noblest aim of art is beauty is more defensible outside the historical context of his period, but this formula has also been abused by time. Winckelmann distinguished true beauty from the beautiful style, which pursued charm and lightness, and from personal inclination or taste, which distracts our spirit from true beauty. What he intended was the Platonic concept of the gradual ascent of human beauty to the supreme beauty, which is in God and which according to Winckelmann "has no form." The Platonism determining Winckelmann's ideas on beauty as the supreme end of art remains valid for definition of Greek art of the classic period.

To Eckermann, Goethe expressed himself in a similar way (1828): "He who wishes to attain something great must first have enriched his own formation so as to be able, like the Greeks, to elevate the lesser reality of nature to the height of his own spirit, to make actual that which — due to internal weakness or an external obstacle — has remained in its real appearance only an intention." What Goethe meant by this reference to the Greeks is perhaps clarified by the fact that he called the horse's head from the chariot of Selene on the east pediment of the Parthenon *Urpferd*, an image expressing in an absolute sense that which is intended in nature's imperfect examples. Ernst Buschor, in his interpretation of this and analogous passages of Goethe, speaks of a "supernature" (*übernatur*), or a "world of order and perfection," and in another phrasing, of "the existing world of that which is becoming" (*Seinswelt der Werdenden*). That beauty which for Winckelmann is the ultimate end in art also exists in this world of the becoming. Goethe interpreted the activity of the Greek artists as a "constructing of reality," which depended on the spirit, intuition,

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and ideas, not on a mirroring of nature. In other words, the Greeks did not imitate nature but expressed the true reality. To reach this ideal level, it is not a sufficient purpose in art merely to strive for a pleasing object, for the work of the artist regardless of inspiration must emerge as an independent and strongly felt creation.

Buschor, in his already quoted interpretation, pointed out still another of Goethe's opinions: "I have the feeling that they [the Greeks] acted according to the laws which nature herself follows"; he called this "Goethe's discovery of the ancient Greek world of the physis" in Greek sculpture. Although Buschor perhaps went a little too far in this interpretation, still this and other passages show that Goethe had perceived a basic characteristic which distinguishes Greek sculpture from that of post-antiquity — its naturalness and reality. Confronted with Greek works, Goethe felt himself in immediate contact with their values and creators. Of the columns of the Temple of Poseidon in Paestum he said: "Only by moving around them, wandering in between them, can one partake of their own proper life. That which the architect intended and realized is felt to emanate from them." A visitor recounted the reactions of the poet before a copy of the *Ilioneus*: "Later I watched from a distance as he again approached the statue, attentively observed it, and simultaneously moved his hands and fingers as if speaking with someone."

Such direct "contact" must precede all appreciative esthetic contemplation of Greek work. In this sense Goethe was a Greek, since for the Greeks themselves, at least during their earliest period, works of art were part and parcel of the world. They identified with their images, whose reality — felt as an absolute reality — affirmed their own reality. Through images they consecrated themselves to the divinities in the sanctuaries, thus partaking of the realm of the gods. The heroes of myth were their progenitors, not simply mythological subjects like the *Perseus* of Canova or the *Jason* of Thorvaldsen. From earliest times until their golden age the Greeks preserved a belief in the mysterious interaction of persons and things, by which all that exists is bound together and interdependent in the world of existence. At the funeral banquet the deceased is present; a kouros on the grave or a stele with a figure in relief is the deceased himself. In their religious images the Greeks saw the divinity in his essence, and it is this identification which differentiates the Greek cult figures from those of the Christian west.

In view of this interweaving of reality and art, A. Stifter was justified in asking whether religion and art were not in the end one and the same for the Greeks. The essential character of Greek art was perhaps grasped most perceptively when K. Schefold entitled a study *Griechische Kunst als religiöses Phänomen* ("Greek Art as a Religious Phenomenon"; Hamburg, 1959), for the modern concept of art cannot be adequately applied to Greek sculpture. Herder, already aware of the equivocal nature of a concept of art, claimed that representation, as soon as it becomes art and is separated from the religious image, remains vital for only a short time; first it is "idolatry, then art, then craftmanship, and finally a thin soup of everything — pedantry, rubbish, and gossip." In a similar vein, Buschor began his study *Vom Sinn der griechischen Standbilder* with the phrase "Art has not always been art."

The above-mentioned modern sculptor Marcks adapted one of Goethe's opinions about the Greeks and maintained that the noble simplicity of conception, rather than the naturalness of execution, was the quality esteemed in the art of antiquity. He observed that the Greeks did not reproduce the so-called "natural" with the intent of deceiving but instead sought to understand and express nature. What makes Greek sculpture conform so closely to nature is "the intimate relationship between general and specific" (Stenzel) or, in Hegel's judgment, the "incorporation of a universal significance within the individuality of the figure, while at the same time the sensual form is elevated to a true expression of its spiritual significance." This was possible only because, for the Greeks, there existed no break between the physical and the spiritual. As Schiller stated in one of those felicitous appraisals of the Greek world, "at that time the realms of the senses and of the spirit were not so clearly divided." The standard education of Greek youth included training the body as well as the mind, and physical skill was meant to harmonize with spiritual development. Only then was it possible to express spiritual values in bodily guise. The overriding principle was harmony, a harmony that pervaded everything and excluded any dualism of the two elements — *Durchsein*, not *Gleichsam*, in Herder's words. As long as this harmony of the human being reigned, it was possible to express the spiritual essence of man in a corporeal figure, above all in sculpture. In each image the Greek represented himself, and sculpture was for him the most concrete expression of his own existence. In the estimation of Jean Paul, the Greeks "embody while we only represent or even abstract," or as described by Herder, with the Greek statue "we become one and it lives with our spirit."

Thus can the uniqueness of Greek sculpture be comprehended — unsurpassable to the extent that nothing else, although apparently similar, can be deemed sculpture in the same sense as the concept applies to Greek work. In a fundamental essay on sculpture, Herder has captured the basic sculptural value of Greek art "with marvelous surety and knowing intuition" (B. Schweitzer); while, in his masterful interpretation of Herder's essay, Schweitzer maintained that "the inherent possibilities of plastic representation have in no other field been realized with such purity as in Greek sculpture, which can stand simply as the ideal of sculpture." Further extending this appreciation, Hegel claimed that the Greek world could be understood only through the perspective of its sculpture. According to him, this feeling for perfect sculptural union of the divine and human was native above all to Greece. The spirit of Greece could not be grasped solely through her poets, orators, historians, and philosophers but ultimately required the key of insight into her sculptural ideal. The epic and dramatic heroes, as well as the real statesmen and philosophers, had to be seen from such a sculptural viewpoint. Greek sculpture has come to represent the "essential Greek" to such a degree that Jean Paul, for example, in his *Vorschule der Ästhetik* distinguished between Greek, sculptural poetry and modern, romantic or musical poetry. This dominantly sculptural conception of Greek art has been well expressed by the esthetician F. Hemsterhuis with apt antithesis, ". . . one can say that our modern sculptors are too much painters, just as the Greek painters were apparently too much sculptors." Enlarging upon this concept, A. W. Schlegel has noted that the spirit of all ancient art was plastic or sculptural, while that of the modern age is pictorial.

The ideas, intuitions, and judgments of philosophers, poets, and artists have in a sense comprehended and defined the essence of the Greek more clearly than has been accomplished by systematic archaeological investigation. As successors of Winckelmann, they quickly outdistanced his dogma of the imitation of antique works. It was their conviction that, although it is impossible to become Greeks again, a commendable perfection can still be attained by proceeding in the manner of the Greeks. By the beginning of our century the awesome remoteness of Greek figures had become ever clearer. For Hofmannsthal this was a terrifying discovery: "*Remotest* of the *remote* . . . but, my god, how real they are! They partake of things which are above any ordinary notions . . ." These words of Hofmannsthal cannot help but suggest the absolute reality of the *Seinsweld* that Buschor discovered in Goethe. Through such astute reactions to the hitherto remote ideals of Greek sculpture we have been able to establish a sympathetic and creative relationship with it, one in which subject and object seem interchangeable, as in Rilke's sonnet *Archaischer Torso Apollos*, where the statue, transformed into subject, is able to address the poet, who has become the object; like the oracle of Delphi the statue admonishes the poet that "you must change your life."

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Max Wegner

**GREEK ART, AEGEAN.** The islands of the Aegean do not constitute a geographical entity: north to south, more than 370 miles separate Thasos from Crete; east to west, the distance from Rhodes to Melos is about 210 miles. From Rhodes and from Kos, the coasts of Lycia and Caria can be seen; from the Sporades, the coasts of Euboea and Thessaly; from Thasos, Samothrace, and Imbros, the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace. Lemnos is halfway between Mount Athos and the entrance to the Hellespont. The northern Cyclades (Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Delos) mark out the route from Samos to Euboea and Attica; the southern Cyclades (Siphnos, Melos, Paros, Naxos, Thera), the route from Rhodes to Attica and the Peloponnesos. Crete, more isolated, serves to connect the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, the Peloponnesos, and Italy.

Situated as they are on the various routes of communication and commerce, in contact with the diverse civilizations of Thrace, Asia Minor, and the Near East, the Aegean Islands, from the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. to the time of Alexander, produced works of art that, while unquestionably presenting common features, are also characterized by elements peculiar to each. In the present study of this artistic production, Crete is treated separately, and the other islands are dealt with in three divisions: the Dodecanese, the Cyclades and the Sporades, and the Thracian archipelago. Not included in this article are the islands close to the Greek mainland (Aegina and Euboea) and those close to the shores of Aeolis and Ionia (Lesbos, Chios, and Samos); these are treated together with the nearby mainland centers (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; GREEK ART, EASTERN; PELOPONNESIAN ART).

Summary. Crete (col. 29): *Pottery; Metalwork; Ivories; Sculpture and sculptural decoration; Architecture; The Cretan tradition.* The Dodecanese (col. 35): *Pottery; Metalwork; Gems; Ivories; Sculpture;*

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*Architecture; Coins Later; development.* The Cyclades and Northern Sporades (col. 41): *Pottery; Metalwork; Gems; Sculpture; Architecture; Coins.* The Thracian archipelago (col. 48): *Thasos; Samothrace; Lemnos.* Conclusions (col. 52).

CRETE. *Pottery.* Cretan ceramic ware from the 10th to the 7th century B.C. follows the same artistic progression — proto-Geometric, Geometric, Orientalizing — that appears in the works of mainland and insular Greece; yet it has its own clearly defined characteristics. In Crete, as in Cyprus, the break between the sub-Mycenaean and the Geometric phase that is found in mainland and insular Greece does not occur. Vases continue to be produced until the mid-9th-century B.C. in traditional shapes — stirrup amphoras, bell craters, neck pithoi — directly derived from sub-Mycenaean pottery. But the technique clearly shows a decline: shapes and decorative motifs suffer a hardening. The various Cretan workshops existed in signal isolation; consequently the impoverished sub-Mycenaean style continued for a long time, with local variations, in many workshops in the central and the eastern parts of the island, which never progressed beyond the Geometric stage. On the other hand, in the ceramic workshops of Knossos a renascence is evident from the middle of the 9th century B.C. Toward the end of the proto-Geometric period there were importations of vases from Attica and the Cyclades; the adoption of motifs borrowed from the decorative repertory of these regions and of new forms, such as the amphora with vertical handles, demonstrates this influence. But it was with Cyprus that connections were more noticeably established. Cypriote vases were imported into Knossos in quantity, and the imitation of Cypriote forms in local pottery is obvious. The technique of red and black painting may also have been borrowed from Cyprus. However, the technique of painting in white on a black ground, used in a group of Geometric vases, is a Knossian innovation.

The Geometric style as it developed in north and central Crete (Knossos, Arkades), more clearly than its manifestations in other centers (e.g., Vrokastro, Kavousi), shows a refinement in relation to the proto-Geometric style. The clay is carefully cleaned, the varnish of better quality. The most characteristic new forms are the neckless ovoid pithos with narrow foot, two or four handles with metope decoration between them, and the lid commonly decorated at its center with an animal head in the round; the aryballos; and the oinochoe and lekythos of Cypriote type (PL. 3). The decoration has nothing in common with the Attic Geometric style; the Cretan Geometric style is already partially Orientalizing (PL. 2). That there was even in the last phase of the proto-Geometric style a sudden influx of Oriental motifs seems to be indicated by some vases found in the necropolis of Knossos. In these vases from Knossos the distinction between the Geometric and the Orientalizing style is in fact difficult and has to be somewhat arbitrary. In the second half of the 8th century B.C. and in the first decades of the 7th, Oriental motifs (palmettes, rosettes, braids, and interlaces) are more common than previously, but vase decoration has not undergone a radical change in so far as the composition of ornamental motifs, the disposition of zones and metopes, and techniques are concerned. Yet the Cretan taste for polychromy is more evident: the ovoid pithos on a tripod — a type probably derived from Cyprus — is painted in red and blue on a buff ground with yellow retouches and has incised decoration as well. Forms of Cypriote origin are still many. A dinos (deinos) from Arkades is the terra-cotta version of a basin of Oriental type (PL. 3), while several types of aryballos, skyphos, and oinochoe are related to proto-Corinthian vases.

Whether Cretan pottery influenced the pottery of other Greek centers, in particular that of Corinth and of Argos, has not yet been established. The export of Cretan vases was very limited (a small number have been discovered in Italy, notably in Gela, Sicily, which was founded by Rhodian and Cretan colonists at the beginning of the 7th century B.C.). Moreover, it was not long before Cretan ceramic art declined hopelessly; it remained halfway between a Geometric style like that of Athens and an Orientalizing style like that of Corinth. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C. some scenes with figures appear on Cretan vases, but one of the finest — one of the rare vases decorated in a style contemporaneous with the middle proto-Corinthian black-figured style — is also one of the last products of the workshops of Knossos: its technique and composition are Cretan, its form Cypriote, its style close to that of Corinth. The necropolises of Arkades and Praisos have yielded vases later than those found in Knossos; but the production of painted vases seems to end in all the workshops of Crete in the second half of the 7th century B.C. — unless certain of them continued until the next century to produce examples in the outmoded style.

*Metalwork.* Bronze objects have been found in appreciable numbers at all the important sites of Crete. Only a limited number of these were made by casting: one, an openwork stand from the Cave of Mount Ida, with small voluted columns, warriors, chariots, boats, and animals, was perhaps produced locally; others — for example, the tripods of Cypriote type from Vrokastro and Knossos and a pendant of Iranian type from Knossos — were imported. By far the greater number of the bronze objects are hammered and decorated in relief: cups, shields, belts, quivers, miters, and so forth. The cups belong to a group known through examples from Assyria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Etruria, and the Greek mainland. It is probable that the Cretan examples, like those of Greece and Etruria, were imported from Syria and Phoenicia from the 9th to the 7th century B.C. The shields (PL. 1) and relief plaques pose a more complex problem. Most of the shields were found in the Cave of Mount Ida, but Palaikastro, Arkades, and Phaistos also yielded several; only two were found outside Crete, at Delphi and Dodona. Some have in the center, in high relief, the head of an animal, generally a lion. Typical decoration includes rosettes, pinwheels, human figures, palmettes, hunting scenes, confronted lions and sphinxes, and rows of deer, sphinxes, and bulls; other motifs are chariots, archers, a bearded man flanked by lions. A comparison with painted vases and terra-cotta figurines establishes that some of the shields are of local manufacture. But the majority are closely linked by motifs, composition, and style to the art of the Near East — Urartu, Syria, Assyria, Phoenicia. Imitation of foreign models by Cretan artisans is a possibility, but it may also be that these objects were imported or were produced by foreign artisans working in Crete between the end of the 9th century B.C. and the beginning of the 7th. This chronology seems to be confirmed by the circumstances of the discovery of a belt and a quiver at Knossos and of the Cretan shield at Delphi, by the date of the terra-cotta lids with an animal head imitating the bronze shields, and by comparison with the helmets, miters, and belts, which can be dated to the period from the second quarter of the 7th century to the beginning of the 6th. A dozen miters have been found in Crete (Dreros, Axos, Rhethymna), only two outside Crete (Delphi, Olympia). The example from Rhethymna is decorated with four human figures. Of the miters from Axos, one has a scene that has been variously interpreted — two lions flanking a tripod with a half figure above it; three others, decorated with the protome of Pegasos, are the latest of the series. Specifically Cretan is the helmet with each half of the crown decorated with a great embossed figure; three examples of the type have been found in Crete, a fourth in Delphi. The Delphi helmet, which is dated before the middle of the 7th century B.C., shows a figure of a woman on a bull. A helmet from Dreros is decorated with a panther; an example from Onythe shows a chariot, and one from Axos a Pegasos (I, PL. 438); these helmets are not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century. A gorgoneion from Dreros belongs to the same series. Cretan bronzesmiths also produced, in the 7th century B.C., figures cut out of sheet metal; one such plaque shows hunters carrying their prey (PL. 5).

The gold- and silverwork found in Crete, notably in the Cave of Mount Ida and in the tombs of Praisos and Knossos, though not extensive in quantity, is of fine quality. Pins, earrings, pendants, plaques cut out in the form of human or animal figures, funerary fillets — all are executed in the Orientalizing style and are related in their motifs and technique to the con-

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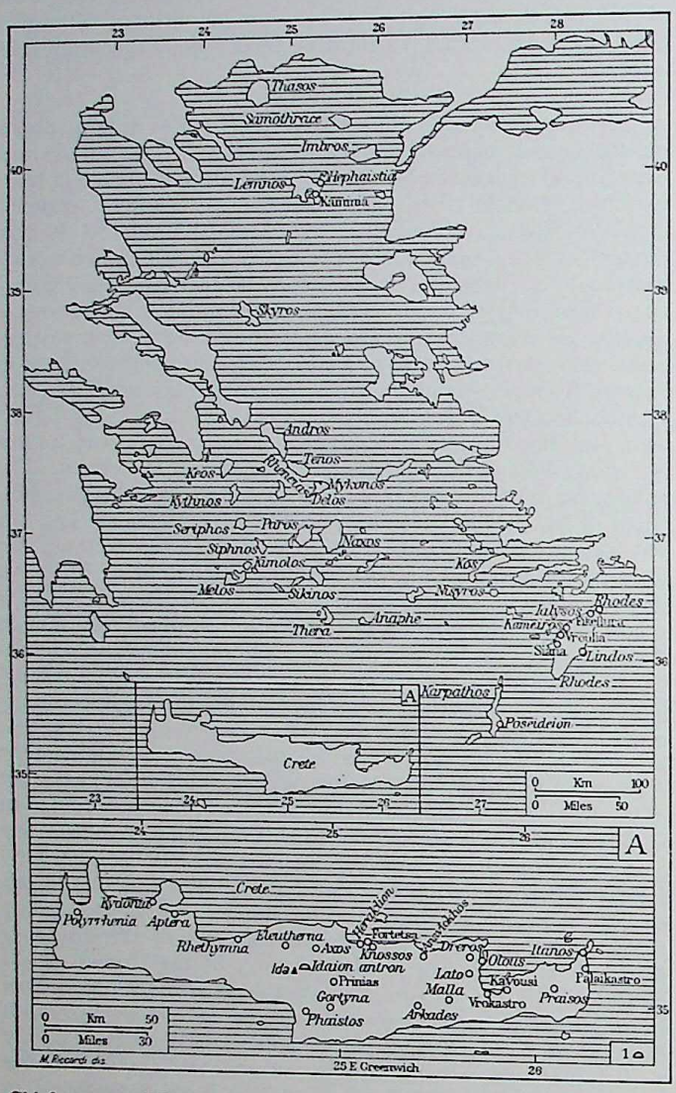
temporaneous goldsmith's work of other Aegean islands (Rhodes, Cyclades) and of sites (Ephesos, Tralles) in Ionia and Lydia (PL. 16).

*Ivories.* The Cave of Mount Ida has also yielded fragments of ivory objects: two pierced relief plaques (one representing a deer, the other a sphinx), a spoon with handle in the form




Chief centers of Greek art in the Aegean (inset A: Crete). *Key:* (1) Cave of Mount Ida.

of a female figure with outstretched arms, a head of a bull, bases for statuettes. None of these ivories is of Cretan workmanship. They are identical with examples found in a number of sites in the Near East, including Nimrud, Arslan Tash, and Samaria. The Mount Ida ivories were, like the bronze cups described above, imported to Crete from Syria and Phoenicia in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

*Sculpture and sculptural decoration.* The terra-cotta sculpture of Crete is well documented: there are many reliefs and figurines, some attached to vases. In Crete as in other parts of the Greek world — Rhodes, the Cyclades, Boeotia, probably the Peloponnesos — pithoi with relief decoration were produced in the 8th and 7th and part of the 6th centuries B.C. The decoration, arranged in friezes and panels on the neck and body of the vases, comprises Geometric and Orientalizing elements and shows animals and monsters, in particular the horse and the sphinx. Decoration in the round, besides appearing on the lids of painted pithoi and on a dinos from Arkades (PL. 3), is found on other vases: there is a series of jars with spouts on the shoulder in the form of animal heads. The Cretan workshops also produced whole vases in the shape of animals (owl, bull, lion); of especial interest is a series of askoi in the form of ducks, patterned after a type widely diffused in Cyprus. Found in eastern Crete (Praisos, Lato, Anavlochos) and at Gortyna were numerous square plaques of terra cotta, with a suspension hole, decorated in relief with motifs of Oriental derivation: sphinx or griffin passant, horses, sphinx, confronted griffins on either side of a Potnia Theron ("Lady of the Beasts") or a winged deity (PL. 5). Other plaques, rectangular in shape, bear female figures, full face or profile, often wearing the high polos on their heads. Several mythological scenes appear: Bellerophon mounted on Pegasos, alone or battling the Chimaera; the murder of Agamemnon by Klytemnestra and Aigisthos. A plaque from Tarentum representing Theseus and Ariadne (?) was probably made from a Cretan mold. Some of the plaques are cut out and adorned with openwork. Most of these terra-cotta reliefs date from the 7th century B.C.

In the Geometric period Cretan sculpture was certainly not comparable to the sculpture of mainland Greece. In the 7th century B.C., however, there was an increase in production and an improvement in quality, especially marked toward the middle of the century, when the use of molds became general. The Cretans were among the first in the Greek world to accept the use of molds, which had been known for a long time in the Near East and which were introduced into Cyprus in the 8th century B.C. The greater number of the figurines, modest ex-votos of medium quality, are only about 4 to 8 in. high, but some of them, judging from extant heads, must have measured about 15 to 20 in. That it is style as much as size which lends monumentality to sculpture is proved by two statuettes from Gortyna: the bust of a nude goddess, dating from shortly before the middle of the 7th century, and an early-7th-century Palladion (PL. 4). A terracotta bust from Praisos showing strong Cypriote influence belonged to a statue about 4 ft. in height; it does not seem to be earlier than the first half of the 6th century B.C.

The discovery of these large terra-cotta statuettes brings another argument to bear in favor of the hypothesis attributing to Cretan workshops several bronze statuettes of unknown provenance found outside the island. Two of these, a solid bronze head in Klagenfurt and a hollow-cast one in Karlsruhe (PL. 4), belonged to statues about 12 and 20 in. high, respectively. Thus the Cretans must have known and practiced at least as early as the middle of the 7th century B.C. the technique of hollow casting — a method in which they were anticipated among the Greeks only by the Samians. (The head in Karlsruhe has in fact been attributed to a Samian workshop.) The Cretans also practiced a sculptural technique of applying hammered metal plates to a wooden core (*sphyrelaton*): a group of three statuettes — a god $27^1/_2$ in. high and two goddesses about 16 in. high, made of hammered bronze sheets fastened to a wooden core — was found in a small temple in Dreros. Two bronze statuettes in Berlin, a kouros from the middle of the 7th century or slightly later found in Delphi and a kriophoros of unknown provenance from the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th, are generally held to be Cretan works. An ivory group of the late 7th century B.C. in New York (Met. Mus.) is attributed to a Cretan artist. It presents two female figures tentatively identified as Aphrodite and Peitho or Demeter and Kore (I, PL. 341).

In addition to making wooden sculptures of the gods, such as the representations of Athena and Britomartis that were still to be seen in Knossos and Olynthos in the time of Pausanias, the Cretans worked in stone from the 7th century B.C. on. The "Lady of Auxerre," a work of unknown provenance dated a little after the middle of the 7th century, is very probably Cretan (I, PL. 342). The lower part of a statuette of the same type and dimensions but of somewhat earlier date has been found in Gortyna, also the source of the upper part of a larger than life-size statue, the face mutilated. Of another type, the seated goddess, there are several examples: a statuette found at Malla, slightly under 20 in. high, dating from the first half of the 7th century; a life-size statue from the middle of the 7th century, of which only the lower part remains; a bust from Eleutherna (PL. 4), dated 630–620; and, probably, a statuette (provenance

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unknown) in the Louvre. The cubic style of these works suggests that the artists drew their inspiration from Syrian and "neo-Hittite" statues.

The "Lady of Auxerre" and the bust from Eleutherna, the terra-cotta statuettes from Gortyna, and the other figurines demonstrate the importance of the role that Crete played in the development of the so-called "Daedalic" style. Also in this style are the nude deities in high relief, combined in groups of two or perhaps three, the remains of which were found at Gortyna. The style persisted in Crete almost until the mid-6th century B.C. (when it was already outdated in other Greek regions), as is shown by a head found at Axos. One of the two earliest known examples of architectural sculpture in stone (the other being a relief from Mycenae) comes from Temple A at Prinias: a lintel(?) bearing two seated goddesses, the front decorated with reliefs of lions and stags (PL. 1), the underside with elongated female figures. The seated goddesses and the reliefs seem no earlier than the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., whereas the frieze of riders in stone that belongs to the same building seems to date from the middle of the century (I, PL. 342). The earliest known example of terra-cotta architectural decoration is a frieze from Palaikastro; it represents warriors departing in a chariot, with a dog leaping alongside, a motif found later in the friezes of Thasos and of Larisa on the Hermos River.

*Architecture.* Little is known about the structures to which the above-mentioned friezes in stone and terra cotta belonged, but an idea can be formed of the ground plans of a few archaic temples. In Dreros a temple going back to the 8th century B.C. was in the form of a rectangular room with a bench at the back; it had an interior altar between two columns placed along the axis of the entrance. The ground plan of Temple A at Prinias, which included a porch supported in the center by a pier, and of the Pythion of Gortyna, remodeled in Hellenistic and Roman times, were the same in their main outlines. This type of structure is known, with variations, from Sicily to Asia Minor. An archaic temple at Gortyna was divided into three cellae opening on an atrium; the same plan, but with two cellae, is found in the Temple of Ares and Aphrodite near Lato, which was reconstructed in Hellenistic times on the plan of the archaic building. It is more plausible to connect the erection of buildings open on the long side and divided into two or three cellae with an Oriental fashion that lasted as late as the Roman period, for example, in Cyprus and Palmyra, than with Minoan survivals. In this custom of associating several divinities in one temple is perhaps to be found the explanation for the grouping of divinities in twos and threes so typical of Cretan art of the 7th century B.C.

The active political life that had developed in the Cretan cities in the 7th century is reflected in the literary tradition, which has it that the great legislators of the archaic period were from Crete. It is in Crete, especially at Dreros, Lato, and Gortyna, that the earliest remains of agorai and public buildings have been found.

Only a few architectural elements of the archaic period have been discovered on the island. A palm-leaf capital with abacus originally independent of it (PL. 5) is the precursor of one used in Delphi in an Ionic monument of the second half of the 6th century B.C. Some fragments of volutes found in Prinias may come from Aeolic, or proto-Ionic, capitals. No Doric capitals of the 7th century comparable to those in Delphi or the Peloponnesos have yet been found in Crete. The stone and terra-cotta friezes of Prinias and Palaikastro, antedating the earliest ones known in Ionia, are continuous bands of an Oriental, not a Greek mainland, type. Conclusions drawn from evidence so fragmentary must be very tentative, for they could be upset at any time by new findings; the most that can be said concerning architecture during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. is that Crete felt the Oriental more strongly than the mainland Greek influence. This being so, it appears less strange that two Knossian architects, Chersiphron and his son Metagenes, were called to Ephesos to construct the Artemision that preceded the temple erected by Croesus.

*The Cretan tradition.* Literary sources would afford proof of the renown of Cretan artists if one could be certain that there were no confusion of Minoan with archaic Crete. From Homer to Plato and Pausanias, Daidalos has symbolized the artist par excellence, at once sculptor, architect, and goldsmith; he lived and worked in Knossos (under Minos), Athens, and Sicily. His renown was such that all the xoana of archaic type were attributed to him. According to Pausanias, Dipoinos and Skyllis, both of Gortyna, were sons of Daidalos. They were assumed to have worked in wood, marble, and ivory, chiefly for the cities of the Peloponnesos. Among their disciples, in the 6th century, were cited Tektaios and Angelion, makers of a colossal statue of Apollo in Delos, and three Spartans whose works were seen in Olympia — Hegylos, Dontas, and Dorykleidas. Cheirisophos, who erected a gilded xoanon of Apollo at Tegea, was a Cretan. According to Pindar, the earliest statue of Apollo, that in Delphi, came from Crete.

From the 6th century on, however, Cretan art no longer existed as a creative and original force. Of course, this does not mean that from the 6th to the 4th century B.C. there was a complete cessation in Crete of the production of ex-votos and the construction of buildings. It is true that this period has been neglected in favor of the Minoan and archaic periods; yet, with the exception of Gortyna and perhaps Knossos, no Cretan city erected buildings comparable with those of the rest of the Greek world. No art center of importance existed in Crete during the classic period; the Cretan artists whose names are known worked in mainland Greece.

The coins of Crete give further evidence of the isolation and the economic and artistic impoverishment of the island. Cretan coins do not begin to appear until the 5th century B.C., and many of them are marked by a poverty of workmanship that has no parallel in the Greek world. Types from Aegina, Arcadia, and Argos were imitated; foreign coins — for example, those of Cyrene, Argos, Aegina, and Euboea — and even some of other Cretan cities were restruck. Cretan myths are illustrated on the coins of Knossos (the Minotaur in the Labyrinth) and of Gortyna (Europa and the Bull; PL. 16); they are rendered in an archaic style recalling the embossed figure on the helmet from Delphi. The most beautiful of the Cretan coins are from the 4th century B.C. Two engravers signed their pieces — Neuantos at Kydonia and Pythodoros at Aptera and Polyrrhenia — but whether they were Cretans is not known.

ARTISTS BORN OR ACTIVE IN CRETE. *a. Architects.* Daidalos, see below. – Chersiphron (Χερσίφρων) and his son Metagenes (Μεταγένης), of Knossos, worked ca. mid-6th cent. B.C. on the Artemision of Ephesos; may have written works on building technique (E. Fabricius, RE, s.v. Metagenes; S. Marinatos, Ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χερσίφρονος καὶ Μεταγένους ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, Κρητικά Χρονικά, VII, 1953, p. 258 ff.; A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture, Harmondsworth, 1957, p. 132).

*b. Sculptors.* Daidalos (Δαίδαλος), legendary figure — sculptor, architect, and goldsmith — son of Eupalamos or Metion; of Attic origin but believed to have been active in Crete 7th cent. B.C.; worked first in Athens, then in Crete, whence he fled, according to traditional lore, to Sicily, Cumae, Sardinia, and Africa; teacher of Dipoinos, Skyllis, and Endoios; believed to have been responsible for the earliest advances of Greek art: (1) sculptures in wood: Herakles, in Thebes, Corinth, Pisa, and at the border between Messenia and Arcadia; Hermes, in the Erechtheion of Athens; Trophonios, at Lebadeia; Britomartis (a xoanon), at Olynthos, probably reproduced on Cretan coins; Athena, at Knossos; Aphrodite (terminating with a pilaster), in Delos; statues in the Heraion of Argos, in Crete, at Gela, in the Elektrides, or Amber Islands, at the mouth of the Po, and for an altar identified only as dedicated to Poseidon; cow; (2) sculptures in stone: Artemis Monogisene, in Caria; crater with gigantomachy and Kronos, for Kokalos; choros (?); altar at Solossa, in Libya, probably a Carthaginian work; at Halikarnassos a base bearing his name, probably for a copy of a work by him or by Daidalos of Sikyon; (3) architecture: choros for Ariadne, at Knossos (a work whose type is contested); the Labyrinth for the Minotaur at Knossos, also identified with the palace; Temple of Britomartis at Olynthos; propylon of the Temple of Hephaistos in Memphis; *kolymbethra* (?; swimming pool) of the Alabon near Megara Hyblaia; baths near Selinous (probably thermal); wall of Kamikos near Akragas (mod. Agrigento); widening of the court of the Temple of Aphrodite at Eryx; temples of Apollo at



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Cumae and at Capua; *daidaleia* (nuraghi) in Sardinia; (4) other works: folding chariot seat (*diphros*) for the Temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens; golden honeycomb in the Temple of Aphrodite at Eryx (W. Amelung and H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 18 ff.; E. Homann-Wedeking, 1950, p. 42 ff.; G. Becatti, RM, LX–LXI, 1953–54, p. 22 ff.; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, Saggio sul Labirinto, Milan, 1958). – Dipoinos (Δίποινος) and his brother Skyllis (Σκύλλις), according to tradition from Gortyna, pupils or sons of Daidalos, probably active 7th cent.; credited with introducing the use of marble: Herakles in gilt bronze, at Sardis; Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, and Athena, at Sikyon (struggle for the Delphic? tripod; the Herakles and Athena can perhaps be identified with the two following works); Herakles, at Tiryns; Athena, at Kleonai; the Dioskouroi and their descendants, in ebony and ivory, at Argos; Athena, at Lindos; one or more statues of unidentified subjects at Ambrakia (Lippold, GP, p. 23; E. Homann-Wedeking, 1950, p. 46 ff.). – Cheirisophos (Χειρίσοφος) of Crete, worked in the Daidalic tradition, active 6th cent. in the Peloponnesos: gilt xoanon of Apollo, in the Temple of Apollo at Tegea and a portrait in stone next to it, probably of the sculptor (Lippold, GP, p. 23 ff.). – Athenis and Boupalos (Ἄθηνις, Βούπαλος) of Chios, second half 6th cent.: Artemis, at Lasos (or at Iasos, in Caria?); for other works see GREEK ART, EASTERN. – Aristokles (Ἀριστοκλῆς) of Kydonia, active end of 6th–first half of 5th cent.: Herakles and the Queen of the Amazons, of which perhaps an inscription fragment was found in Olympia (Lippold, GP, p. 98; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – Akestor (Ἀκέστωρ) of Knossos, first half of 5th cent. if he is to be identified as the father of Amphion, end of 4th cent. if he is to be identified with Akestor of Argos: bronze statue of Alexibios, at Olympia (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v.; L. Moretti, EAA, s.v.). – Amphion (Ἀμφίων) of Knossos, son of Akestor, pupil of Ptolichos and teacher of Pison of Kalaureia, ca. mid-5th cent.: votive gift from Cyrene, at Delphi (Lippold, GP, p. 176; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.) – Kresilas (Κρησίλας) of Kydonia, active in Athens, second half of 5th cent. (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Damokrates (Δαμοκράτης) of Itanos, period uncertain, known only from an inscription (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., n. 3).

*c. Engravers of coins.* Neuantos (Νεύαντος), active at Kydonia 4th cent. B.C.: didrachma, signed, with the head of a maenad on the obverse and Kydon with bow on the reverse; attributed: didrachma, similar to the preceding one (BMC, Creta, p. 28, ill. VII, 1; K. Regling, RE, s.v.). – Pythodoros (Πυθοδῶρος), second half of 4th cent., active at Aptera and Polyrrhenia: didrachma of Aptera, with Artemis on the obverse, warrior on the reverse; half drachma of Polyrrhenia with Artemis on the obverse and bull's head on the reverse; attributed: didrachma of Aptera and half drachma of Polyrrhenia, similar to the preceding ones (K. Regling, ThB, s.v.).

THE DODECANESE. *Pottery.* Although the Mycenaean civilization had been deeply rooted in the Dodecanese, more deeply even than in Cyprus, it is problematic whether anything remained of these traditions two centuries after the fall of the Achaean empire. The proto-Geometric style is little known in its Rhodian aspect. But in Kos, where tombs from the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. have been explored, one tomb — the earliest — was found to contain both a Mycenaean vase and some proto-Geometric vases altogether different from it in type and style. Thus the break with Mycenaean forms and decoration appears here much more clearly than in Crete.

The Attic influence is plain. The proto-Geometric style must have been introduced into Kos at a very early time, when the light-background style was still used in Attica — probably by immigrants coming from Attica itself or from Argolis, because all the vases found in Kos are of local manufacture. The most common forms are the oinochoe with trefoil mouth, the skyphos, and the cup with conical foot. The proto-Geometric style seems to have disappeared here at the same time as in Africa, or a little later, giving way to the Geometric style in the first half of the 9th century B.C.

In contrast to the development in Crete, a pure Geometric style is seen in the Dodecanese; it is represented in Kos and Rhodes by amphoras, cups, oinochoai, and craters decorated with meanders, triangles, and hatched lozenges. The decoration, limited at first to the shoulder of the vase, was later extended to cover the whole body, frequently being divided into a series of panels. The human figure does not appear, and animals are rare; birds, placed singly or in rows, predominate. The Rhodian Geometric style has features in common with the Attic, but which one influenced the other is difficult to establish. In the 8th century B.C., the pottery workshops of Rhodes seem to have set the style for those of Chios, Samos, and the cities of the Ionian coast. Cypriote pottery appears to have been widely imported and imitated in Rhodes, as in Crete, but the Rhodian production is remarkably resistant to infiltrations of Oriental elements, compared with the Cretan ceramics of the 8th century: all that can be pointed to in the advanced phase of the Rhodian Geometric style is the use of pinwheel and palmiform ornament.

The sub-Geometric style in Rhodian pottery persisted for a long time (PL. 6). Particularly characteristic is the skyphos decorated with the motif of a bird in a metope framed by geometric ornament; vases of this type were produced until late in the 7th century B.C. Isolated Oriental motifs crept in little by little. Thus in the first half of the 7th century sphinxes and griffins, lions and panthers, dogs and hares, and, above all, deer and wild goats appear on the shoulders of vases — of oinochoai in particular — conforming in composition and linear decoration to the Geometric tradition. A small group of vases of this period is marked by Cypriote influence. An oinochoe with its upper part sculptured in the form of a griffin's head is perhaps related to this half-Geometric, half-Orientalizing Rhodian style; it has no exact parallel in Greek pottery and is most often attributed to a Cycladic workshop (PL. 9). The so-called "Vroulia cups," of metal-like aspect, combine sub-Geometric decorative elements and Oriental motifs until the 6th century B.C. (PL. 6).

It is often difficult to distinguish the Geometric and sub-Geometric wares of Rhodes from those of the Ionian Islands and cities or of the Cyclades; a kind of artistic koine linking Dorian Rhodes with its Ionian neighbors was established very early. But even if Rhodes was not the birthplace of all the vases attributed to the east Greek centers, it contributed greatly to the diffusion of these wares toward Cilicia and Phoenicia as well as the distant Italian shores. The Greek vases found at Mersin, Tarsus, Al Mina, and other places in the Near East originated for the most part — for the period from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. — in Ionian and insular workshops, Crete excepted; at least some of these vases were manufactured in Rhodes. One of the earliest Greek inscriptions known, an epigram mentioning the "Cup of Nestor" (IV, PL. 73), is scratched on a Geometric vase of Cycladic or Rhodian origin from the necropolis of Pithekoussai (Ischia).

Not until about the middle of the 7th century B.C. did an Orientalizing style come to full bloom in east Greek pottery — the style variously termed "Rhodian-Milesian," "wild-goat," and "Kameiros." Ephesos, Miletos, Samos, Chios, and Nisyros are among the possible, or probable, centers of production. But a great number of the vases, very likely even the majority, were produced in Rhodes. The style is distinct in technique, vase forms, decorative repertory, and composition. The decoration is painted in black outline, with some parts in hatching, against a light buff background. Besides craters and dinoi, the preferred form is the oinochoe with trefoil mouth. The linear motifs include pinwheels on the neck of the vase, and triangles, rosettes, half circles, and meanders within squares in the main zones; a frieze of flowers or lotus buds often adorns the lower part. The human figure does not appear, but there is a great variety of animals, most numerous among them deer and wild goats, generally in continuous friezes, one above another for almost the entire height of the vase (III, PL. 132). This scheme contrasts with the division into metopes favored in the sub-Geometric style and recalls the decoration of textiles and goldsmith's work. The Greeks of Rhodes and Ionia derived their formula not so much from Syria or Mesopotamia, whence the proto-Corinthian and Corinthian styles drew their inspiration, as from Anatolia — perhaps from Phrygian and Urartian art, which, traditionally Mesopotamian, had been infused with new life by the contribution of Cimmerian and Scythian nomads.

Along with vases in the Kameiros style, the Rhodian workshops produced an original series of plates with the tondo divided into two unequal sections; the upper, and larger, part is generally filled by an animal or monster — Chimaera, sphinx, bull, ram, dog, or other. The Euphorbos plate in this series

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(I, PL. 335) is one of the rare works of pottery of east Greece showing a mythological or epic scene.

The Kameiros style reached its peak in the second half of the 7th century B.C., falling under the influence of Corinthian pottery toward the end of the century; production continued until the middle of the 6th century, though in the second quarter of the century this style began to give way to the so-called "Fikellura style." Vases in the new style were produced in Rhodes and probably at the same time in Samos; in technique (buff slip, outline drawing, hatching) and in decorative scheme (pinwheels, friezes of flowers, lotus buds) they are directly connected with the Rhodian Orientalizing style (PL. 6). In the first phase, oinochoai and cups are numerous, but the commonest form over the entire duration of the style is the amphora. Animals or human figures, individually or in friezes, comprise the main decoration on the shoulders and the body. The Fikellura vases were found for the most part in Rhodes, Samos, on the coast of the Black Sea, and Egypt; some examples came to light in Cyprus, the Cyclades, Aegina, Attica, Corinth, Delphi, and the western Mediterranean (Sicily, Magna Graecia). The production of painted vases in Rhodes ceased about the end of the 6th century B.C.

The Rhodian tradition is continued by the so-called "Klazomenai sarcophagi," the latest examples bringing it to the middle of the 5th century B.C. Some of these were found in Rhodes and could be of local manufacture, but the type belongs to the artistic koine of the southwestern part of Asia Minor, and in view of their distribution there can be little doubt that the greater number of the sarcophagi originated in Ionia. Large pithoi with reliefs were produced in Rhodes during the 7th and part of the 6th century B.C. Later, on the whole, than the Cretan examples, they differ from them in decorative technique: generally the designs were imprinted with a patterned cylinder. The motifs most frequently seen are spirals, zigzags, and meanders. Human figures and animals are rare: chariots, several sphinxes, centaurs, horses, and goats are seen.

One of the main Rhodian industries was the making of terra-cotta sculpture in the round; this industry was active uninterruptedly from the 7th to the 4th century B.C., producing quantities of statuettes and plastic vases (that is, vases made in the shape of a human figure, animal, or other natural object). In the 7th century Rhodian sculpture went through the same phases of the Daedalic style as can be seen in Crete and Laconia. The small female figures in plaquette form show Oriental features. Also, in this period a great many Cypriote terra cottas were imported into Rhodes. The production of plastic vases in the Dodecanese goes back to a very early date. A tomb in Kos contained, among the more conventional Geometric vases, plastic vases decorated in that style. Rhodes and Ionia were the principal sources of this ware throughout the Greek world from the end of the 7th through the 6th century B.C., surpassing Corinth in the number and variety of types produced. The painted decoration connects these vases with the pottery of the late Kameiros style and the Fikellura style. The main types are the standing, kneeling, or seated female figure, the bust of a female figure, the Seilenos, the helmeted warrior head, Gorgon head, and the head of the river god Acheloos; heads of (or entire) ducks, eagles, rams, horses, lions, hares, and apes are also common.

In the course of the second half of the 7th century, to the Cypriote influence on Rhodes was added the Phoenician-Egyptian, either directly or by way of Cyprus or Naukratis. This is evidenced chiefly by the appearance of faïence vases in the form of animals and various personages. These vases, which Rhodes was instrumental in distributing to Mediterranean markets, were at least in part made on the island, along with the plastic vases of painted terra cotta. The workshops producing the faïence vases may have been established by Egyptians or, more probably, Phoenicians. This may apply also to the origin of the alabastra in the form of human heads, the ostrich eggs with painted or scratched ornament, and the engraved shells; these objects, which spread from Mesopotamia to Etruria and even Spain, were found in quantity in Rhodes, especially at Lindos.

In the second half of the 6th century B.C. the workshops of Rhodes (and probably in part also those of Ionia) produced not only plastic vases but, in even greater number, terra-cotta statuettes. The same molds served for both, the two categories having in common the representation of various figure types: standing woman holding a dove, seated woman, standing man, reclining man, man and woman seated side by side. The technique of the hollow figurine must have developed in Rhodes out of the plastic vase technique; it then spread over the entire Greek world. Rhodian terra cottas were exported in quantity — to Syria, Phoenicia, Etruria, and, above all, Magna Graecia and Sicily, where they were imitated, especially at Selinous.

The western markets were shut off in the period of the Persian Wars, but the workshops of the Rhodian coroplasts continued active, producing not only plastic vases but figurines and masks, which continued to be exported to Attica, Boeotia, the Cyclades, Olynthos, and Cyrenaica and were imitated in several of these regions. That this production had not yet ceased in the 4th century B.C. is shown by the finds at Lindos.

*Metalwork.* The testimony of the painted vases, plastic vases, and terra-cotta figurines is that Rhodian trade in the western Mediterranean was at its height from the mid-7th to the mid-6th century B.C. The discovery in the Mediterranean region and in western Europe of bronze utensils of this period probably manufactured in Rhodes confirms this. Bronze objects found in Rhodes itself, however, are not numerous; they go back mainly to the 8th century B.C. and the first half of the 7th: pendants and animals, handles of bowls, and so on. As for the Orientalizing period, the Tyszkiewicz plate (incised protomas of griffins and animal frieze), found in Etruria and often attributed to a Rhodian workshop, has also been claimed for Corinth. But another plate with incised decoration, also of Etrurian provenance (PL. 7), and a series of oinochoai having handles decorated with palmettes, rosettes, and lotus flowers in relief resemble the vases in the Kameiros style so closely that a Rhodian origin is highly probable. The oinochoai were found in Sidon, Sicily, Etruria, and the valleys of the Rhone and the Rhine; they were imitated in Italy and Carthage.

In the absence of bronzes, lost through their vulnerability to oxidation, the mastery in metalwork of the Rhodian workshops in the hundred years, roughly, from the first half of the 7th to the first half of the 6th century B.C. is attested by the objects of silver, electrum, and gold found in Rhodes, particularly at Kameiros. A silver kantharos in the Louvre is worked in the same technique and decorated in the same style as the bronze oinochoai. In the tombs were discovered, besides funerary gold fillets, a great number of rectangular plaques in gold and in electrum, more rarely in silver, each with a decorative figure — centaur, sphinx, bee with human head, Potnia Theron ("Lady of the Beasts"; PL. 16). The earliest, perhaps antedating the middle of the 7th century, are done in a simple embossed technique; in the second half of the century the surfaces of plaques and figures are covered by rich decoration in filigree and granulation. These plaques were joined in various combinations to form necklaces or diadems. Some of the later ones were inserted into an ensemble of rosettes and small chains and worn hanging from the ears or at the temples. Heads of griffins and the like, sometimes placed in the corners of such plaques, establish a relation between these pendants and a group of works apparently produced chiefly in Melos (PL. 16). If the generally proposed dates for the earliest Rhodian gold plaques and the earliest vases in the Kameiros style are correct, it follows that a repertory of Oriental motifs was used by the goldsmiths of Rhodes a quarter century before it was adopted by the potters.

*Gems.* In several branches of art Rhodian production is fused with that of other regions of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. A type of scaraboid of the 8th century, decorated either with a lyre player (VI, PL. 34) or with a man and a big fish or with a deer, is represented by numerous examples from an area comprehending Rhodes, Chios, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Phoenicia and by sporadic finds in Crete, in the Cyclades, and on the Greek mainland. For at least some of these objects, Rhodes was probably the place of origin. The gems of the 7th and 6th

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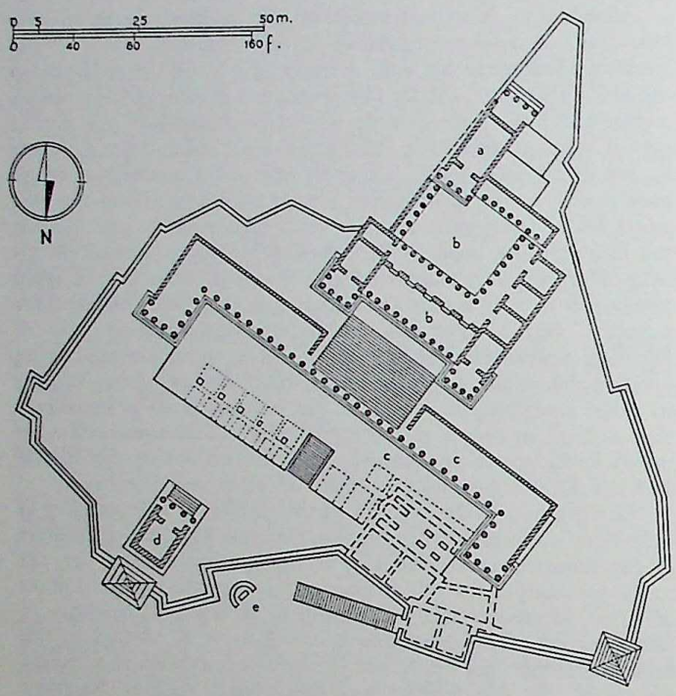
centuries B.C. may include some of Rhodian origin, but evidence is still lacking.

*Ivories.* The ivories found in Rhodes are rather few in number; there are some plaquettes in relief representing a nude goddess and the head of a woman (Kameiros), religious scenes (Lindos), a siren, a deer, and birds (Ialysos), and there are statuettes in the round and spoons with handles in the form of a swan's neck or a female figure (Lindos). All these objects were either imported from the Syro-Phoenician area or are direct imitations of prototypes from that region.

*Sculpture.* Apparently sculpture did not flourish in Rhodes at a very early date. Three stone statuettes of female figures of the 7th century B.C. served as supports for a *perirrhanterion* (lustral basin) of a type known from an example in terra cotta found in Rhodes itself and from others in stone found in Athens, Delphi, and Olympia and at the Isthmian sanctuary near Cor-




Plan of the acropolis of Lindos, Rhodes. Monuments later than the Greco-Roman period are indicated by dotted lines. Buildings: (*a*) Temple of Athena Lindia, 4th cent. B.C., erected over an archaic temple; (*b*) propylaia, 4th cent. B.C.; (*c*) stoa, early 2d cent. B.C.; (*d*) late Roman temple, ca. A.D. 300; (*e*) exedra with statue base, Hellenistic period (after *E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde, Heidelberg, 1956, fig. 98*).

inth. The sculptures of the 6th century on the island of Rhodes are few, and it is not certain whether they are all of local origin. Two headless statues of kouroi found at Kameiros were probably imported from the Cyclades. An archaic marble head of Ionian style (Istanbul, Archaeol. Mus.) is said to have been found at Rhodes (I, PL. 357). There is another head from Kameiros that could have been made on the island, and the same is true of an archaic relief from Kos. The rarity of these finds — if it is not attributable simply to the fortunes of excavation — is as much due to the preference for decorative arts on the part of the Rhodians as to the lack of marble on the island. Very few statues figure among the archaic ex-votos of the Temple of Athena at Lindos, which are catalogued in the "chronicle of the temple" (engraved, to be sure, more than two centuries after their disappearance). The situation for the 5th century is no different. The few funerary steles must have been made locally; they are products of the Ionian koine, marked by no real originality. The most beautiful of them, the stele of Krito and Timarista (PL. 8), dating from the last third of the 5th century B.C., bears witness to the influence of Attic art of the time on the Cycladic and Ionian styles.

*Architecture.* On the sites of the Rhodian cities few traces remain to indicate the prosperity they enjoyed during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Everywhere — on the rock of Lindos, on the acropolis of Ialysos, on the slope at the site of Kameiros — later construction has destroyed almost all vestiges of the period. The same is true of the city and the Asklepieion of Kos. (An exception is the great water reservoir in Kameiros, filled in at the time the portico dominating the city was built.)

New life manifested itself in all areas after the difficult period of domination by Persia and the Athenian League. In 408 the city of Rhodes was founded: little remains of the earliest monuments of the new city. It was in the 4th century that the propylaia were built on the acropolis of Lindos (FIG. 39), on the plan of the Propylaia of the Acropolis of Athens, and the Temple of Athena was reconstructed at this time. A fountain house at Ialysos goes back to the same period.

*Coins.* Even if the buildings have disappeared, there remain the coins — along with the objects of metal, terra cotta, and faïence — to testify to the commercial activity of these cities. Early in the 6th century B.C., coins of silver and electrum were struck by Poseideion (Karpathos), Kos, Kameiros, and Lindos; the first coins of Ialysos seem to be later. After 408–407, the coins common to the island cities bear the head of Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse. The gold staters of this type, from the 4th century B.C., are among the earliest gold coins minted by any Greek city (PL. 16).

*Later development.* In Hellenistic times, particularly in the 3d century B.C. and in the first third of the 2d, Rhodes enjoyed great prosperity and even became an important center for sculpture. Some indications of this evolution can be discerned from the end of the 5th century B.C. on. The Rhodians began to show an appreciation of great art that they seem to have lacked in the archaic period. Celebrated artists such as Parrhasios, Praxiteles, Apelles, Lysippos (qq.v.), and Bryaxis received commissions from Rhodes and Kos. In the 4th century B.C. local sculpture production was of routine quality, but certain artists of Rhodes, such as Symenos and Aristonidas, merit notice.

ARTISTS BORN OR ACTIVE IN RHODES. *a. Architects.* Deinokrates (Δεινοκράτης) of Rhodes or Macedonia, referred to also as Deinochares, Timochares, Hermokrates, Cheirokrates (identical with the architect of the second Artemision of Ephesos?); active for Alexander the Great: plan for the foundation of Alexandria; project of transforming Mt. Athos into a colossal statue; altar for the Hephaisteion in Babylon (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.).

*b. Sculptors.* Dipoinos and Skyllis, probably of Gortyna (see above under Crete). – Lysippos (q.v.) – Symenos (Σύμενος), probably of Rhodes, identified with the son of Damostratos; active ca. mid-4th cent. B.C. (formerly considered Hellenistic), probably collaborated with Demetrios of Alopeke: two signed bases from the Acropolis of Athens and one from Lindos; athletes, warriors, hunters, offerers (Lippold, GP, p. 260; Picard, III, pp. 144, 212). – Ephedros (Ἔφεδρος) of Athens, mid-4th cent.: signed base from Lindos (Lippold, GP, p. 244). – Bryaxis (Βρύαξις) of Athens, second half of 4th cent.: five colossal statues of divinities in Rhodes (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Aristonidas (Ἀριστωνίδας), bronzeworker and painter of Rhodes, son of Mnasitimos, active ca. 350–330 B.C.: two signed bases, one found at Lindos and one near Rhodes (Lippold, GP, p. 287; G. Pugliese Carratelli, ASAtene, XXX–XXXII, 1952–54, p. 262, n. 7; A. Di Vita, EAA, s.v.). – Teisagoras (Τεισαγόρας), probably of Rhodes, assigned by most scholars to the Hellenistic (see HELLENISTIC ART) but by some to the archaic period (Picard, I, p. 172). – Aischines (Αἰσχίνης) of Rhodes, chronology and activity unknown (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v.; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v.).

*c. Painters.* Parrhasios (q.v.). – Apelles (q.v.). – Protogenes (Προτογένης) of Kaunos, in Caria, or Xanthos, in Lycia; second half of 4th cent. B.C.: Ialysos as a hunter, the satyr Anapayomenos (304 B.C.), both works later taken to Rome; Kydippe and Tlepolemos, heroes of the Rhodian cycle, in an undetermined place (Rumpf, MZ, p. 147; for other works see GREEK ART, EASTERN). – Aristonidas (see above).

*d. Goldsmiths.* Mys (Μῦς), probably Attic, second half of 5th cent. B.C.; cup in the Temple of Dionysos at Rhodes (Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 6; for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Akragas

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(Ἀκράγας), not earlier than 4th cent.: silver vases for the Temple of Dionysos at Rhodes (E. Pernice, ThB, s.v.; P. E. Arias, EAA, s.v.). – Damokrates (Δάμοκράτης), active in Rhodes at an unknown period: cups (E. Pernice, ThB, s.v.).

*e. Coin engravers.* Xeno[...] (Ξενο[...]), signature on a Rhodian tetradrachma of 400–333 B.C. (A. Glauning, ThB, s.v.).

ARTISTS BORN OR ACTIVE IN KOS. *a. Sculptors.* Praxiteles (q.v.). – Euphranor (Εὐφράνωρ), probably of Kos; first half of 4th cent. B.C.; also a painter, long active in Athens (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). *b. Painters.* Apelles (q.v.).

THE CYCLADES AND NORTHERN SPORADES. *Pottery.* The proto-Geometric style of the Cyclades is as yet imperfectly known. The scattered finds indicate that it was subject to Attic influence; in fact, among the proto-Geometric vases imported to Knossos it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the Attic from the Cycladic examples. Some forms, however, are peculiarly Cycladic.

In the Sporades this Attic-Cycladic trend is found in conjunction with a Thessalian tradition. An important series of proto-Geometric vases was found in Skyros: hand-made jugs and cups as well as trefoil-mouthed oinochoai, craters, amphoras, skyphoi, and other vases of Attic type decorated with circles and half circles, undulating lines, and triangles. There is no trace of Mycenaean survival; the break seems complete, in the making of pottery and even, in many cases, in the occupation of sites.

The insular Geometric styles appear less clearly differentiated than those of the Greek mainland. The uncertainties are due in great measure to the circumstances of the finding of vases, because for the most part they come from the pit on the island of Rhenaia into which the contents of the tombs of Delos were thrown pell-mell in the course of the purification of the sacred island in 426 B.C. The custom of limiting the decoration to the upper part of the vase was, to judge from certain vases, maintained longer in the islands than in Attica. On other vases, especially the large amphoras and craters, the profusion of linear and zoomorphic motifs recalls the Attic Geometric style so strongly that they have often been thought to be Attic. Some of the most beautiful examples were found in Cyprus.

Only one style is clearly articulated in the Geometric production of the Cyclades, that of the island of Thera; the workshop there, unlike the others of the archipelago, was little affected by outside influences and produced chiefly amphoras, craters, oinochoai, pyxides, skyphoi, and plates. These vases are covered with a yellowish-white slip, on which the decoration is painted; arranged in metopes and limited to the neck and shoulders, it is dominated by linear motifs, in particular the meander (PL. 9). The activity of this workshop continued with little change, except for the cautious introduction of some Oriental motifs, until the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.

If in Thera no great advance was made beyond the sub-Geometric style, in others of the Cyclades more or less strongly Orientalizing styles arose in the 7th century B.C. Localization of the workshops is as difficult as in the preceding period, because again Delos and Rhenaia are the main sites. A small group of vases (amphoras, kantharoi, deep cups) dating from the beginning of the century, showing mainly Oriental motifs and executed in the sub-Geometric technique of outline drawing, has been hypothetically attributed to a workshop in Siphnos (where several vases were discovered), which does not seem to have been active very long. Other vases come from Delos, Paros, and the isle of Kimolos, near Melos. Another group, consisting chiefly of amphoras, is characterized by simplicity of decoration and clarity of composition: a quadrangle delineated between the handles, devoid of filler motifs, is occupied solely by an animal (stag, lion, or other) with elongated body (PL. 9). The activity of the workshop in question, possibly located on Paros, ceased toward the middle of the 7th century B.C. The griffin-head oinochoe (PL. 9), often attributed to this Cycladic workshop, is not related in style or composition to the amphoras with metopes.

Another series of amphoras, elongated in shape and long-necked, sometimes very tall (up to 40 in.), was probably produced in Naxos. Composition in the first quarter of the 7th century B.C. remains faithful to the principles of the sub-Geometric style: decoration in symmetrically opposed panels on the neck and shoulder, that is, between the handles. An entire animal, a protoma (often that of a horse), or heraldic paired animals appear in the central panel on the neck; an animal or monster (horse, sphinx, or other), in that on the shoulder. The animals painted on a terra-cotta figurine found in Siphnos are in the same style. But the style of Naxos, unlike the Siphnian and the Parian, did not hold to this compromise between the sub-Geometric and the Orientalizing style. In the second quarter of the 7th century B.C. the historiated metopes assume larger dimensions, at the expense of the panels with linear motifs, and expand toward the body of the vase. The Naxian workshop at this time produced some pieces comparable with contemporaneous pottery of Athens and Corinth — for example, the amphora showing Aphrodite and Ares in a chariot drawn by winged horses. These scenes have some features in common with the proto-Attic and, toward the middle of the century, the Rhodian style. The workshop of Naxos did not continue producing beyond this period.

But continuity was assured by another workshop, perhaps located in Melos. Less brilliant than the Naxian workshop at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., that of Melos produced, in the second quarter of the century, amphoras broader of body and shorter of neck, whose decoration spreads over the neck, the body, and down to the foot. A few choice examples (PL. 10) are dependent on the Naxian vases adorned with gods — among them an amphora on which there are scenes of Apollo playing the lyre in a chariot drawn by winged horses and of Artemis holding a stag, and another amphora having a similar scene on the shoulder and a Potnia Theron with lions on the neck. A series of plates found in Delos comes from the same workshop. In the third quarter of the 7th century B.C. Melian pottery borrowed some animal and ornamental motifs from the Rhodian repertory; in the last quarter of the century Corinthian influence is evident in scenes with figures such as the representation on an amphora of the departure of Herakles in a chariot. The Melian style, in turn, disappeared toward the end of the century.

It is possible, but has not been established, that black-figured vases imitating Attic models were produced in the Cyclades during the 6th century B.C. Vases of this type were produced in Ionia, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish these from Attic examples. In any case, what we are dealing with here is imitation devoid of originality.

Terra-cotta statuettes are found in much smaller numbers in the Cyclades than in other regions of the Greek world. A few have come to light in Paros and Naxos. The two statuettes from Siphnos with their decoration painted in vase technique and style are exceptional. This relative scarcity might be attributed to insufficient study, were it not that even in Delos the archaic and classical statuettes are few compared to the finds of the Hellenistic period. Besides, the bulk of these were imported from Rhodes, Ionia, Cyprus, and Attica. Nor, so far as is known, were any plastic vases produced in the Cyclades.

Two types of reliefs attest to the activity of Cycladic coroplasts in different periods and under different conditions: the reliefs on pithoi and the so-called "Melian reliefs." In the Cyclades the production of pithoi with reliefs extended over a long period, from the 7th to the 5th century B.C. This production, which must have been rather plentiful, has been known until now only from fragments found in Delos, Tenos, Melos, Siphnos, and Thera. Personages and animals are represented (figures with the polos, winged horses, a man being devoured by a bird, hunters on horseback, etc.). Where these vases were made cannot be determined; the closest connection that can be established is with Boeotian pithoi.

The Melian reliefs constitute a homogenous group, coming from one workshop during a span of about thirty years toward the middle of the 5th century B.C. There are more than a hundred; the great majority of those whose provenance is known come from Melos, and there is reason to localize on that island the workshop that produced these small perforated plaques with their slightly provincial and archaizing style. Pierced with holes

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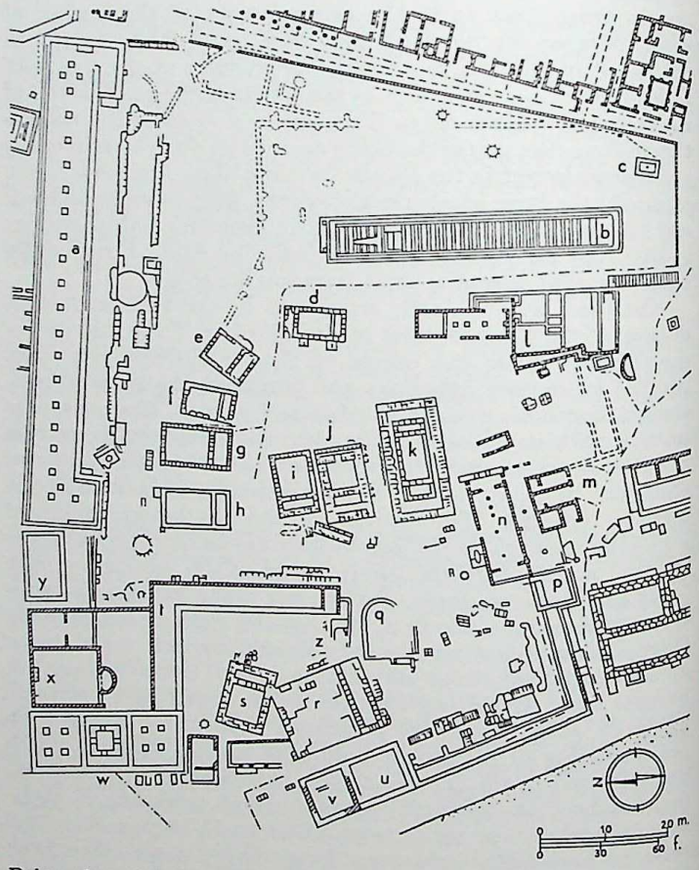
around the edge, these were probably to be attached to wooden caskets in the manner of ivory reliefs. The repertory of subjects is taken from mythology: the hunt of the Calydonian boar (PL. 10), the death of Aktaion, Perseus and the Medusa, Ajax and Cassandra, Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Eos and Kephalos, Phrixos and the ram, Helle on the ram, Triton and Theseus, Scylla, Thetis and Peleus, Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles, the ransoming of Hektor's body by Priam, Orestes and Elektra at the grave of Agamemnon, and Odysseus and Penelope.

*Metalwork.* Metalwork was not much esteemed in the Cyclades; no statuettes nor relief plaques nor bronze utensils comparable with the products of Samos, Rhodes, Crete, and the Peloponnesos were produced. A bronze statuette dedicated by Deinagoras in Naxos toward the middle of the 6th century B.C. is not surely in the local style. Probably only a single goldsmith's workshop was active in Melos in the 7th century B.C. Actually two types of jewels were found in the island (and in lesser number in Thera and Rhodes); they are related to the plaquettes of Kameiros in technique and subject matter but differ from them in form. There are long earrings decorated with protomas of griffins and other animals (PL. 16), and large rosettes decorated in the center and on each of the six petals with motifs including birds and bees, human heads, protomas of lions, griffins, and bulls. The circumstances of their finding do not favor the attribution of these pieces to Rhodian goldsmiths; besides, there appear in the treatment of the human heads rather conspicuous stylistic differences from the Rhodian jewels.

*Gems.* It is also in Melos that the majority of the lenticular or oval gems engraved with fantastic creatures, probably dating from the 7th century B.C., were found; on these appear the Chimaera, Pegasos, centaurs, winged genii, and hippocampi. Whether the production of intaglios was continued in Melos or on other islands of the Cyclades between the 6th and the 4th century B.C. is not known. It is virtually impossible to localize the workshops; not even the place of origin is known for the gem carvers who signed their works, except for Dexamenos of Chios (see GEMS AND GLYPTICS; VI, PL. 36).

*Sculpture.* It is in the creation of monumental sculpture that the Cyclades played their most important role. The presence of marble on several of the islands, notably in Naxos, Paros, and Tenos, probably favored this development. The artists took up once more the tradition of those ancestors who had chiseled the Cycladic idols in marble in the 3d and 2d millenniums B.C. The first workshops were certainly established close to the quarries; it is the workshop of Naxos whose activity is earliest attested: the life-size statue of Artemis, carved in coarse-grained Naxian marble, dedicated in Delos by Nikandre of Naxos, goes back to the middle of the 7th century B.C. (PL. 12). It is one of the earliest Greek statues of this size, perhaps the earliest that has come down to us. Only Crete has yielded documents of about the same time. Flat and delicate, the Nikandre *Artemis* differs in its slender proportions from the Cretan statues, which are heavier and more massive. While the Cretan workshops disappeared rather early, in the general decline of the island, those of Naxos produced works — many and various — for at least a century. Two mutilated kouroi found in Delos seem to be Naxian works of the 7th century B.C. The name of one Naxian sculptor of this period, Euthykartides, is known to us: his signature appears on the base of a statue in Delos. The row of lions along the road leading to the Letoon in Delos, which must be dated at about the end of the 7th century B.C., is probably a Naxian ex-voto. Some of the earliest kouroi are also the tallest. Left unfinished in the quarries of the island were two that would have measured about 36 ft. and 18 ft. Three mutilated kouroi found in Thera, which were probably produced in Naxos, were also larger than life-size. The Colossus of Naxos, of which the torso, part of the thighs, and the inscribed base remain in Delos, was a statue of Apollo over 16½ ft. high, dedicated by the Naxians about 600 B.C. In Naxos the head of a kouros of about 580 B.C. was discovered (PL. 12); in its entirety the statue must have measured almost 10 ft. in height. Sculpture from Naxos has also been found outside the Cyclades. One of the korai (no. 677) of the Acropolis of Athens, believed by some to be Samian, is probably a Naxian work. About 570–560 B.C. the Naxians dedicated in Delphi an Ionic column surmounted by a sphinx (PL. 13); the whole monument, which had been carved in Naxos of local marble, was almost 40 ft. high. Toward the middle of the 6th century two similar but shorter columns were consecrated by the Naxians in Delos.

Although Naxos held political and economic hegemony over the Cyclades from the time of Lygdamos up to the Persian Wars, from the beginning of the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. it gradually lost its artistic primacy, especially in the field of sculpture. In this domain Paros must have been its major rival, but actually the existence of a Parian school of sculpture is no more than a probability. Beginning in the middle of the 6th century, however, Parian marble eclipsed that of Naxos in the Greek markets, and it is hardly credible that the finest marble of Greece was exported only in rough blocks as it came from the quarry. But the use of Parian marble is in itself no indication of the origin of a work. In Athens the sculptors and even the architects preferred it to Pentelic marble up to the middle of the 5th century B.C.; in Olympia the statues of the pediments of the Temple of Zeus are of Parian marble. On the island of Paros itself not much sculpture was found; three kouroi, two headless, do not make it possible to define a Parian style (which has been claimed for statues found in Thera, Andros, Melos, and even Boeotia). Naxos and Paros were probably




Delos, plan of the sanctuary: (*a*) Stoa of Antigonos Gonatas; (*b*) Pythion, or "Temple of the Bulls," Hellenistic; (*c*) altar of Zeus Polieus, Hellenistic; (*d–g*) treasuries, first half of 5th cent. B.C.; (*h*) supposed treasury of Karystos, archaic; (*i*) Temple of Apollo (*porinos neos*), archaic; (*j*) Temple of the Athenians, (or Temple of the Seven Statues), 425–417 B.C.; (*k*) peripteral Temple of Apollo, first half of 5th cent., completed 3d cent. B.C.; (*l*) Prytaneion, first half of 5th cent., restored ca. 303 B.C.; (*m*) Ergasteria of the Theandridai, Hellenistic; (*n*) *oikos* of the Naxians, archaic; (*o*) base of the colossus of the Naxians, ca. 600 B.C.; (*p*) propylon, first half of 5th cent. B.C.; (*q*) great altar of Apollo (apsidal monument), 5th–4th cent. B.C.; (*r*) *keraton*, 4th cent. B.C.; (*s*) Artemision, reconstructed in Hellenistic period; (*t*) stoa of the Artemision, Hellenistic; (*u*) *oikos* of Andros, archaic; (*v*) *hieropoion*, archaic; (*w*) Thesmophorion, 489–479 B.C.; (*x*) *ekklesiasterion*, 5th–2d cent. B.C. except northwest section, archaic; (*y*) north building, ca. 402–394 B.C.; (*z*) small archaic temple (*after R. Vallois, Les constructions antiques de Délos, Paris, 1953*).

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not the only Cycladic islands to have sculptors' workshops. Besides, differences of style between neighboring workshops are often rather slight and their evaluation rather subjective. The origin of a kouros found in Thera is disputed, being claimed for Paros, Naxos, and Chios. The origin of the *Nike* of Delos, attributed to Archermos, may have been Parian or Athenian. The attribution of the kouros from Melos (PL. 12) to a Parian workshop is not well founded. Two important groups of sculpture of insular Greece and of Asia Minor were found at Delphi; they decorated the treasuries of Knidos (ca. mid-6th century B.C.) and of Siphnos (ca. 530–525 B.C.). Two sculptors collaborated on the Siphnian treasury: the artist of the south and west friezes was probably an Ionian; the east and north friezes (PL. 11) and the partly preserved caryatid may have been the work of an islander, perhaps from Paros, possibly from Chios — or he could even have been from Ionia.

There certainly existed in the Cyclades in the first half of the 5th century B.C. one or more centers that concurrently with Ionia, especially Miletos, carried out in marble studies of athletes in motion comparable to the studies made by the Peloponnesian bronzeworkers. Torsos of athletes from Delos, Thasos, Paros, and Miletos, the so-called "Pollux" of the Louvre, and probably also the first works of Pythagoras are connected with this Ionian and insular trend. It was probably from the island workshops that the master of works at Olympia recruited some of the assistants who executed the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. Cycladic sculptors may have worked in Crete, Rhodes, and Sidon; Cycladic workshops were also active for mainland Greece in the period from which practically no Attic funerary steles exist, namely, from the end of the 6th to the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. The stele of Orchomenos, of the first quarter of the 5th century, signed by Alxenor of Naxos — a work of good quality but original neither in subject matter nor in execution — was made in Boeotia of local marble. The sculptors of reliefs of the second and third quarters of the 5th century, such as the Giustiniani funerary stele (PL. 8), the stele of the athlete with strigil in Delphi, the disk of Melos, the stele of a girl with doves in New York (Met. Mus.), and the stele of the warrior from Pella were Cycladians, probably from Paros. The Cycladic tradition, uninterrupted during the 5th century, influenced Thessalian and Boeotian sculpture. From the period of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens resumed the production of funerary steles, the votive and sepulchral reliefs of the Cycladic workshops formed part of an Ionian and insular koine whose domain extended from Cyprus to northern Greece.

The vitality of the Cycladic tradition is still apparent in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., to judge from the great number of insular sculptors, especially Parians, who made names for themselves in the workshops of Greece and Asia Minor. Euphron signed three monuments on the Acropolis of Athens in the second quarter of the 5th century; Agorakritos and probably Lokros were among the group of assistants and disciples of Phidias; Aristandros, perhaps the father of Skopas, worked in Amyklai about 400 B.C. for the Spartans; Thrasymedes was called to work in Epidauros, Skopas (q.v.) in Tegea, Thebes, and Halikarnassos, and Satyros in Halikarnassos and Delphi.

*Architecture.* The hegemony that Naxos, the greatest and richest of the Cyclades, exercised in the archaic period over the entire archipelago must have been reflected in the monuments of the island; unhappily, they are almost all destroyed. Of a great Temple of Dionysos, begun in the second half of the 6th century but not finished, there remains only the door of the *opisthodomos*. In Delos the Naxians erected an *oikos*; its first phase of construction goes back at least to the 7th century B.C. About 600 B.C. it was reconstructed on a plan incorporating axial columns (FIG. 44), with a covering of marble slabs and antefixes decorated with incised gorgoneia. According to tradition it was a Naxian — Byzes — who invented the covering of buildings with marble, at the time of Alyattes of Lydia. About 570–560 an Ionic *prostoon* was added to the *oikos*; about 550–540 the Naxians built an Ionic portico in the sanctuary of Apollo.

Until the middle of the 6th century, Cycladic architecture maintained its Ionic character and was not in the slightest degree influenced by the Greek mainland. The bases of the columns are of the Samian type; the various phases of evolution of the Ionic capital are represented in Delos as well as in the main Greek sites of Asia Minor. The Naxian capitals of the sphinxes in Delphi and Delos (PL. 13) and of the one found in Naxos itself take a leading place, beside those from Naukratis and Ephesos, in the series of monumental Ionic capitals of the second quarter and the middle of the 6th century B.C.

The ground plans of the buildings (temples, *oikoi*) are of east Greek type. In Delos both the Artemision, constructed about 700 B.C. (over an important deposit of Mycenaean material), and the first Heraion, built in the same period, show a cella without *prodromos*, while the Letoon, of about 540 B.C., has a cella preceded by a closed vestibule. The archaic Temple of Apollo (which probably contained the statue of Apollo by Tektaios and Angelion), built toward the middle of the 6th century, was prostyle; the Temple of Dionysos in Naxos was distyle *in antis*; a temple in Paros dedicated to Athena (?), of which Ionic architectural elements of the last quarter of the 6th century remain, was prostyle or distyle *in antis*. The Cyclades had no great peripteral temples comparable with those of Samos and Ephesos.

From the time of Peisistratos the Cyclades were open to influences from mainland Greece. A temple in the Delion of Paros going back perhaps to the middle of the 6th century B.C. is Doric. A group of statues of divinities (Zeus, Athena, Hera, Letoides, etc.) consecrated in Delos at the end of the 6th century bears the imprint of the Attic style. About the same time the Doric order was introduced into Delos in the treasuries, in the second Heraion, and then, after the Persian Wars, in the great Temple of Apollo (begun in the second quarter of the 5th century and completed in the 4th), in the Temple of the Athenians (ca. 420), and in still other buildings. But the Thesmophorion (ca. 480) was erected on a plan of east Greek type, and there are details of construction that invite comparison with Persian architecture.

*Coins.* From the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century B.C., Melos and the islands of the southern Cyclades close to the Peloponnesian shores (e.g., Seriphos and Siphnos), following the example of Aegina and Corinth, minted coins; thus they were among the first Greek states to issue currency. Siphnos possessed gold and silver mines, which Aegina probably availed itself of for its own coinage. The northern Cyclades did not follow the trend until about the middle of the 6th century. Their coins, bearing on the reverse an incused square, have the following symbols on the obverse: kantharos (Naxos), amphora (Andros), lyre (Delos), goat (Paros), grapes (Tenos).

The minting of these coins was interrupted for almost the whole of the 5th century, first by the Persian invasion and then by the establishment of the Athenian League. In the 4th century some of the islands resumed minting, using new motifs on the obverse — the head of a bearded Dionysos (Naxos), the head of Zeus Ammon (Tenos) — and transferring the former symbols to the reverse. In Melos, which remained outside the Athenian League, a series of silver staters was struck in the 5th century, pehaps during the Peloponnesian War — in any case before the year 416, when the Athenians captured the island. These staters, which show on the obverse the old Melian symbol, the pomegranate or quince, bear on the reverse an astounding variety of symbols; on the 79 pieces actually known, 31 different motifs appear (rosette, wheel, crescent, dolphin, ram's head, head of ephebos with pointed cap, triskelion, gorgoneion, amphora, murex, star, etc.). The intention in minting these staters was probably to put them into competition with the Athenian coins in international circulation. Some of the dies for coins were made by engravers of gems. The Pegasos of Melian intaglios is related to the Pegasos on the earliest Corinthian coins.

ARTISTS OF THE CYCLADES AND NORTHERN SPORADES. *a. Architects of Paros.* Satyros (Σάτυρος), son of Isotimos (or of Apollo[doros]?) and father of Lykos, mid-4th cent. B.C.; also sculptor and, together with Pytheos, author of a treatise on architecture and perhaps of one on the qualities of stones; worked with Pytheos at the mausoleum at Halikarnassos (also as sculptor?): bronze statues of Idrieus and his

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wife Ada in Delphi, of which the base remains (346–344 B.C.); to him are also attributed the *Mausolos* and *Artemisia* at Halikarnassos and the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women from Sidon; transportation of an obelisk, in Egypt (Lippold, GP, p. 254; Marcadé, 1953, no. 93; Picard, IV, p. 70 ff.; H. Drerup, JdI, LXIX, 1954, p. 1 ff.).

*b. Sculptors born or active in Paros.* Archermos (Ἄρχερμος) of Chios, first half of 6th cent. B.C.: perhaps made the votive gift on a base in Delos with dedication by Mikkiades of Paros (see GREEK ART, EASTERN). – Sogenes (Σωγένης) and Xenon (Ξένον) of Paros, 6th cent.: inscription on a fragment of a statue of a warrior (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.). – Charopinos (Χαροπῖνος) of Paros, probably merely the father of some offerers or a sculptor active in Delphi, second half of 6th cent.: signature on the base of a statue of a kouros and in the fluting of a votive column (Lippold, GP, p. 68; Marcadé, 1953, no. 21). – Kritonides (Κριτονίδες) of Paros, probably second half of 6th cent.: signature on an Ionic column found probably in the Peloponnesos (Lippold, GP, p. 68). – Aristion (Ἀριστίων) of Paros, second half of 6th cent., active in Attica (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Palion (Πάλιον) of Paros: signed relief of Ikaria, 470 B.C., similar in subject to the Ino and Leukothea in the Villa Albani, Rome (BCH, LXXX, 1956, I, p. 334). – Euphron (Εὔφρων) of Paros, probably first half of 5th cent., active in Attica (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Aristandros (Ἀρίστανδρος) of Paros, probably father of Skopas, second half of 5th cent.: female figure with lyre at Amyklai (Picard, III, 2, p. 635; Lippold, GP, p. 230; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). – Agorakritos (Ἀγοράκριτος) of Paros, pupil of Phidias and competitor of Alkamenes, last decades of 5th cent., active in Athens (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Alkippos (Ἄλκιππος) of Paros, end of 5th or beginning of 4th cent.: signed base of a votive gift to Apollo at Anaphe (Lippold, GP, p. 231; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v. – Thrasymedes (Θρασυμήδης) of Paros, son of Arignotos, first half of 4th cent.: gold and ivory statue of Asklepios, at Epidauros, attributed by tradition also to Phidias (Picard, III, p. 214 ff.; Lippold, GP, p. 230). – Skopas (q.v.).

*c. Painters of Paros.* Mnasilaos (Μνασίλαος) and Nikanor (Νικάνωρ), 5th cent. B.C., practiced encaustic painting; Mnasilaos was erroneously credited with a statue of Artemis (see below; Pfuhl, I, p. 503; S. Ferri, Plinio il vecchio, Rome, 1946, p. 189).

*d. Architects of Naxos.* Byzes (Βύζης), stonemason, beginning of 6th cent. B.C., father of Euergos (see below), probably active in Athens; inventor of marble tiles (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Leonides (Λεωνίδης), second half of 4th cent., dedicated and constructed the Leonidaion in Olympia; perhaps author of a work on proportions in architecture (C. Weickert, ThB, s.v.; Dinsmoor, p. 251).

*e. Sculptors of Naxos.* Euthykartides or Iphikartides (?) (Εὐθυκαρτίδης), 7th cent. B.C.: boustrophedonic inscription on the base of a statue of a kouros from the temenos of Apollo in Delos (Lippold, GP, p. 43; Marcadé, 1957, no. 45). – Euergos (Εὐέργος); son of Byzes (see above), first half of 6th cent.: dedicated in Naxos some statues of Apollo (Lippold, GP, p. 42). – Arkesilaos (Ἀρκεσίλαος), son of Aristodikos, probably of Naxos, end of 6th–beginning of 5th cent.: statue of Artemis, formerly attributed to Mnasilaos, painter of Paros (see above; Lippold, GP, p. 114; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – Alxenor (Ἀλξήνωρ) of Naxos, late 6th–early 5th cent., active in Boeotia (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART).

*f. Sculptors active in Delos.* Daidalos (see above under Crete). – Euthykartides (see above). – Archermos (Ἄρχερμος) of Chios, first half of 6th cent. B.C.; perhaps made a votive gift dedicated by Mikkiades, found in Delos, with which a Nike found in the neighborhood has been erroneously connected (see above; see also GREEK ART, EASTERN). – Angelion (Ἀνγελίον) and Tektaios (Τεκταῖος), of unknown origin, pupils of Dipoinos and Skyllis and teachers of Kallon of Aegina; ca. mid-6th cent. B.C.: colossal statue of Apollo in wood and gold, with bow and the Charites (Graces) on his hand, in Delos; Artemis, place unknown (Picard, I, pp. 160 and 572 ff.; Lippold, GP, p. 45; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – Athenis (Ἄθηνις) and Boupalos (Βούπαλος) of Chios, second half of 6th cent.: many statues in Delos and neighboring islands (see GREEK ART, EASTERN). – Kleoteles (Κλεότελης), sculptor ?: fragmentary inscription on the base of an altar, end of 5th cent. (Lippold, RE, s.v. suppl. VIII; Marcadé, 1957, no. 63).– Praxiteles (q.v.). – Praxias (Πραξίας), son of Praxias, of Athens: signature on a base of 366 B.C. from Delos formerly attributed to the sculptor of the same name, son of Lysimachos (Marcadé, 1957, nos. 112–13; see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART).

*g. Painters active in Delos.* Kolotes (Κωλώτης) of Teos, 4th cent. B.C., competitor of Timanthes: paintings in an unspecified building (Pfuhl, II, p. 697).

*h. Sculptors born or active in other islands.* Arimanos (Ἀρίμανος), sculptor (?) of the archaic period, belonging to the circle of Melas of Chios, according to an inscription from Thera (L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Eunos (or Eunoos ?, Εὔνος, Εὔνοος), of the archaic period: decoration of a sepulchral monument at Sikinos (Picard, I, p. 580; G. Lippold, RE, s.v., suppl. VIII). – Alkidamas (Ἀλκιδάμας) of Siphnos, second half of 6th cent. B.C.: signature on base of a statue in Keos (Lippold, GP, p. 70; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Archedamos (Archedemos ?; Ἀρχέδαμος) of Thera, second half of 6th cent., active in Attica (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART).

*i. Painters born or active in other islands.* Ekphantos (Ἔκφαντος), active in Melos; end of 7th–beginning of 6th cent. B.C.: inscription on a column bearing a work dedicated and painted by him (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 1). – Timanthes (Τιμάνθης) of Kythnos, of the school of Sikyon, end of 5th–beginning of 4th cent.: sacrifice of Iphigeneia, executed in competition with Kolotes of Teos; sleeping Cyclops; murder of Palamedes at Ephesos (?); Eros (taken to Rome); Ajax in Samos, executed in competition with Parrhasios (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 1; Rumpf, MZ, p. 120). – Kydias (Κυδίας) of Kythnos, middle of 4th cent., the first to use burnt ocher for shading: painting of the Argonauts, acquired by the Roman orator Hortensius (Rumpf, MZ, p. 129).

THE THRACIAN ARCHIPELAGO. *Thasos.* A group of colonists from Paros, among them the poet Archilochos, settled in Thasos at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. During this century and in the early part of the following one, the Thasians imported Melian, Rhodian, Aeolian, and, to a lesser degree, Corinthian ware. From the middle of the 6th century on, Attic ware took the lead. Beginning in the 7th century, however, painted vases — craters, dinoi, lekanai — were produced by a local workshop. The products of Thasos also include, from the end of the 7th century, terra-cotta tripods decorated with figures of hippocampi, Tritons, griffins, and sphinxes in low relief; their style has connections with that of the Melian vases, intaglios, and jewelry. In the 6th century B.C. the workshops of the island turned out terra-cotta figurines whose makers drew their inspiration from east Greek types.

Thasos is rich in marble. The finding of significant numbers of statues and reliefs in the local stone testifies to the existence of workshops of sculptors right on the island. Their activity continued without interruption from the 7th century B.C. until Roman Imperial times; some of the works are of high quality. The earliest one is an unfinished statue of a kouros holding a ram, almost 12 ft. high, dating from the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century B.C.; the style is Cycladic, the posture Anatolian. A head of a kouros of the middle of the 6th century also has Cycladic connections, perhaps more especially with Paros, if, as it seems logical to assume, the political and economic closeness between the founding city and the colony was accompanied by an artistic exchange.

About 500 B.C. the city of Thasos erected an encircling wall approximately $2^1/_2$ miles in length, built entirely of marble blocks. The inside of the gates was decorated with reliefs, following a practice current in Asia (in Hittite, Assyrian, and Persian city and palace gates) but — except for this one example — unknown in the Greek world. The walls of Thasos were partially destroyed in 491, at the time of the Persian thrust against Greece, and again in 463 after the conquest of the city by Kimon; in 411 they were reconstructed by the oligarchs hostile to Athens. Six reliefs, from five gates, have been found. Five of the reliefs antedate the Persian Wars: Herakles with bow, a Seilenos with kantharos (PL. 14), a Dionysiac procession, a goddess in a chariot, Semele brought back from Hades (?). A relief with Zeus and Iris (?) dates from the time of the reconstruction of the city walls, late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

The two main cults of Thasos were those of Dionysos and Herakles; the sanctuaries of both have been discovered. The remains of a temple of the 7th century B.C. inside the sanctuary of Herakles show that its ground plan resembled those of Prinias and Dreros (interior altar between two columns along the axis of the building). During a remodeling carried out about 540–525 B.C., the Herakleion was decorated with terra-cotta reliefs: antefixes showing a gorgoneion, the Chimaera, Bellerophon astride Pegasos (PL. 14), a frieze representing riders and

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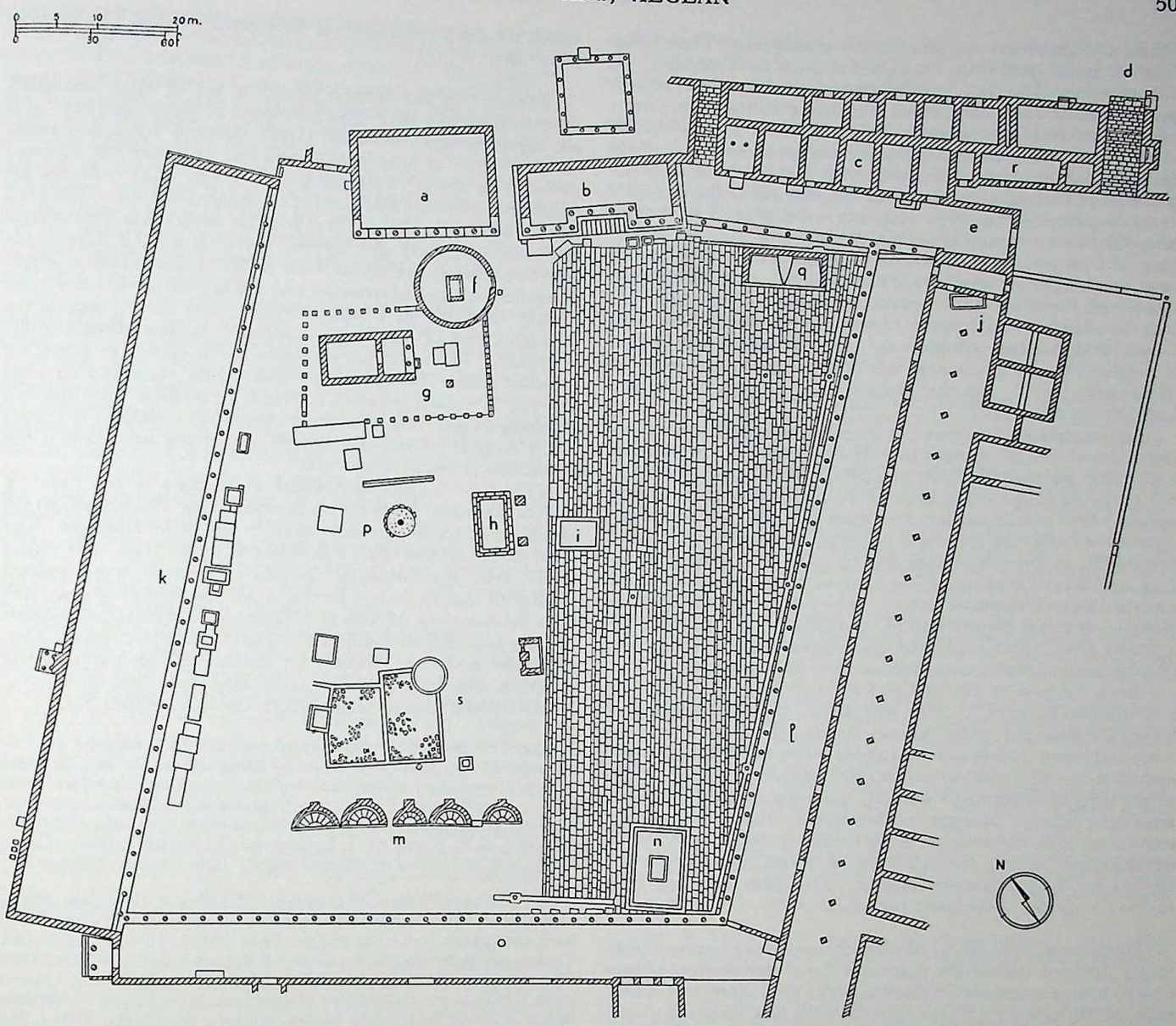


Thasos, plan of the agora: (*a*) Building of poros, classic period, with Hellenistic façade; (*b*) building with paraskenia, mid-4th cent. B.C.; (*c*) storehouses, Hellenistic and Roman; (*d*) passage of the Theoriai, ca. 470–460 B.C.; (*e*) northeast stoa, 1st cent. B.C.; (*f*) tholos, 2d cent. B.C.; (*g*) temenos of Zeus Agoraios, 4th cent. B.C.; (*h*) altar of Lucius (and Caius?) Caesar, with statue bases before it; (*i*) altar, late classic; (*j*) Glaukos monument, second half of 7th cent. B.C.; (*k*) northwest stoa, 3d cent. B.C.; (*l*) southeast stoa and commercial area, 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. our era; (*m*) exedrai, 2d–1st cent. B.C.; (*n*) great altar, 3d cent. B.C.; (*o*) southwest stoa, 1st cent.; (*p*) base of Thesauros of Theogenes, and altar, 3d cent. B.C.; (*q*) base of a monument in the form of a ship's prow, 2d cent. B.C.; (*r*) office of the *epistatai*, 4th–2d cent. B.C.; (*s*) sanctuary of Theogenes, Hellenistic (*after R. Martin, Etudes thasiennes: VI, L'Agora, Paris, 1959*).

dogs pursuing a hare. From two other monuments in Thasos come fragments of painted terra-cotta friezes portraying similar hunting scenes. The use of painted terra-cotta bands of decoration in buildings establishes a connection between Thasos, Anatolia (Aeolia, Phrygia, Ionia), and Etruria. The choice of subjects links the monuments of Thasos with the temple at Palaikastro in Crete and, more especially, with buildings at Sardis and Larisa in Aeolis. A marble block decorated with the protoma of Pegasos (PL. 14), which comes from another building in the sanctuary of Herakles, constructed at the end of the 6th century B.C., shows that at this time the sculpture of Thasos, like that of the Cyclades, was beginning to be affected by the influence of Attica. The sanctuary of Herakles also contained a peripteral, probably Ionic, building whose door frame was decorated with a heart-and-dart pattern comparable to the Ionic decorations of the 6th century, of which numerous elements were found in Thasos. But the style is archaizing, and the building is not earlier than the 5th — perhaps even the 4th — century. Of the temples that stood on the acropolis of Thasos, the one dedicated to Athena Poliouchos has not been identified and the one dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, rebuilt in the 5th century B.C., was completely destroyed. Apollo was also venerated, as Nymphagetes, in the lower city, close to the harbor. Reliefs representing Apollo playing the lyre, accompanied by nymphs, Hermes and a female figure, and three Charites (Graces) were found to the northeast of the agora, where they were originally attached to the walls of a passageway. These fluent and graceful reliefs have often been dated in the neighborhood of 500 B.C., but since the sculpture from Thasos is intentionally archaizing, they are probably no earlier than 480–470 B.C.

The prosperity of Thasos in the 6th century B.C. was due in large part to the exploitation of the gold and silver mines of the region around Mount Pangaion. From the middle of the century, the Thasians minted silver staters and drachmas decorated on the obverse with the scene of a satyr abducting a nymph; in type and style these differ only slightly from the coins issued by the neighboring Thracian peoples. This minted silver was widely exported as raw material to the entire Mediterranean region, particularly the eastern part. In the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century the hoards of Egypt,

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Syria, and Phoenicia contained many pieces from Thasos and Thrace; pieces have been found as far away as Tarentum and Metapontum. The capture of Thasos by the Athenians, in 463, put an end to the international circulation of its coins. After an interruption of several years the workshops of Thasos became active once more: Athenian influence was apparent now not only in the adoption of the Attic weight but also in the style of the pieces; they no longer had the crude forcefulness of the examples from the preceding century. After the revolt of 411 B.C., Thasos adopted new monetary types: on the obverse a head, usually that of Dionysos, on the reverse Herakles with bow (PL. 16), or a dolphin, or an amphora. The amphora reminds us that, along with the silver trade, but more enduringly, the wine trade was the islanders' chief source of wealth. Such amphoras, with names and various symbols on their handles, were found throughout the Mediterranean world; the majority date from the Hellenistic period, but the earliest ones go back to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

Artistic activity continued in Thasos during the political vicissitudes of the 5th century B.C. If Polygnotos (q.v.), who was born there, pursued his career as a painter in Athens and Delphi, the sculptors of the island maintained the quality of its artistic output. One of the earliest and most beautiful votive reliefs, an example showing a funeral banquet, was produced toward the middle of the 5th century B.C. (PL. 14); other examples belong to the 4th century. This type of relief had its greatest success in the Hellenistic period. The funerary stele of Philis (Louvre) is in the mainstream of the Cycladic tradition between 450 and 420 — in all likelihood, given the archaizing tendencies of Thasian sculpture, toward the end of this period.

From the end of the 5th and throughout the 4th century B.C., the sculpture of Thasos, like that of the Cyclades and of Rhodes, formed part of the Aegean-Ionian koine, strongly under Attic influence, and it is no longer possible to distinguish the contributions of individual workshops. In the 4th century it was in the field of architecture and city planning that the Thasians were outstanding. The agora of the city (FIG. 49) was completely transformed, in accordance with Ionian principles of urban development, into a parallelogram of about 330 by 265 ft., flanked by long Doric colonnades. This plan was not fully realized until the Hellenistic period.

*Samothrace.* The island of Samothrace owes its fame chiefly to the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi. The earliest installations of which traces remain (cyclopean wall, rock altar) are earlier than the 7th century B.C.; they are the work of a Thracian people whose language remained in use during the entire 1st millennium B.C. Literary tradition has it that the Greek colonists came from Ionia in the 2d millennium B.C., while archaeological evidence points to their coming from Aeolis in the 7th century B.C. There is hardly any documentation of Samothracian art in the archaic period. In a deposit of the 7th century B.C. the local pottery is still indigenous in style, and whatever pottery is Greek is imported. In the 6th century B.C., however, the Greek city situated close to the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi, and the sanctuary itself, seem to have undergone an important development; it is from this period that a part of the city wall probably dates. Among the ruins of archaic monuments of the sanctuary there are remains of altars, of a portico with a Doric colonnade from the middle of the 6th century, and of an initiation hall, or anaktoron, constructed about 500 B.C. and remodeled in the Hellenistic period. In the second half of the 6th century and up until the Persian Wars, Samothrace issued silver coins bearing on the obverse a head of Athena or a sphinx.

Painted vases and terra cottas discovered in the course of excavations after World War II have not yet been published. It is not known whether a marble relief of the middle of the 6th century B.C. representing Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios (PL. 14) is a local work. Neither the city nor the sanctuary was enriched by new constructions during the time of the Athenian domination, and the only coins that were struck were of bronze. From the beginning of the second half of the 4th century, great activity was seen again in the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi, but this brings us to the dawn of the Hellenistic period, to which the main monuments of the sanctuary belong (see HELLENISTIC ART).

*Lemnos.* In the archaic period an art of some originality flourished in Lemnos. The necropolis of Hephaistia has yielded, together with imported Greek pottery, vases and terracotta statuettes of local manufacture (PL. 15) which can be dated probably in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. What role the art of Lemnos played in the world of the Aegean and Asia Minor has not yet been determined. It is possible that the main decorative elements, meanders and spirals, derive from the Mycenaean tradition, but on the island itself so far no indication of continuity between the Mycenaean and the archaic period has been found. The motifs would therefore have been transmitted through the art of other regions, probably in Asia Minor (Aeolis, Phrygia?). The same decoration is found carved in stone, on funerary steles. Personages are painted on vases and on idols (PL. 15): lyre players before a divinity; a goddess with lion cub attacking a lion. The style is not completely unrelated to the art of the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor; at the same time it has characteristic traits of its own.

The most famous monument of Lemnos is the funerary stele of Kaminia. This has an inscription in Tyrrhenian, which seems closer to the Etruscan than to any other language. The relief carved on the stele, if it is not of Greek type, does reflect Ionian art. The Athenian cleruchs in Lemnos commissioned Phidias to make a bronze statue of Athena, and they dedicated it on the Acropolis of Athens. Alkamenes was perhaps descended from one of these families of colonists. But in Lemnos itself, no artistic centers or works of art are known from the period of Athenian domination — any more than they are in Imbros. Neither island minted coins before mid-4th century B.C.

ARTISTS OF THE THRACIAN ARCHIPELAGO. *a. Sculptors born or active in Thasos.* Lokros (Λόκρος) of Paros, appears in an inscription of 403–402 B.C. (see above, *Artists of the Cyclades and Northern Sporades*). – Agatharchos (Ἀγάθαρχος), probably of Thasos, active ca. mid-4th cent.: signed base with dedication to Pan and Aphrodite (Lippold, G.P., p. 249, no. 6; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Praxias (Πραξίας), son of Praxias of Athens: signed base datable 350–340 B.C.

*b. Painters of Thasos.* Aglaophon (Ἀγλαόφων), father and master of Polygnotos and Aristophon, beginning of 5th cent. B.C.: said to have been the first to paint the winged Nike (Pfuhl, II, pp. 639–70; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, EAA, s.v.). – Polygnotos (q.v.). – Aristophon (Ἀριστοφῶν), son and pupil of Aglaophon, probably father of Aglaophon the Younger, first half of 5th cent.: Ankaios helped by Astypalaia; a painting with many figures, among them Priam, Helen, and Odysseus, interpretation doubtful; Philoktetes. Attributed works include Alkibiades crowned by Olympias and Pythias; Alkibiades crowned by Nemeas; Ilioupersis (Pfuhl, II, pp. 639, 670; F. Magi, EAA, s.v.). – Aglaophon the Younger (Ἀγλαόφων), probably son of Aristophon, second half of 5th cent., active in Athens (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Neseus (Νησεῦς), master of Zeuxis, second half of 5th cent. (Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 1). – Polykleitos (Πολύκλειτος), sometimes identified with Polygnotos; probably also sculptor, 4th cent.; active in Attica (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Aristomenes (or Aristomachos?; Ἀριστομένης, Ἀριστόμαχος?), can also be identified with an artist of the region of the Strymon, chronology uncertain: ex-voto of three hetairai to Aphrodite (Pfuhl, II, p. 917; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v. Aristomachos; L. Forti, EAA, s.v. Aristomenes).

*c. Artists born or active in Lemnos.* Smilis (Σμῖλις), sculptor and architect of Aegina, contemporary of Daidalos: worked at the Lemnian labyrinth together with Rhoikos and Theodoros of Samos (for his other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART). – Glaukos (Γλαῦκος), sculptor of Lemnos, of unknown period (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 3).

CONCLUSIONS. Within the framework of an artistic development common to all Greek territories, each of the Aegean islands preserved, in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., a measure of independence. Local nuances cannot be explained solely by the geographical dispersion of the islands: local artistic traditions and political and economic factors also played a part.

From the 10th to the 8th century B.C. the art of the islands is represented almost exclusively by painted pottery, a field in which the Athenian workshops had acquired a mastery whose influence was felt throughout the Aegean area. But the develop-

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ment was not everywhere marked by the same rhythm: the transition from the proto-Geometric to the Geometric style came about sooner in the Dodecanese than in the Cyclades. The Geometric vases of the Cyclades, and even more markedly those of Rhodes and Kos, retained their distinctive features. The destiny of Crete, from the beginning, took a separate course from that of the other islands, and a distinction can even be drawn between the rest of the island and the region of Knossos. There the Mycenaean tradition, though it had declined, remained alive; on the other hand, the Geometric style, from the 9th century B.C. on, presented Oriental characteristics. In Crete there was no clear demarcation between a style that was Geometric and a style that was Orientalizing.

Though the Orientalizing style was a generalized phenomenon in Greek art from the 8th to the 7th century B.C., its influence did not carry the same weight in the various branches of art, nor did it affect the various centers of production at the same time. The Aegean Islands, Crete excepted, were stepping stones between the continent of Asia and Greece proper, yet they followed Corinth and Athens in adopting Oriental motifs. Rhodes, the nearest of all the islands to the artistic and commercial centers of the Near East, is known to have established contacts with Cyprus, Cilicia, and Phoenicia by the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 8th century B.C. Nevertheless, Rhodian pottery did not develop an Orientalizing style until the middle of the 7th century; besides, this style was very different from those of Athens and Corinth, and must certainly have drawn its inspiration from other Oriental sources.

The art of vase painting had deep roots in Greece and was probably more resistant to foreign influences than metalwork, in which the superiority of the Orient was unquestioned. Whether made in Crete or not, whether made by Cretan artists or by foreigners, the bronze reliefs attest to Eastern influence in Crete in the 8th century B.C. — perhaps beginning at the end of the preceding century. If the generally accepted dates are correct, the goldsmiths created an Orientalizing style in Rhodes a generation before the potters.

Rhodian art, closely bound to that of the Ionian coast in most of its manifestations, is essentially decorative. The Rhodians acquired from their eastern neighbors a taste for objects at once practical and attractive — as well as easily salable in distant markets. Oinochoai in the Kameiros style, plastic vases of terra cotta and of faïence, statuettes, and masks supplied the answer to this demand. Active in the western Mediterranean from the 8th century on and chief competitors of the Corinthians in the 7th, the Rhodians maintained first place in the trade in statuettes until the beginning of the 5th century. After the shutting down in succession of the workshops of Crete, the Cyclades, and Corinth, and until the end of the 6th century B.C., they even competed to a certain degree with the Athenian potters. Among the Cyclades one island, namely Melos, which probably produced painted vases, jewelry, intaglios, and terracotta reliefs, seems to evidence a similarity in taste to Rhodes.

In the evolution of monumental sculpture, which began about the middle of the 7th century B.C., Rhodes played no part. After a brilliant beginning in this field as in others, Crete disappeared from the scene, for reasons, no doubt political and economic, that have not been made clear. Then the Cyclades, at least some of them, came to the fore — first Naxos, for about a century, then probably Paros. Cycladic sculpture occupies a special place between that of Ionia and of Athens; a reflection of it, with a shade of provincial archaism, is found in the production of Thasos.

Thasian art poses another problem, that is, the relations between indigenous art and that of colonists. No trace of indigenous art appears in Thasos from the 7th century B.C. on. Although the Thasians borrowed from Anatolia the use of terra-cotta friezes in architecture and of reliefs over city gates, the style of such works is completely Greek. However, in Samothrace and even more in Lemnos indigenous and Greek elements are blended in original combinations.

In architecture, which is more closely linked than any other branch of art to political and economic conditions, the islands of the Aegean Sea did not experience an efflorescence comparable to that of Ionia, mainland Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. But Crete in the 7th century B.C. and the Cyclades in the 7th and 6th had a part in the evolution of Ionic architecture.

The sacred character of the island of Delos occasioned the dedication there of temples, *oikoi*, porticoes, and other structures. When, in the 5th century B.C., Athenian domination slowed down or put an end to artistic activity in most of the islands, the workshops of Delos were the only ones to continue to produce. It seems as if during this period some sculptors' workshops remained active in Thasos and in the Cyclades, especially Paros. This island produced some famous sculptors in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., but they left for the great workshops of the mainland and Asia Minor to carry out commissions that they could not have hoped to receive at home. Thus arose, from one shore of the Aegean Sea to the other, the artistic community that preceded political union.

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Pierre AMANDRY

Biographies of the artists were compiled with the assistance of Vera Bianco, Mariano Cajano, Giovanni Colonna, Ambretta Mattei, Maria Panvini Cotellessa, Anna Maria Tamassia, and Sandro Stucchi.

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**GREEK ART, EASTERN.** East Greek art is the art of the Greeks of the western coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. When history begins, this region was divided into three parts according to dialect and religious associations. To the north, from the Troad to Kyme, was Aeolis with the island of Lesbos. Next came Ionia, reaching from Phokaia to Miletos and including the islands of Chios and Samos; other archaeologically important cities were Klazomenai and Ephesos and (though at first it had been Aeolian) Smyrna. To the south were the

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Dorians, whose main settlements were in Halikarnassos, Knidos, Kos, and Rhodes. But the art of these Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians had a general unity, which till the 6th and even the 5th century B.C. was distinct from that of the neighboring islanders of the Cyclades and still more from the European Greeks; in architecture the distinction persisted till the mid-4th century B.C. Of the three divisions Ionia was the most important and it might be expected to have had a finer version of East Greek art; indeed, some scholars believe in a distinctively Ionian art.

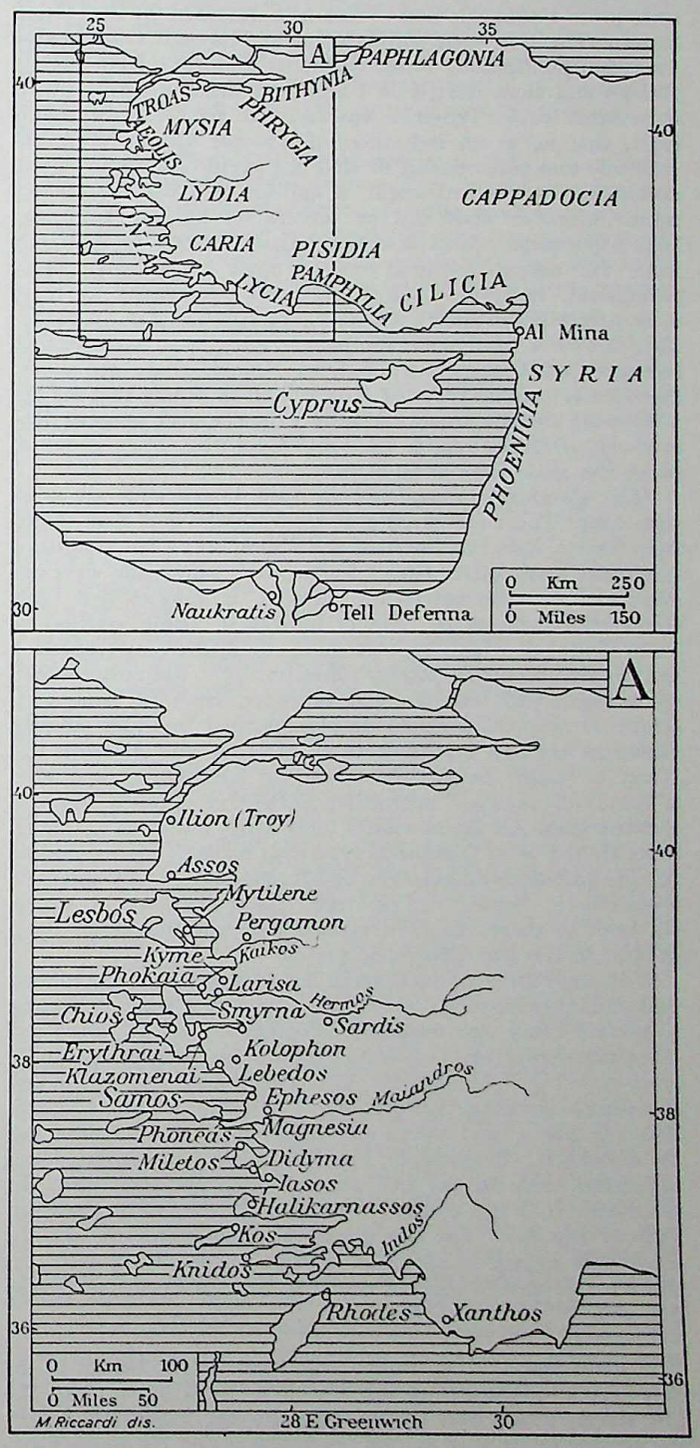
The importance of East Greek art is disputed. Certainly it had a powerful impact on the non-Greek region behind the western seaboard of Asia Minor and according to some specialists had effects in Cyprus. In Greece proper it transformed the female type of archaic sculpture, though this transformation was impermanent, and introduced the Ionic style of architecture; but few other claims are made today. There is more disagreement over the Greek colonies of the West and over Etruria; some see a pervasive East Greek influence on local artists, others little more than casual contacts. The author of this article is one of the skeptics, but differing opinions appear elsewhere in this Encyclopedia (see ASIA MINOR, WESTERN; CYPRIOTE ART, ANCIENT; ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART; MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN).

SUMMARY. General considerations (col. 57). Painting (col. 59): *Pottery: a. Proto-Geometric and Geometric; b. Bird bowls; c. The transition to Orientalizing; d. Wild-goat style; e. Sciot ("Naucratite") styles; f. Fikellura style; g. Ionian Little Master cups; h. Clazomenian and other East Greek black-figure; i. The East Greek situlae; j. Vroulian style. Clazomenian sarcophagi; East Greek workshops abroad.* Sculpture (col. 76). Architecture (col. 81). Conclusions (col. 86).

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. The origins of the East Greek settlements are obscure. In Rhodes and Kos archaeological finds and ancient tradition agree that there were Greek inhabitants in the late Bronze Age. But though, it is said, there are traces of a Mycenaean (or Greek late Bronze Age) settlement at Miletos and though there are a few relics elsewhere, most of the East Greek region seems to have been occupied for the first time by Greeks in the Iron Age, or (as the ancient writers put it) after the Dorian invasion. Tradition also says that many of the Ionian colonists set out from Athens and that in some places, particularly Miletos, they intermarried with the native women captured there. But such connections are not important, since the East Greek cities did not maintain close ties with their homeland and blood is less important than culture.

Knowledge of East Greek art is as yet very uneven. In Hellenistic and Roman times, many cities of the region were prosperous, and excavators have not often penetrated below the rich levels of those periods. In the island of Rhodes, where the population shifted to a new city at the end of the 5th century B.C., several earlier cemeteries have been found and published, as have some graves in Kos and a cemetery in Nisyros. In Samos the rich sanctuary of Hera has been found, and in Chios the precinct of Apollo Phanaios and a small town at Emborio. (The Samian finds are in large part known, while more from Chios await publication.) From the sanctuaries of Ephesos and Didyma some important objects have come to light. At Klazomenai, Miletos, and Sardis little of the early material excavated has been made available. Old Smyrna has been investigated and is in process of publication. From Aeolian Larisa there are architectural fragments and pottery; and from Lesbos and other sites, isolated monuments. Because of this unsatisfactory state of research, it is difficult to make comparisons between different parts of the East Greek region; the finds are patchy and cemeteries cannot justly be compared with sanctuaries.

Since ancient writers made few comparisons between the artistic achievements of the different regions of the Greek world and none regarding the pottery, modern study of East Greek art should have been able to proceed without prejudice. But the archaeologists proved too ingenious. In 1879 Adolf Furtwängler suggested that the Orientalizing style of East Greek pottery, in contrast to most of the Orientalizing styles of European Greece, evolved directly from Mycenaean art. The suggestion was quickly accepted and developed: the Ionians — a term of elastic extension — were considered the survivors and heirs of Mycenaean culture and the pioneers of all Greek progress till the late 6th century B.C. In consequence, East Greek art was regularly dated too early — awkward contexts were ignored or suppressed — and many of the products of Etruria and even of European Greece were claimed for Ionian craftsmen or their disciples. This Pan-Ionism was rampant in the late 19th century and afterward gradually declined, but its effects still survive, especially in the study of archaic Greek sculpture and in the archaeology of the western Mediterranean, where Ionian influence is likely to be discerned in any plump Etruscan figure, and cups decorated with simple bands of paint may be dubbed Ionian, although finer and




Main centers of colonization and of Greek influence in the eastern Mediterranean in the archaic period.

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demonstrably Ionian imports are so rare as to be negligible. In any reference to Ionian art the reader should first discover what "Ionian" means; it is too easy, for instance, to reckon Siphnos and Euboea as Ionian, form conclusions about the art of these islands, and then extend such conclusions to Ionia in Asia. The term "East Greek," fortunately, is less abused.

Of the arts of the Greeks, some (textiles, furniture, wall paintings) have perished almost entirely. Most of the surviving examples can be grouped under the categories of painted pottery, sculpture, and architecture — the order of discussion is not that of artistic importance but derives from the age of the earliest examples, and probably of the arts themselves (see ARCHAIC ART; CLASSIC ART).

PAINTING. *Pottery. a. Proto-Geometric and Geometric.* Very little proto-Geometric pottery has been found in the East Greek region. The two large series found in Kos and Old Smyrna await full publication. Some examples are known from sites in Rhodes and from Asarlik in Caria, and there are stray pieces from other sites. Whether this rarity is accidental or significant, that is, as an indication of whether Greek settlement generally took place during or after the proto-Geometric period, cannot yet be decided. Still, it appears that the East Greek proto-Geometric style did not evolve on its own from any local Mycenaean school but was derived directly or indirectly from the mature proto-Geometric style of Athens. Once established, however, such East Greek workshops as there were proceeded in their own ways. In Kos the cup, in particular, shows a preference for panels filled with crosshatched lozenges and triangles, while from Rhodes there are pieces that closely parallel those of Kos as well as others that exhibit a different stylistic trend. A little evidence also suggests that in the East Greek region the proto-Geometric style ended at much the same time as in Attica.

The Geometric remains from East Greek sites are more numerous. There are whole pots from Rhodes and Kos; shards from Samos, Ephesos, Smyrna, and Chios; and a few published specimens from other sites. In Rhodes, where the development can to some extent be followed, it appears that early Geometric work (as in Greece) favored a single continuous band of ornament and late Geometric tended to multiplication and division of the decorative fields (PL. 17). Recurrent motifs are crosshatched lozenges and triangles, rows of large concentric circles, the hatched or crosshatched meander (though meanders are less regular here than across the Aegean), and a sort of square hook. This hook, an East Greek specialty, is usually doubled and is attached to the free angles of lozenges and triangles. Of figure motifs, only birds are at all common; these are the usual Geometric type with plump, hatched bodies. A more ambitious figural style, which attempts animals and men, is visible in Samos and in more inept versions in Chios. On both of these islands a whitish slip was sometimes used, at least in the late Geometric period.

Although there are local variations in East Greek Geometric, exaggerated perhaps by excavators, there is a general likeness in the repertory and manner of decoration. It is a loose and often unbalanced style — in its earlier stage perhaps and in its later probably influenced by Attic tendencies, and at the end sometimes imitating Corinthian. Connections with Cycladic also are likely, and occasional borrowing from Cyprus can be discerned. Presumably the East Greek Geometric style developed early in the 9th century B.C., not long after the Geometric style had evolved in Greece; the date of its abandonment is disputed. The clay is normally a light brown, and the paint dark brown to blackish. Except where slip is used, the effect is like that of much Geometric ware in European Greece (PL. 17).

*b. Bird bowls.* The neatest and most lasting legacy of the East Greek Geometric is the so-called "Bird bowl" (PL. 17). The shape, which may derive from the late Geometric kotyle, was already established by the beginning of the 7th century B.C. The bowl is regularly small and shallow and without a distinct lip; on earlier examples the rim is often nicked. There are two thin handles. The foot is usually a low ring foot but in later examples tends to be rather higher or more modeled. The decoration is equally standardized. On the outside the upper part is divided into three panels, the middle and widest panel containing a crosshatched bird and each of the flanking ones a crosshatched lozenge. Even the sparse filler ornament around the bird has regular forms and positions. The lower part of the bowl was at first painted dark all over but about the middle of the 7th century was enlivened by five large rays drawn in thick outline. The inside is covered with dark paint, over which, in the later part of the century, narrow bands of white and purple were sometimes added. The clay is normally a fine light brown, though some groups have a whitish slip; the paint has a sheen and varies from blackish to red, and the execution is precise. With their mannered, almost pedantic elegance these Bird bowls are as good as any Greek class of sub-Geometric ware — for they are obviously not Geometric in style. Where the type originated is not known, and the claim commonly made for Rhodes is based on the accident that examples from that island have been known for a long time and are complete. Their manufacture was widespread in the East Greek region, and the output large. Overseas the Bird bowls were the most popular of East Greek wares, even appearing, though rarely, in Greek and other settlements in the western Mediterranean; a few imitations also have turned up in Sparta.

About the end of the 7th century B.C. the standard Bird bowl was replaced by cups of the same shape but of looser decoration and inferior technique. The new cups, which mostly display three large dot rosettes in the field between the handles, persisted far into the 6th century. A few cups, more carefully made, have a pair of eyes, and others solitary lotus flowers; there are also some degenerate compositions with the traditional birds. Rosette cups were exported less than Bird bowls and are almost unknown west of the Aegean.

*c. The transition to Orientalizing.* In East Greek vase painting the change from the Geometric to the Orientalizing style is, and perhaps will always be, obscure. Besides the Bird bowls, there are several pots from Rhodes and shards from various sites decorated in a weakening or affected Geometric tradition. Other, fairly numerous specimens (the best-known from Samos) exhibit Orientalizing ornaments, some freely experimental and some tamely correct. An oinochoe (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus.) probably from Rhodes is, though unslipped, no longer Geometric in style. The shape and the cable of the neck anticipate the succeeding Orientalizing style, but the fish and ornaments on the body of the jug are perhaps better defined as sub-Geometric. There is more promise of later developments on some fragments from Samos and elsewhere that have misshapen volutes and palmettes. In the less common animal and human subjects, there is a trend to reserved details and outline heads; three examples will serve to characterize these tendencies. A large shard of a dinos from Ephesos shows part of a cavalcade (PL. 17). A fragment of a crater (krater) from Samos has a boldly reserved cable and a goat jumping over a dog (or a lion, if the scaly pattern on the creature's neck is meant as a mane). The vigorous invention of this Samian group contrasts with the feeble composition and execution of an oinochoe from Rhodes, with goats supporting themselves on arid arrangements of volutes and birds (probably cocks) of early Orientalizing type. Comparable fragments were found in the same Rhodian grave, and also (if the claims of excavators are credible) a Corinthian alabastron of the third quarter of the 7th century. Although it is rash to speculate about this stage of East Greek pottery on the basis of published evidence, it may be that there were various attempts to establish a standard Orientalizing style — in Samos, Smyrna, and other cities — and that Rhodes itself may have been backward.

The date of this phase is uncertain; however, if, as suggested below, the early "wild-goat" style was evolving about the middle of the 7th century B.C., the transitional period, which seems to have been short, may be assigned largely to the second quarter of that century. This dating implies that in the East Greek region the Geometric style persisted longer than in European Greece.

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*d. Wild-goat style.* The principal form taken by the Orientalizing style of East Greek vase painting has been and is still called by various names. The oldest term is "Rhodian," since the first and best-known examples were found in Rhodes. Though still widely used, this name (like the obsolete "Milesian") can be confusing, particularly when it is necessary to distinguish what is properly Rhodian from the products of other places. "Camiran," which is perhaps less misleading, might have become established usage if the term "Kameiros group" had not been invented for a supposed stylistic division. "East Greek Orientalizing," which has also been proposed, is too general. It is safer to use the unambiguous and descriptive "wild-goat" style, cumbrous though it is; after all, wild goats are a characteristic and frequent species among the fauna decorating this ware. Opinions on the development and dating of the wild-goat style do not agree, and any account must be in part speculative. In this article it is presumed that the style was more or less uniform throughout the East Greek region and that it can usefully be divided into three successive stages — early, middle, and late.

The wild-goat style differs greatly in decoration, shape, and technique from the Geometric work preceding it. While some transition is apparent in the decoration, it is not yet clear whether it is correct to speak of an evolution. In any case, the interval between Geometric and wild-goat orthodoxy was probably short, and the two styles are sometimes juxtaposed on the same pot, as on fragments of fine craters from the Greek settlement at Al Mina in Syria and from Samos — indeed, the Orientalizing style of the Samian crater is very near the canon for the middle phase. Geometric shapes that survived include the broad, round-mouthed oinochoe and probably the crater. The broad oinochoe appears in the late Geometric (in Rhodes one workshop gave it a curiously angular belly), and development is toward a lower body. Craters of this period are too fragmentary for detailed study of profiles. Normally, the exposed surface of a pot is covered with a thick slip, ranging in color from a creamy yellow to white. Some very early and many late pots have a thin and washy slip, or even no slip at all. The clay below the slip is coarse and usually pink to light brown in color; a few unslipped pots are of a finer, more brownish clay. The paint is in the main dark to very dark brown, sometimes accidentally oxidized to red, and may also have a moderate sheen. The brushwork tends to be thick and careless.

The early stage of the wild-goat style is not well represented among published finds. One of the earliest examples is a broad oinochoe in Brussels (PL. 17). The panel on the shoulder contains two rams browsing on some spotty palmettes and on each side a goat rearing on its hind legs to nibble a branch or recoil from a snake; neat filler ornaments are disposed sparsely but effectively over the field. The composition is loose and unbalanced, the pose of the goats lively, and the drawing of anatomical detail tentative — for instance, in the head of the goat, where only the eye and a patch below it are reserved. Similarly, the choice and disposition of subsidiary ornament is still experimental. Another broad oinochoe, which has remained in Rhodes, appears slightly more advanced. Here two seated sphinxes confront each other across a large ornament composed of volutes and dotted palmettes. The filler motifs are placed more closely and skillfully; there is generally more facility in drawing, and the details of the figures, though not always logical, are bolder. From the end of this stage come such works as the crater in Samos mentioned above and the broad jug in Leningrad, The Hermitage, works in which the style has almost become conventional.

The wild-goat style is essentially an animal style, and in its early stage the animals are being standardized. The wild goat is evident from the beginning and grows in popularity; other creatures depicted are the dog, sphinx, griffin, goose, lion, panther, ram, bull, and hare. The head is normally outlined, with the eye and other necessary details drawn in. Reservation of the edge of the shoulder and the crossing of legs becomes regular, and toward the end the belly of goats and some other animals is lightened by a narrow reserved stripe. The poses become quieter, while composition tends more and more to antithetical tableaux and continuous processions, though on the Leningrad jug the goat on the shoulder turns its back on the central group, and on the belly one of the dogs has faced about to meet its quarry. The new conventional composition is assisted by the filler ornaments, which become closer and fluffier and acquire regular positions. Large ornaments of volutes and palmettes, which grow more compact, find their place in the middle of an antithetical grouping. There is increasing certainty in the subsidiary motifs, too; although checkerboard patterns are still frequent, the open cable has not yet given way to the canonical closed form, and tongues sometimes encircle the base on the pot.

The best-known early shape was the broad oinochoe, by this time in its heyday. The taller trefoil-mouthed oinochoe was only beginning its career, and the crater and dish do not seem to have been common yet. There were no cups. The wild-goat style, except in Chios, was very rarely used on drinking vessels of any kind, perhaps because its normal clay and slip would not provide a pleasing surface for the lips of the drinker; at any rate, this style offered no competition to the old-fashioned Bird bowls.

Dating is difficult for the wild-goat style. There is no series of graves to supply useful contexts, and stylistic comparison with other schools is hazardous. Yet the head of the sphinx on the Rhodes oinochoe is remarkably like proto-Attic heads of about 660 B.C., and this fact suggests that the early wild-goat style most likely did not begin before the mid-7th century. Moreover, the oinochoe in The Hermitage, Leningrad, has a hatched meander as the major decoration of the neck, and the fragment of a crater in Samos gives even greater emphasis to meanders of the same kind. From the meanders it may be argued that these two pots are not far removed in time from Geometric, and from their animal style that they are very near the middle wild-goat stage of about 625 B.C. There is also the context, already mentioned, in which transitional oinochoai are reported to have been found with a Corinthian alabastron of the third quarter of the 7th century. While the evidence is too scanty for certainty, it seems as if the early phase began little, if at all, before 650 B.C.; its end can be set with more confidence about 630 B.C.

For the middle stage of wild-goat pottery, the cemeteries of Kameiros and Ialysos in Rhodes have provided many oinochoai and dishes, whose style has a sober orthodoxy. An oinochoe in Munich (PL. 29) that looks as if it came from Rhodes is near the beginning of the middle stage. The decorative system is standard for the time: on the neck a narrow strip of cable pattern, on the shoulder a tongue pattern and an antithetical group of animals, round the belly a file of grazing goats, and below it a chain of large lotus flowers and buds. The drawing of the animals is neat and tame and their poses are limited. The filler ornaments are larger and recur in fixed places, as can be seen in the field of the belly, and half roundels and triangles regularly adhere to the frame. The lotus chain, characteristic of the middle stage, was adopted with no substantial change from Oriental models. The development of this style was toward quicker and coarser execution. The oinochoe became slimmer, with relatively shorter fields; at the same time, inspired perhaps by Corinth, some workshops stinted on labor by lengthening the bodies of their animals. In consequence, a group of three figures can fill the shoulder, and four goats are enough for the belly; the filler ornament — for example, the half roundels — is coarser and simpler, and the bands dividing the fields abandon the loop pattern inherited from the early stage and contract into a single narrow stripe. Sometimes the cable of the neck is replaced by an alternating pattern of meanders and squares, as in an oinochoe from Rhodes in the British Museum. Another group of oinochoai substitutes rays for the lotus chain below and reduces the decoration of the belly to a narrow band of simple ornament between broad bands of dark paint, as in the middle zone of a dish from Rhodes in the School of Art, Manchester (PL. 17). Dishes of this sort, with a tall stem like an old-fashioned fruit dish, complete the characteristic output of the wild-goat style of this time. In the outermost field, little panels contain rosettes and heads, birds, or even

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a nose and a pair of eyes; these panels are separated by wedge-shaped rays, perhaps derived ultimately from the Egyptian papyrus. In the middle of the design is some suitable center-piece — in the Manchester example, lotus flowers and buds forming a simple cross.

The fauna of the middle style is less varied than before. On the belly the goat, grazing or occasionally running, is the favorite motif, sometimes replaced by the spotted deer; on the shoulder the regular groups are made up of goats, deer, sphinxes, griffins, and geese, and of lions, bulls, and boars. In the later phase, in which the animals are elongated, they are usually depicted resting or rising from the ground. An occasional variant theme is a file of geese. The poses are generally hackneyed, though for want of space one goat in a file may be smaller or contorted, while on the shoulder there are occasional whimsies such as a sphinx flattening a goose or, more prettily, a swallow perching on a rosette or tail. The griffins of the fragment from Samos and the Munich oinochoe cannot be far apart in date, as the filler ornament also suggests. The first example is represented walking stiffly and has a palmette on its forehead; the second, which has settled down, is content with a simple knob. The coloring, dark paint on a creamy clay, is heightened with a liberal addition of purple to relieve dark bands and the bodies of animals. Touches of white are rare, except for eyes and rosettes on the lips of oinochoai.

The old broad oinochoe scarcely continues into the middle wild-goat style, its place being taken by the taller oinochoe with trefoil mouth and short inward-sloping neck. A clumsier version of this new shape had appeared in the early stage, and progress in the middle stage was toward an even narrower body. Toward the end of this stage a squatter oinochoe appears, without rotelles and decorated only on the shoulder; the decoration is most often a panel between widely spaced rays, rather like that on the dish in Manchester. The amphora was very rare at this time, but craters and dinoi were more common than the complete specimens might suggest. Besides the stemmed dish, there is a ring-footed dish with broad rim and cutout grips; this ring-footed dish, arising toward the end of the stage, usually has floral ornament of simpler, more solid structure. The plate was still a rare form. In Chios a deep cup conventionally called a "chalice" was added to the repertory. In some of these shapes the influence of metal models can be seen, especially in handles; but imitation of a detail does not imply over-all imitation, and the use of rotelles (as also on some broad oinochoai) is in any case developed illogically, since in metalwork they are meant to clip onto the lip. The middle wild-goat style, at least in Rhodes, has been found in graves with examples of early ripe Corinthian; according to the chronology used here, it may be dated roughly from 630 to 600 B.C.

The late stage of the wild-goat ware differs from the middle stage in the character of its reserving style, its acceptance of the black-figure technique, and its shapes. The oinochoe from Rhodes in Copenhagen (PL. 18) is a fair example; here, as often, the new style occupies the upper and more honored field and the old continues below. The goat is now a boneless cartoon drawn with clumsy economy, exhibiting puffy jaw, tubular body, heavy rump, and rubbery legs. The pose, hardly recognizable as that of rising from the ground, is commonly repeated in continuous files and offers an easier alternative to the old formula of grazing. The filler ornament also is simplified: sets of strokes, spikes, or tongues sprout from the frame of the field, and a large double spiral is often inserted where there is room beneath the belly of animals. Where the reserving style persists on the shoulder, there is a wider choice of animals to supply the traditional antithetical groups; lions with a bull or boar are now more common. Of the larger ornaments the new cable, with heavy drops in its angles, appears on the neck of the Copenhagen oinochoe. The old outlined type of flower and bud disappears, and its place is usually taken by rays. But before the end of the middle stage, simpler floral forms in silhouette had appeared on the shoulders of some oinochoai; in the late stage, silhouette becomes the regular technique for the coarse flowers, buds, and palmettes now preferred. Although on pots such as the Rhodian oinochoe in Copenhagen the wild-goat style is still respectable, its thorough degradation is exhibited on other plates found in Rhodes. The following arrangement is typical: a deep exergue filled by radiating groups of tongues and, separated by a narrow strip of simple pattern, the main field with solitary animal and debased filler ornaments. Of these lone animals the sphinx is commonest, and next the dog; there are also the boar, bull, ram, griffin, lion, and even the Chimaera.

A few plates experiment with human figures (even scarcer as a motif on other shapes of the wild-goat style). The best-known, which may perhaps belong to the very end of the middle stage, is the Euphorbos plate in the British Museum (I, PL. 335). On a field encumbered by heavy filler ornaments Menelaos and Hektor fight over the body of Euphorbos; the flesh of the heroes is colored buff, and the inscriptions are in an alphabet which, so far as is known, must be that of Argos. The most valid explanation is still that of Johannes Boehlau: the painter of the plate copied figures and words from an Argive bronze plaque and filled in the field from his stock repertory. But the human figure remained outside the artistic experience of wild-goat vase painters, and their rare attempts to portray it are interesting chiefly as curiosities.

The black-figure style of this stage has a diseased vitality. The models, as some of the details show, were and continued to be Corinthian of the ripe style, the only influential black-figure school of the time. The filler ornament of the oinochoe in Copenhagen already mentioned remains that of the reserving style; but on other pots at least as early, wholly Corinthian rosettes are the rule. The drawing of black-figure animals varies from reasonably faithful copies of Corinthian to travesties in which, as in Italo-Corinthian, the incised details have no anatomical meaning or excuse. The lion of the Copenhagen oinochoe is of good quality, but the incision of its shoulder looks more like a collar; and there is a tendency, especially on sphinxes, to incise the buttocks with two arcs enclosing the base of the tail. The grouping is generally according to the Corinthian mode (mixed antithetical groups rather than homogeneous files), though the lions are more apt to lay a paw on their victims. The menagerie also is that of Corinth, with its lions, panthers, bulls, boars, goats, deer, sphinxes, griffins, swans, and sirens. This black-figure style seems in some workshops to have developed a more positive character and to have ventured into representation of human figures, but by the time of such development it can hardly be classed as wild-goat style. The subject has been neglected by students, partly because the remains are so fragmentary and partly perhaps from a laudable distaste, but it may have some importance for the subsequent East Greek schools.

The shapes of the late stage seem more varied than before, perhaps because the finds are from sanctuaries rather than graves. The new type of oinochoe has a higher, straighter neck and a lower belly, sometimes almost globular and sometimes oval, as in the Copenhagen example. There are also amphoras of the same general structure. The column crater is common, as are the dinos (PL. 18) and a low, open bowl like an overgrown Bird bowl; and lids are numerous. The dish continues, though often clumsier, and the plate is frequent, at least in the vicinity of Rhodes. Often the slip is washy and sometimes is omitted entirely. There is much use of purple, with less discretion than before, and some of white, especially for white and purple stripes on dividing bands or inside bowls. On the whole, the execution is clumsier and more hasty.

The dating of the late wild-goat style has not been settled. Its occurrence at Smyrna before that city was destroyed by Alyattes argues that it began before 600 B.C.; indeed, some examples seem to have connections with the earlier rather than the later phase of the middle style. But in Rhodes the middle stage is prevalent till the end of the early ripe Corinthian. Contexts for fixing the end of the late wild-goat style are insufficient, but about the middle of the 6th century other styles — Fikellura and Clazomenian — were well established. Perhaps the late stage extended from about 610 to 575 B.C., and the undefined black-figure groups that emerge from it fall mainly into the second quarter of the 6th century.

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During its currency the wild-goat style was the customary local style for larger pots in the East Greek region, except for Lesbos and some other parts of Aeolis, where a gray ware (buchero), which was fired in a reducing atmosphere, dominated or was a strong competitor. Wild-goat ware was common, too, in the Greek settlements of Al Mina in Syria, Naukratis in Egypt, and the colonies round the Black Sea. Export to the west was negligible; not much has been found even in Delos; almost nothing in Greece and Italy, though in Sicily there are a few shards from Syracuse and Gela.

It is generally held that most of the Orientalizing motifs of Greek art came from or by way of Syria, and there is enough general (though not detailed) similarity between the Orientalizing borrowings of European and East Greek vase painting to allow acceptance of a single place of origin, though perhaps the models were in different media: the black-figure technique exploited by proto-Corinthian suggests engraving; the reserving wild-goat style has a textile look. But whatever their origins, the schools of the west and east Aegean developed differently. The wild-goat style did not adapt so readily and appears to have had little originality in itself; thus after the period of Oriental influence (which, judging by the lotuses and certain filler ornaments, lasted till about the beginning of the middle stage) it soon succumbed to the attraction of Corinth. The effect of the wild-goat style was no more than it merited. There may have been a little imitation in one or another of the Cyclades, and some kinship may be suspected with the school designated "Melian." At Sardis in Lydia, it has been claimed, modest derivatives have been found. In Phrygian pottery, animals in a reserving style may have been introduced earlier than their East Greek counterparts (see ASIA MINOR, WESTERN). Among later schools the Fikellura style retains the reserving technique and some motifs of its predecessor, while on Clazomenian sarcophagi of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. the wild-goat style itself is drearily resurrected.

Although wild-goat pottery seems to have been generally uniform at any one time, there are noticeable differences among finds from Rhodes, Nisyros, Chios, and Larisa in Aeolis, the only places from which sufficient samples are available. Such differences probably indicate local manufacture. If so, the Rhodian school displays a correct, but rather tame and sluggish, expression of the style that seems to have been reluctant to adopt the black-figure technique, preferring the dry manner of the ordinary oinochoai of the middle phase. It is also likely that the debased reserving tradition of the late plates was a specialty of Rhodian workshops. Nisyros shows a provincial dependence on Rhodes, but the wild-goat style of Chios was more vigorous. In the Sciot (or Chiot) "chalice" in Würzburg (PL. 18), a not very distinguished work of the middle stage, the style differs from the norm of the Rhodian school in the reserved area on the body of the bull, the reserved patch at the back of the goose's head, the horseshoe roundel, and the continuity of the pendent ornaments above the bull. Other Sciot peculiarities are the whiteness of the slip and its use inside open pots as an undercoat for the dark paint. In the early 6th century B.C. Sciot vase painters pursued new directions of their own.

Larisa in Aeolis had a wild provincial school that had connections with the Sciot. Here forms often become more angular; lotus flowers sprout extra petals; incision and reservation are combined; scale, proportion, and fitness are forgotten; and shapes such as the kotyle-crater and ribbed bowls are in favor. Some pieces found at Smyrna recall Larisa, others Chios, and still others are more orthodox. What examples there are from Samos are closer to Rhodian work, though a little finer. A few excellent or merely peculiar fragments discovered elsewhere have been published but are probably untypical, if the finds from Al Mina and Naukratis provide a standard by which to judge. The present evidence suggests the existence of a southern and more orthodox branch of the wild-goat style, of which Rhodes was not the leading proponent, and a northern branch, in which Chios had some importance. Although it has been asserted that further divisions can be made according to the color and texture of the fired clay of various pots, the results are unconvincing. Further division of the wild-goat style must await the publication of more material from other East Greek sites.

There is no universally accepted classification of wild-goat pottery. The system used here emphasizes the unity of the style through three more or less successive stages. Another system, which is widely adopted, is that of Andreas Rumpf, who divides the material into two classes (1933) — the Kameiros group and the Euphorbos group, one corresponding roughly to what have here been called the early and middle stages, the other to the late. But these groups were, Rumpf claims, largely contemporaneous. W. Schiering later extracted a third class, the Vlastos group, from Rumpf's Euphorbos group, in which he leaves little more than the plates. According to Schiering, the Euphorbos group belonged to Rhodes and the nearby islands, but the other two groups were made throughout the East Greek region; all three lasted from the mid-7th to the mid-6th century B.C. None of these conflicting systems is wholly satisfactory, and perhaps all will prove wrong.

*e. Sciot ("Naucratite") styles.* Little of the pottery from Chios has been published, though more data may be expected as a result of excavation at Emborio. Nevertheless, tricks of style, shapes, and the use and color of the slip allow Sciot attributions for many pieces that have been found abroad. Even so, knowledge of the Sciot styles remains rudimentary.

The Geometric style of Chios seems to have had certain peculiarities. This style was followed by a competent wild-goat school, differing from the southern standard only in details, whose character became fairly distinct in the middle stage with shapes that suggest some degree of independence. The so-called "chalice," which became the most popular of Sciot exports, is well represented among finds; the example in Würzburg from Vulci (PL. 18), a work of the middle stage, appears to belong near the beginning of the evolution from the ordinary cup. Other known shapes that are decorated include the broad oinochoe, the dinos, the dish, and a big shallow bowl with slanting sides and with handles and plastic heads set vertically on the rim. There is also a reserving late wild-goat style of respectable quality; incision is still rare. Lotus flowers, buds, rosettes, and the like, painted in white and purple, begin to appear on the dark inner surface of open pots.

Early in the 6th century B.C., Sciot vase painters diverged further. The so-called "chalice style" grew out of the reserving late wild-goat style but tended to simpler and cleaner composition. The typical exterior decoration on chalices employs a single figure with little or no filler ornament; the inside, of course, is enlivened with white and purple embellishments. The most common subject is the sphinx, and there are also lions and human figures. The saw pattern between the handles is now a normal device. One further development led to more elaborate scenes of human action, in which nothing of the wild-goat style survived. On some of these paintings the rich coloring admits not only purple and white but also yellowish-brown dilute paint and a warmer brown for male flesh. Unfortunately, only fragments of these grander compositions have survived. The identifiable subjects include battles, horse races, chariots, processions of men and of women, and Herakles and the hydra. Some of the faces suggest Corinthian rather than East Greek models, and there appears to be borrowing of Laconian elements also. For the polychromy, paintings on walls and tablets seem the likeliest inspiration. The principal forms, so far as is known, were the chalice and the phiale; a few cups of more advanced shape have been observed, and there are also low-handled kantharoi, which have the white and purple ornaments within but are usually plain outside. The chalice style dates from near the beginning to about the middle of the 6th century, with the grander pieces belonging to the second quarter.

The chalice style is a reserving style. By the second quarter of the 6th century, however, some Sciot workshops offered a black-figure style as well, most of which has a uniform depravity — its stock subjects are komasts (that is, men reveling) and rows of recumbent sphinxes or of lions wearing frilly collars. Other creatures depicted include sirens, bulls, goats, centaurs, and riders. The filler ornament consists of incised rosettes and half rosettes, used like the roundels of the wild-goat style. Pur-



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ple is added generously. Presumably the impulse for this black-figure ware also came from Corinth. Shapes that have been recognized are the pyxis with lid, stemmed dish, ring vase, phiale, and some jugs or tall pots. It seems that in shapes the chalice and black-figure styles supplemented each other. On some of these pots, especially on handles and rims, plastic heads are affixed (PL. 19); there is precedent for this practice in local products of the middle wild-goat style. A few black-figure pieces of this period are of much finer quality and are more ambitious in their subjects. Finally, about the middle of the 6th century, there appeared a modest but respectable black-figure style that dispensed with the use of slip; the chalice and the kantharos continued among its shapes. The clay varies from light brown to pink, and for chalices and other thin-walled pots its texture is fine. The very white slip appears on some pieces of the Geometric period and afterward is used regularly till the middle of the 6th century. This slip, contrary to normal Greek practice, was applied inside open vases, even though it was to be covered with dark paint.

Until the end of the 7th century B.C. the dating of Sciot pottery depends on stylistic comparisons, mostly with other East Greek wares. Later, there are a few useful graves and contexts for establishing synchronisms. Chios had the most successful of the archaic East Greek schools. While elsewhere, in the late 7th century and in the 6th century, local production was giving way to the competition of Corinthian and Attic wares, Sciot workshops seem to have held their domestic market. There was some export of Sciot pottery to sites around the Gulf of Smyrna, but very little to other parts of the East Greek region. In more distant regions, much Sciot ware has been found at Naukratis and at Berezan, some in other colonies round the Black Sea, at Al Mina, and in Aegina; in Greece and the west it is very rare. The Aeolian wild-goat school may have used models from Chios, and there was probably some Sciot influence on Clazomenian pottery and sarcophagi.

Sciot pottery was first noticed in 1884 at Naukratis and, naturally, was thought to be Naucratite. Though earlier phases of the school have since turned up in Chios, some students still maintain that there were "Sciot" workshops in Naukratis also during the first half of the 6th century. The main arguments are, first, that many simple pots found there display the name of the dedicator painted before firing and so must have been ordered on the spot and, second, that the fine polychrome style has not yet been discovered in Chios. On the other hand, some painted dedications have been found in Chios and even Aegina, the finds at Naukratis were abnormally numerous, and there are other classes of Greek pottery that have proved surprisingly rare in the place where they were made. The Sciot-Naucratite controversy may never be decided.

*f. Fikellura style.* The Fikellura style takes its title from a modern place name on the island of Rhodes. Some students prefer to call this ware Samian, supposing that Samos was its home; but the opinion is not proved, and there is other pottery with as good a right to that designation. Fikellura ware is most easily defined by secondary characteristics. The principal shapes and some of the ornaments are constant and hardly mistakable, and the technique is uniform; yet the style and system of decoration have a remarkable variety.

The style, which, although reserving, aims at the effect of black-figure, was established a little before the middle of the 6th century B.C. During the preceding generation a few scattered intimations were to be found in Samos and Rhodes on shards and pots dependent on the wild-goat style, and the so-called Ionian "Little Master" cups were a parallel phenomenon. The British Museum amphora from Tell Defenneh is one of the best-preserved examples of the first confident expression of the Fikellura style. On the lower part of the body were crescents and probably tongues; the principal decoration is the animal group on the shoulder. In the wild-goat style, heads had been drawn in outline and reserved details were thick. On this pot, in emulation of black-figure, the painter uses full silhouette with fine reserved lines. In the field there is a little light filler ornament of East Greek type. The dogs and hares chasing round the belly of the pot are in the same technique, but the drawing — even of the filler ornament — is coarser. The cable, normal in Fikellura, is derived from the wild-goat style, though closer to the middle form than to the late. The crescent motif is a Fikellura specialty. Purple is used in neat patches on the animals and on occasional tongues and crescents. Human and near-human figures, plump and mobile, also appear in this so-called "Lion group."

In the groups that follow, the animals are in general less carefully drawn and less frequent, human figures receive more attention, and decorative emphasis shifts from the shoulder to the belly. The amphora in Altenburg (PL. 19), which is perhaps twenty years later than that of the British Museum, uses much the same repertory of ornament, but the effect is concentrated on the drunken revelers, whose loose and animated poses compensate for the scant and hasty detail. Other amphoras of the Altenburg group have in the main field a single komast, animal, or bird between large volutes that start below the handle. The process is carried further in a large group of amphoras of the last forty years of the 6th century, where the volutes fill their field. The workmanship is sometimes very crude. Other related amphoras and amphoriskoi have a wide diagonal band decorated with dotted lines, crosses, and blobs.

There were, as well, some more imaginative painters. The Louvre group of oinochoai, perhaps a little later than the Lion group, departs from the ordinary schemes of decoration. The only complete example is a vase from Rhodes in the Louvre (PL. 19) that seems to have been conceived by its painter as a sort of bird, with scales for the plumage on the breast and oblique strokes for the wing feathers. On the shoulder, at the front, is a row of simple but neatly drawn swans. The pattern on the neck is unusually involved, while inside the lip are small lotus flowers and buds drawn in white on a dark ground. Fragments of similar oinochoai have animals and even human figures in the front panel, and a neck in The Hermitage, Leningrad, displays a large female head facing a floral ornament and, beyond it, presumably another head.

There was a more healthy interest in blank space, which in the right setting can be as impressive as decoration. A group of plain-bodied oinochoai, reckoned as Fikellura rather than wild-goat style because of their ornaments, seems generally earlier than the Lion group. On these oinochoai the decoration is limited to tongues and largish ornaments on the shoulder and very short rays around the base. There appears to be no direct connection between such oinochoai and the Würzburg group of amphoras, which was also the product of a single workshop. On the shoulder there is usually a dog chasing a hare, deer, or goat, or else a row of birds. The drawing of the animals, which are derived from the Lion group, is cursory; that of the birds, worse. The belly is divided into three bands of much the same depth. The topmost has a careless open cable; the lowest, crescents; and the middle one is void. In other amphoras of this group, which is dated toward the end of the third quarter of the 6th century, the middle band is filled with crescents.

Connected with the Würzburg amphora group by the type of dog and the general coarseness of line is the Running Man group, also the work of one shop, if not of one painter. The amphora from Rhodes in the University of Birmingham (England) is a mediocre example: the neck is hastily filled with a rough meander cross; at the top of the shoulder is a chain of pomegranates, each reduced to a blob and a stroke; on the body a hare decorates each face, and a simple bold ornament each side; even the regulation strokes on lip and handles are sparse. The shape also, perhaps deliberately, is negligent — in the Birmingham example, the mouth and shoulder were pushed in when the handles were attached. The amount of labor spent on painting this pot was remarkably small, but the bold and well-conceived simplicity of the design does not require precision of detail. The spirit of the Running Man Painter is very different from that of his Attic or even some of his Fikellura contemporaries. Other subjects on these amphoras include men and dogs, drawn with a strong feeling for move-

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ment and little for anatomy. The date of this group is probably much the same as that of the Würzburg group.

Mention has been made of a group of amphoras decorated with a zone of large volutes (cf. PL. 6, lower right), among which is included an example from Rhodes in Athens (Nat. Mus. no. 14625). Another group, some examples of which were painted by the same hand as this amphora, has a band of ornament on the shoulder and volutes as the sole decoration on the belly. It is likely that the idea of the free field derives from the Running Man group.

All these groups, except for the early Lion group, are rather coarse or cursory in their drawing; yet a fine and delicate style continues on a number of miscellaneous shards and pots, especially in the representation of human figures and monsters. An example of this finer drawing is provided on an amphoriskos from Rhodes (ca. 520 B.C.): on one side Ares stands stiffly in full armor; on the other, Dionysos reclines in space, with a drinking horn to his lips. More elaborate is a large cup found in Samos and of rather earlier date. Inside is a gorgoneion at the center, around it a flight of Boreads and a school of dolphins, and on the lip (so it seems) birds. The outside is as busy, with tongues around the foot, volutes, and diminutive komasts, and on the lip, volutes and buds. Besides purple a little white is used, and details are incised.

Other pieces, from the late third and the early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C., offer fine heads of Busiris and satyrs; they are, of course, depicted in profile, but the farther half of the satyrs' moustaches is twisted forward into view. Of scenes with human figures, drunken revels are the most common; the Altenburg amphora (PL. 19), though the style is rather coarse, gives a fair notion of the poses, lively and unstandardized. Shards in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (England) of much the same date and quality include a pickaback incident. On a fragment from the Lion group there may be a "Lady of the Beasts," or Potnia Theron (Πότνια Θηρῶν), with attendant nymphs and winged figures. A battle of cranes and pygmies is a rather later work. Busiris, if the serpent he wears is sufficient identification, appears on a small fragment from Naukratis. Satyrs have their turn, on a fine late piece, chasing maenads. Centaurs and armed men are represented on other shards from Istria. Where the decorative scheme allows only a single figure, there is still a wide variety: the Altenburg Painter uses komasts; the Running Man Painter has what looks like a parody of a sprinter from a Panathenaic amphora and a hare-headed man who might be a transformed companion of Odysseus; Ares and Dionysos contrast neatly on the amphoriskos from Rhodes. It is less easy to explain, as an excerpt from a larger scene, the winged dog-headed man with a sword who appears on a shard from Berezan. Though Fikellura painters probably took account of developments in Attic black-figure, they did not feel bound by its conventions. Perhaps the chiton of Dionysos on the Rhodes amphoriskos is drawn in outline as a substitute for white paint, but there is no explaining away the use of dark paint for the flesh of women as well as men. The plump fluidity of the more finely drawn figures is essentially East Greek, and the type of head can be traced back to the sphinxes of the middle wild-goat style. On coarser work the forms are often more spare.

The animals are the familiar set: sphinx, griffin, lion, panther, bull, and boar are early; dog, hare, goat, deer, and various kinds of birds continue longer. On a unique cup from Samos there are dolphins. The partridge, with its striped belly, is the most striking of the birds. Some geese have interior markings reminiscent of the wild-goat style, while others are in silhouette. The few swans and cranes are more carefully executed. The floral and abstract ornaments are most varied in the earliest groups of Fikellura. On necks the regular decoration consists of cable (e.g., Altenburg amphora; PL. 19), meander and square, or the meander cross. The ivy leaf becomes common for narrow bands on shoulders, crescents are very frequent for bands around the belly, and lotus flowers and buds are another staple (also evident in the Altenburg amphora). Diagonal decoration was found especially convenient for decorating cheap amphoriskoi, and large-sized volutes become the principal decorative feature of many amphoras. A special type of ornament is exploited below the handles in the Running Man group. Most of these ornaments have antecedents in the wild-goat style, though in Fikellura they assume new forms (e.g., cable and lotus) or new importance (e.g., volutes and handle ornaments). But crescents, the meander cross, and diagonal arrangements are innovations of the style.

The standard Fikellura shape was the amphora, which had a few predecessors in the middle wild-goat style. At the beginning of its development, there were some oinochoai and simple cups of East Greek types. Later the amphoriskos, developed from the amphora, became common. The technique is that of the earlier wild-goat style: coarse clay, brown to pink in color; creamy slip; dark and not very shiny paint; and reservation of detail. Incision is an exceptional device (that on the loin cloths of the Altenburg amphora is modern). Purple is common on the more painstaking work, but white is rare. The less careful groups of Fikellura ware are fairly well dated by graves in Rhodes, but the finer groups and pieces depend on stylistic comparisons that are not close enough to be decisive. The Lion group probably begins about 560 B.C., though the plain-bodied oinochoai go back farther. The end of the Fikellura style must be about 500 B.C.

In its early stage, the Fikellura style had some close connections with the Ionian Little Master cups and presumably gave the crescent to Clazomenian black-figure, but its further influence was negligible. Distribution is normal; in the southern part of the East Greek region, from Rhodes to Samos, Fikellura was the main local ware, though less frequent than imported Attic; it was common at Greek sites in Egypt and around the Black Sea; there are several specimens from Delos; elsewhere it is very rare.

Where Fikellura was produced has not yet been determined. Most of the East Greek finds come from Rhodes and Samos — those from Rhodes are generally coarse in style, those from Samos fine. The amphoriskos with Dionysos is awkward, since, though of excellent quality, it was found in Rhodes and is closely related to more humble pieces also found there. More serious difficulties are the lack of information from other East Greek sites and the disparity between the contents of graves (the chief source for Rhodes) and the offerings in a rich sanctuary such as that of Hera in Samos. On balance it seems likely that there were Rhodian workshops, probably few in number, that made coarser Fikellura ware and some Samian workshops producing fine pieces. Whether it was also made in Miletos or other cities is not known.

*g. Ionian Little Master cups.* The most accomplished products of East Greek pottery are the so-called Ionian "Little Master" cups, which represent an attempt to emulate and surpass the fine products of Attic workshops. The shapes, color, and quality of clay and paint, as well as the technique, obviously imitate Attic, but the style and disposition of the decoration is in part (it seems) novel. Little of this class remains except small shards; few though they are, their variety is remarkable. These employ both reservation and incision of detail, some of it minutely fine. On the outside of the lip the decoration is more extensive than is usual on Attic lip cups. The strip between the handles also may receive figures, and the inside rejects Attic sobriety. On the simpler pieces fine horizontal lines in dilute paint may encircle the lip or bowl. There are some close stylistic resemblances to Fikellura, most obvious on the earlier pieces that reserve details similarly (PL. 20; note the man). Minor similarities are the ivy and myrtle chains, frequent on the lips of these cups. Presumably the Ionian Little Masters developed in the same surroundings as the early painters of Fikellura, and even when they adopted the more versatile technique of incision, connections can still be observed. There is also, of course, influence from Attic. But it is easier to admire than to analyze.

The remains of these cups are too few and fragmentary to allow neat conclusions about their artistic character and classification, but it seems that these East Greek miniaturists, in spite of their skill and delicacy, were too wayward to establish

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a coherent style. The inside of the cup in the Louvre is instructive and unique. The decoration consists essentially of foliage, loosely intertwined, and though the artist concedes two tree trunks, a man, and some small wildlife, he does not try to give logic to his composition — there is no top or bottom to the scene, nor is the man engaged in it. The informal charm of this design contrasts with the disciplined imagination of the picture by Exekias of Dionysos at sea (V, PL. 185). Since these cups have been found principally in Samos and Naukratis but not in Rhodes, it is probable that they were made in Samos, or at least in Ionia. Their date, which depends on stylistic comparison with Attic and Fikellura, appears to be from about 560 to 525 B.C.

*h. Clazomenian and other East Greek black-figure.* By the middle of the 6th century B.C., several northern East Greek workshops were producing pottery in a modest black-figure style with human figures. Very little is known about these workshops, for their markets generally seem to have been local, and of the relevant sites only Smyrna has been explored satisfactorily, though the results have not yet been published. Meanwhile, there are a few shards from Naukratis, usually and wrongly ascribed to the Clazomenian school. Further excavation in northern Ionia is likely to show that East Greek black-figure was more complex and interesting than has been supposed, but hardly more important for the development of Greek art.

The one East Greek school of black-figure which was much exported is that known as "Clazomenian." The attribution of this school to Klazomenai, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Smyrna, cannot be far wrong: in the East Greek region the main finding places (as of the related Clazomenian sarcophagi) have been Klazomenai and Smyrna — and Smyrna was at the time in question more a village than a town. Clazomenian black-figure becomes a recognizable style about the middle of the 6th century. The earliest group, so it appears at present, is a loosely related assortment of large pots. On the amphora, which may be taken as the most typical shape, the main field occupies a large part of the belly and usually shows a file of women, grasping wrists in a dance. On the neck and shoulder, and sometimes below the main field, there are groups or rows of animals or other creatures, occasionally separated by a large ornament composed of lotus flowers and palmettes. Of the fauna the most frequent are sirens and sphinxes, and the most notable are cranes, which are sometimes white. Occasionally human figures perform on the shoulder. Crescents in white (or alternately white and purple) on a dark band regularly underline the shoulder, with other lesser ornaments filling the rest of the visible surface of the pot. Incision, sometimes scratchy, is used for linear detail on dark surfaces; on the white of female flesh or cranes the detail is more often painted. The clay is brown, rather paler than Attic, and the dark paint is shiny. Slip is rarely added. The standard amphora of this Tübingen group of early Clazomenian ware is large and broad, with handles set on the shoulder and often flanked by plastic female heads. Other shapes include the crater and a large lidded bowl or pyxis.

The influences evident in the style of the Tübingen group are largely East Greek, particularly (so it seems) Sciot. These sources provide precedents for the dancing women, their tight dress, the shelving type of face, the popularity of sirens and sphinxes, the shapes of the pots, and the plastic heads. Crescents are presumably borrowed from the Fikellura style, though the technique is rather that used inside Sciot chalices and phialai; the few other resemblances to Fikellura are probably collateral. Attic models are discernible from the first in the lotus-palmette crosses, some of the birds, the rows of white dots, and better comprehension of the black-figure style. On the late amphora in Tübingen the faces of the women, too, have taken on an Attic look; the date of this group may be about 550–540 B.C.

The Petrie group, which in time probably overlaps the Tübingen group, is more compact and may be the work of a single painter. Its characteristic shape is a very narrow amphora with handles reaching from shoulder to neck. Usually the neck has a siren or a sphinx on each side; the two big panels on the body display human figures; and below, separated by a strip of simple ornament, are sirens, sphinxes, birds, or mixed animals. The work of the Petrie Painter is very uneven: on an amphora in the British Museum the satyr stalking a pair of maenads is a vigorous creation, and the sphinx at least rugged; in other works he is so careless as to be petty. The favorite subject of these amphoras is a tame procession of cloaked women (PL. 30). Next come satyrs and their companions, and there are also a battle, a youth riding, a mixed procession, and bearded komasts. While the Petrie Painter owes much to Attic models in his human figures, animals, and technique, he had a personality of his own. It is by chance that his style is known so well; most of his extant works come from the small and abnormal deposit at Tell Defenneh and were probably made between 540 and 530 B.C.

The Urla group, consisting mainly of broad amphoras and hydrias, is rather later. The system of decoration has become even simpler. The hydria from Tell Defenneh (PL. 22) has a large panel on the body and a minor field on the shoulder, so that the main field runs up to its top; in compensation the neck is adorned with a weary palmette. The chief subjects are dancing women, cloaked women, satyrs and maenads, and komasts; in addition, there are Odysseus and Circe, perhaps Oedipus and the Sphinx, riders, and chariots. For the shoulder of hydrias, sirens are the usual motif. Subsidiary ornament is negligible. The style is generally poor; on the Tell Defenneh hydria, one of the better examples, the stock sirens have an insipid prettiness, but the more ambitious encounter of satyrs and maenads is drawn with clumsy stiffness. The Urla group develops from the Tübingen group, with some borrowing from the Petrie Painter and from Attic, as in the shape of its amphoras and hydrias. Its date seems to be about 540–525 B.C.

These three groups do not comprise the whole of Clazomenian black-figure work. Of the remaining examples, some pieces are stylistically comparable to the Urla group, but a few are more distinguished. The fragments, perhaps of a hydria, in Brussels (Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, no. 931) and in Athens (PL. 22), though anatomically weak, have an attractive liveliness of action and gesture. On the shoulder Achilles mounts his chariot, beneath which he has tied the body of Hektor; below, a seated pair receive a visit. As on some other Clazomenian pieces, the artist uses white instead of dark paint for male flesh. There are also a number of East Greek black-figure pots and shards that are more or less closely connected with Clazomenian; of these only the Knipovitch class is obviously coherent. Its typical shape is an amphora with concave lip and sagging body, on which the usual decoration is the forepart of a winged horse or scales. This class perhaps belongs to the period 540–510 B.C.

The known places where Clazomenian black-figure pottery has been found are Klazomenai and Smyrna, Tell Defenneh and Naukratis. There is a little from other sites in Egypt. Elsewhere it is very rare. The Knipovitch class and related work are infrequent in northern Ionia but appear in Delos, Egypt, and the Greek colonies of southern Russia. For chronology Tell Defenneh is important, if the Greek pottery found there stopped with the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.; otherwise, dating is by style.

*i. The East Greek situlae.* The most curious class of East Greek pottery bears the neutral name "situlae." A group of squatter jars with very simple ornaments on the upper part of the body, observed at Vroulia in Rhodes, seems to be a humble forerunner. The black-figure situlae fall into two groups. The earlier is represented by a situla from Memphis (Philadelphia, Univ. Mus.); the lower part, correctly restored, should be thought of as painted dark except for another set of reserved bands. The clear brownish clay and shiny dark paint recall the Bird bowls. On the other side of this pot a pair of dispirited bulls occupy the wide, undivided field. Purple is used to pick out details, but not white. Other situlae of this group offer as decoration "Typhon," a "Boread," a griffin, and a lion with an

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owl. The style of the figures has parellels in Attic, Corinthian, and Fikellura. The side ornaments of the Philadelphia situla are of a structure peculiar to this group, which is probably the work of a single painter.

The later group of black-figure situlae is larger. Its clay is paler, and both it and the paint have worn badly. The shape is usually slimmer and more elegant, with shorter ring handles. The decoration of the body is still in three bands, but the lower two are now filled with large lotus flowers and palmettes, incised on the dark ground and enlivened with purple (as on the Vroulian cups). In one instance this technique is used in the panels between the handles, but normally these panels (no longer divided or bordered) contain a solitary figure or simple antithetical group drawn in a black-figure style with much addition of purple. The style varies greatly in character and execution. Nor is there a consistent connection with any other school: the plump head of the "Boread" on one of these fragments resembles those of some Caeretan hydrias; the horse of another, those of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi; and other situlae exhibit different types. Some of the subjects, too, are strange — one shard appears to have the peculiarly Egyptian motif of a falcon on a Neb basket. In spite of similarity in shape, technique, and decorative system, this group of situlae has no stylistic coherence.

Where the situlae were made is not known. Since the simple preliminary group has been found only in Rhodes, it was presumably of local manufacture. The earlier black-figure group numbers only four or five examples: one from Rhodes, two from Tell Defenneh, and one from Memphis. Of the thirty-odd later situlae, two poor specimens are from Rhodes and the rest from Tell Defenneh. This distribution argues that the later group was not made in Rhodes; otherwise, more would have been found in that well-explored island, export would not have been restricted to Tell Defenneh, and the style would be less wayward. Perhaps this is a rare instance of Greek potters working in an alien land, isolated in the eastern part of the Egyptian delta. On the home of the earlier black-figure group, which differs in clay as well as style, available evidence makes it hardly worth speculating. For the date of the situlae, Tell Defenneh perhaps suggests a terminal point of about 525 B.C., and something may be guessed from stylistic parallels. On the basis of such evidence, the first black-figure group falls in the second quarter of the 6th century and must be one of the earlier East Greek schools that can properly be called "black-figure." The later group, in so far as it comes from Tell Defenneh, should belong to the third quarter of the century, though it seems to have continued later — at least two degenerate pieces found in Rhodes were both in contexts of 500–490 B.C.

*j. Vroulian style.* Vroulian is another of the groups of Greek pottery in which the field is covered with dark paint and decoration executed in incision and added color. The style takes its name from the modern site of Vroulia at the south end of Rhodes, where specimens have been found. The main group consists entirely of cups. The shape, which varies little, is old-fashioned for its period; so, until excavators' contexts were noted, Vroulian ware was usually dated too early. The decoration, large and simple, covers most of the outside; the inside sometimes has a large star, at other times ornaments like those of the exterior. The underside of the foot is reserved. The principal motif is the enclosed palmette, and there are also free palmettes, lotus flowers and buds, and rosettes. The lip is usually filled with a large zigzag. In the band between the handles, there are often pairs of opposed triangles and vertical strokes on a reserved ground. The clay is fine and brown, the dark paint has some sheen, and the execution is neat; purple is the only added color. On the evidence of graves in Rhodes, it appears that these cups were current from the beginning till after the middle of the 6th century B.C. They were probably made in Rhodes, since most known examples were found there or at Naukratis.

Besides the Vroulian cups a few amphoras and fragments of a hydria, open bowls, and deep jars (sometimes called "stamnoi") are decorated in a Vroulian manner. On these large pots the technique is coarser. The decoration is usually in two or three deep bands, separated by reserved stripes, and the regular ornaments are lotus flower and bud and the palmette. The later situlae, too, use this system for their lower fields.

*Clazomenian sarcophagi.* Burial in coffins of stone or terra cotta was a widespread practice in East Greek communities in the 6th century B.C. Most of these coffins were simple and undecorated, but in Klazomenai and Smyrna and possibly in other places nearby, there arose a fashion for something more imposing. These Clazomenian sarcophagi normally have a rectangular or trapezoidal receptacle with a broadened rim that has painted decoration on its face and edges. A few more elaborate pieces have paneled sides and a lid, also decorated. The material is a coarse reddish or brownish clay coated with a thick creamy slip on the parts to be painted. The decorative system of the face of the standard sarcophagus (PLS. 22, 23) provides a deep field at the head, sometimes bordered by one or more subsidiary bands. A strip of ornaments or black-figure animals runs across from the projecting inner corners, and below is a squarish panel, occasionally emphasized by a narrow band at top and bottom. Down the side there usually runs a long cable with palmettes in its angles. At the foot the arrangement of the upper part is reversed, but subsidiary bands are fewer. Along the outer edge there is often a large egg-and-dart pattern, and on the inside some sort of meander. For the drawing of the figural decoration there is a choice of three manners. First, there is a variety of the old wild-goat style, in which the heads and other details of the animals are roughly reserved. Second, there is a kind of black-figure style. In this style, presumably because of the coarseness of the slip, the inner details are not incised in the silhouette but are drawn in white paint, though these touches and the lavish patches of purple have generally perished. The black-figure style is used for human and superhuman scenes and for the conventional animals of subsidiary bands. Of these two manners, the black-figure has precedence, and where both are used on the same sarcophagus, black-figure takes the headpiece and upper panels, while the foot is left to the wild-goat style. But often the wild-goat style is found alone on later as well as on earlier works; it was a quicker and therefore a cheaper technique. The third manner, which is rare and tentative, imitates red-figure by reserving its figures and filling in the background with black. More common is the related practice, confined to side panels, of drawing heads in outline on a reserved ground.

The wild-goat style of the sarcophagi has little merit. There is some feeble elegance in an early example in Istanbul (Archaeol. Mus., no. 1427), but more often the figures are heavy, and sometimes clumsy and inept. In the main fields the standard group is a lion and a so-called "panther" (which is simply a lion turning its face to the spectator) flanking a bull, boar, or goat. Other creatures are sphinxes, and sirens, and in early works geese and spotted deer. The filler ornament, thick and coarse, is partly traditional, partly peculiar to the sarcophagi.

The black-figure style is at least more competent. Individual figures of men and divinities, horses, and dogs are often drawn with a neat correctness of outline and inner detail, but the composition is as senseless as it is symmetrical. The early sarcophagi show a little thought, if not invention, but in the Albertinum group stock figures and poses are established, and these are repeated and recombined to fill the field rather than to tell a story. For example, on a sarcophagus in Berlin (Staat. Mus., no. 3145), the center of the headpiece presents a crouching archer, attacked from each side by a hoplite. This vigorous group is flanked by two more hoplites, passively looking on. Beyond them a winged female figure, grasping a spear, briskly mounts a chariot. A naked boy acts as charioteer, intently holding the reins of the spirited pair of horses. Beside the horses and filling the space above and below their bodies is another standing hoplite, who turns his head back to bind the group together, while in front a dog tries to attract his attention. It is tempting but futile to look for a meaning in this composition, or even within its component groups; the painter's aim is decorative. Perhaps this is why female flesh is never colored white, for the contrast would be un-

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settling, In the panels on the sides, in which two hoplites fight over a fallen man, it is revealing to note the detailed similarity of the groups. The outline heads that appear in some panels are undistinguished, but since their detail is painted directly on the slip, it has often survived and offers obvious clues for dating.

Since these sarcophagi were made solely to be buried, it is not surprising that, although discovery has mostly been casual, more than 130 examples are known. Their chief interest lies in dissection of the decorative repertory of their painters. Their wild-goat style is evidently descended from that current in East Greek vase painting. In some early examples the connection is still fairly close, but there seems to be a gap of a generation or more between the last pots with a reserving wild-goat style and the earliest-known sarcophagi. If so, the tradition must have survived, and evolved a little, in some perishable medium — probably textiles. It is a salutary reminder of Greek conservatism that this dull and outmoded style persisted till the end of the series of Clazomenian sarcophagi, at a time when the classical style was already maturing. The black-figure style, for all its slickness, is also derivative. On the headpiece, previously mentioned, of the Istanbul sarcophagus, the soldiers have some kinship with those on a Clazomenian amphora by the Petrie Painter; but generally the style and types are adapted from Attic vase pointing, and even the Petrie Painter shows strong Attic influence. The outline heads, too, reflect Attic models.

Dating is by style, since only one late sarcophagus has an intelligible context. The first group is that of the Borelli Painter; if the Petrie Painter has been dated correctly, the younger Borelli Painter may be put roughly between 525 and 510 B.C. (The one obviously earlier sarcophagus should not be much earlier.) In these works a northern Ionic influence is visible. By the time of the Albertinum group, the black-figure style is more fully Attic and the wild-goat style has lost its local flavor. To judge by the number of specimens and by such details as the open eye of some outline and black-figure heads, the period of the Albertinum group was from about 500 to 470 B.C. The Hopkinson Painter is a successor, active in the 460s; of his few surviving works the majority come from Rhodes, but it does not follow that he worked there. There are, besides, a number of unattributed and inferior sarcophagi, some of which may be a little later.

*East Greek workshops abroad.* It was at one time fashionable to recognize the handiwork of East Greek vase painters and their pupils in the products of many schools throughout the Greek world. Such indiscriminate attribution has in general been corrected, but a few such relationships still seem possible. In Egypt, the East Greek situlae may have been made in the neighborhood of Tell Defenneh; there are a few oddities so provincial that they may be Egyptian Greek, and some specialists maintain that part of what has here been called "Sciot" came from Sciot workshops in Naukratis. In Etruria Greek art was admired and imitated, though certainly East Greek imports are rare. Pontic and later Etruscan black-figure wares were based largely on Attic models; the most credible of East Greek attributions is the partridge with its strikingly barred breast. The more likely claimants among Etruscan finds are the Northampton group, the Campana dinoi, and the Caeretan hydrias.

The Northampton group, small and of fine quality, belongs to the late third quarter of the 6th century. While it owes much to Attic products, it is certainly not Attic itself. Moreover, though part of its repertory is paralleled in East Greek art, the parallel elements come from various schools and by this time were mostly naturalized in Etruscan art. That the Northampton Painter was a Greek is likely enough, but he may well have been a Greek who settled in Etruria and formed his style there. To what degree that style is East Greek remains a matter of opinion.

The Campana group of dinoi is of slightly later date, and its quality is inferior. Compared with the Northampton group, its East Greek connections are more pronounced, but so are its Etruscan connections. Again, manufacture in Etruria is likely, and an East Greek immigrant, partly Etruscanized, may have been the originator of the group. Very close to the Campana group is an amphora loosely related to Clazomenian ware and bought in Karnak; though this provenance is suspicious, the pot was probably found in Egypt or the eastern Mediterranean region. This amphora may, as some assert, be painted by the same hand that made some of the Campana dinoi. If so, this work provides the only direct evidence of a painter who started his career in the Aegean area and continued it in Italy.

The Caeretan hydrias are the production of one painter and perhaps a pupil. The style of this painter, who wrote in Ionic Greek, has affinities with East Greek, European Greek, and Etruscan schools. Furthermore, most of these hydrias were found in Etruria, and none certainly were found elsewhere. It is probable that his workshop was in Etruria — more precisely, at Caere (mod. Cerveteri) — and that, if he was an immigrant from Greek Asia, it was in Etruria that he formed his artistic personality.

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The influence of East Greek vase painting in Etruria was important not only for local production of pottery but perhaps also for decorative painting on a larger scale, being reflected in such media as the painted terra-cotta plaques from Caere and wall paintings of tombs, particularly those of Tarquinia. Imitation of the Sciot style has been suggested, for instance, for the Boccanera plaques in the British Museum (Rumpf, MZ, p. 46). It is possible that East Greek influence in Etruscan painting might also have been effected in other ways, perhaps even from East Greek painters active in Italy. In that case it would be justifiable to recognize in many elements of composition, style, and technique of Etruscan wall painting an indirect reflection of lost originals of East Greek monumental painting. Traces of such painting exist elsewhere, as in the fragments of wall paintings found at Gordion (Gordium), in the interior of Anatolia (I, PL. 366).

Artists and bibliog. (*Painters*). *Klazomenai.* Boularchos (Βούλαρχος), thought to be from Klazomenai or at least Ionian; active second half of 8th cent. B.C.; author of treatise on painting: painted battle scene acquired by King Kandaules (Rumpf, MZ, p. 28; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – *Kolophon.* Diores (Διῶρης), archaic period (L. Forti, AEA s.v.), perhaps to be identified with Dionysios (Διονύσιος) of Kolophon; lived ca. mid-5th cent. B.C.; thought to have executed wall paintings and also a figure possibly corresponding to another by Mikon (or Kimon ?; Pfuhl, II, p. 648; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v. Dionysios, no. 2). – *Samos.* Mandroklees, also an architect (see below under *Architects*). – Kalliphon (Καλλιφων) of Samos, active 6th or 5th cent. B.C. in Ephesos: Battle by the Ships, illustrating an episode from Homer, in the Artemision at Ephesos (Pfuhl, I, p. 499; ThB, s.v.). – Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας) of Samos (or Rhegion), sculptor who was a painter in his youth (see GREEK ART, WESTERN). – *Ephesos.* Kalliphon (see above under *Samos*). – *Naukratis.* Philokles (Φιλόκλης) of Naukratis, active mid-7th cent. B.C.; considered the inventor or one of the originators of linear painting (ThB, s.v.; G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 9).

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Sculpture. Two battered series from Samos and from Branchidai, near Miletos (the first series of good, the second of poor, quality), fragments of the decoration of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, and a few isolated finds from other sites are all that remain of East Greek sculpture.

The Geometric period had no monumental sculpture, if one may judge by the figurines, frequent especially at Samos. There are traces of a Daedalic style in the 7th century B.C. in a fragmentary large statue found in Samos, though seemingly of Naxian marble, and in some terra cottas. The Daedalic style flourished most vigorously in the Peloponnesos, and the claim occasionally made that it originated in the East Greek region is unlikely. If the finds are representative, a distinctively East Greek style first emerged about the end of the 7th century. The peculiarity of this style is a preoccupation with full rounded surfaces and the consequent neglect of the structure of the human body. The comparison with the 6th-century style of European Greece is striking. The European sculptor appears to concentrate on the anatomy of bone and muscle;

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his East Greek contemporary prefers the sleek undulation of fat and the tricky folds of clothing. Although the naked kouros is popular in East Greek statuary, it is not surprising that draped figures are more common. Besides the kore, other types are the standing man, the seated man or woman, and even the banqueter reclining on one elbow.

The marble statue dedicated to Hera of Samos by Cheramyes (I, PL. 356) is the best example of a trend evident about the 560s at other places as well. It is a work that impresses by its solidity and clever detail. The lower part of the figure, unnaturally elongated, rises like a tree trunk; above, there is a suggestion of the protuberance of the belly and breasts, and the back is broadly hollowed. But the sculptor's main interest is in the drapery and the contrasting, though shallow, folds of different garments; especially noteworthy is the system of intersecting folds at the base of the chest. The Hera of Cheramyes has lost her head, but its type may be conjectured from the upper part of a similar statue found in Athens (Acropolis Mus., no. 677), a work of Naxian marble closely related to the colossal sphinx dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi; its big, heavy face has an affinity to some undoubtedly East Greek bronzes and terra cottas. Whether this trend began in Naxos or, as is usually supposed, in Samos cannot yet be decided. But the close, shallow folds of drapery persist in sculpture found, and so presumably made, in Samos. A good example is the figure of Philippe from a marble group made about 560 B.C. by Geneleos (PL. 24). Here the folds of the dress are simpler in detail and the general effect more charming; the hand clutching a piece of skirt and pulling it to one side is an intimation of a new development in Greek sculpture.

The statues of Geneleos also are headless; however, it is hard to imagine them with heads as solid as that of the Acropolis statue just mentioned (no. 677). The typical East Greek face is smaller and more plump. One of the earliest examples of these qualities, from the beginning of the 6th century, is the ivory figurine from Ephesos in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, which originally supported a long pole crowned with a hawk. An evolutionary relation between this and the Daedalic conception of humanity appears improbable, and it may be that there is here a new and direct influence of Oriental models. Such influence might also explain the taste for seated figures and the clutching of their skirts by korai, a motif that in some early examples resembles a transference to draped figures of the pudic gesture of Oriental nude goddesses.

At Branchidai (or Didyma), near Miletos, the long Sacred Way to the sea was lined with statues, many of them seated figures. Of the score or so that survive, one is roughly contemporary with the Hera of Cheramyes, and the rest are of the middle or second half of the 6th century B.C. A statue in the British Museum identifies itself by an inscription as Chares, the ruler of Teichiussa. He is a soggy, shapeless figure, slumped grossly on his throne. The lightly and variously channeled drapery does not conceal the awkward juncture of thighs and trunk. A statue acquired at Cape Phoneas in Samos depicts the same type of figure standing. Only one of the seated figures of Branchidai (PL. 25) has a head, but it is even more worn than that of the Phoneas man. This lack can be compensated by a marble head from Samos (Istanbul, Arch. Mus.), in which the bulletlike skull, boneless face, and flatly modeled hair demonstrate an unwillingness to probe beneath the surface features. Characteristically, the elongated eyes are half-shut, aslant, and bulging. Another head from Miletos (PL. 26) displays the same spirit but rather more skill; if the Rhodian looks sleepy, the Milesian may be called dreamy. The ultimate achievement of this tendency is a head in high relief from Ephesos (Br. Mus.), which is matched by a life-size ivory face from a chryselephantine image at Delphi. A crisper version of this plain style can be seen in fragments of reliefs from Didyma (PL. 27). These, like the head from Ephesos, are probably of the third quarter of the 6th century. Of much the same date is a slab from near Didyma (Br. Mus.); though presumably from a sloping parapet, it is often viewed horizontally and then praised for its thrusting movement.

The East Greek sculptors, even when they simplified the human form, neglected its basic anatomy; consequently, they are at their best with korai. The gesture of the Philippe of the Geneleos group (PL. 24) has already been mentioned. A bronze figurine from Olympia (PL. 31), very likely an East Greek contemporary, takes a firmer grip on her skirt. The consummation of this trick is seen in terra-cotta flasks from various East Greek sites and in fragments of statues from Samos and Klazomenai, in which one hand pulls the drapery tightly across the thighs and buttocks, and so creates a set of radiating folds. This device was adopted by Attic sculptors about 550 B.C. and appeared in other parts of European Greece as well. It is usually believed that the Attic artists borrowed from Ionia, but the time sequence seems rather close. Conceivably, the "Ionic" type of kore was developed in one of the Cyclades. There is a similar doubt about the origins of the flashy class of korai. The figures from Samos are modest; the few fragments from Chios, an island famous in literature for its sculptors, seem tame; and the Branchidai group is loutish. The chief representatives of the flashy style — one from the beginning, the other from the end, of the third quarter of the 6th century — are a head from a caryatid, once wrongly attributed to the Cnidian Treasury at Delphi, and the caryatids of the Siphnian Treasury at the same sanctuary. However, Siphnos is toward the west of the Aegean, and other sculptures of its treasury are more Attic than East Greek. Some of the reliefs from Ephesos may be Attic, too, if (as tradition has it) the Athenian Endoios worked there. There remain the kouroi, the earliest known examples being of the beginning of the 6th century; some are of colossal scale. A bronze statuette and a marble statue dedicated by Leukios, both from Samos, display the smooth, boneless style of the 560s. A statue from Samos (PL. 28) exemplifies a local ideal of virility about 520 B.C.

Reliefs of stone and molded terra-cotta revetments allowed more play for artistic invention. Their workmanship is often poor and their subjects dull or conventional, but occasionally lack of discipline produces a lively effect. A slab from a terra-cotta frieze (Stockholm, Nat. Mus.) that once decorated a building at Larisa in Aeolis represents a subject common on East Greek reliefs: a chariot race (the charioteer has a whip but no weapons) and, below the horses, a dog chasing a hare. Decoratively the juxtaposition of the two subjects is convenient, but by metropolitan Greek standards the logic of the combination is weak. This is inferior work of the mid-6th century. A little later in style is another set of terra-cotta reliefs, also from Larisa (PL. 34), that depicts a dinner party. Men and youths recline on couches, with food on tables in front, and are attended by pipers and serving boys. Below, dogs gnaw bones or chase what seem to be rats running up and over the furniture. Much more ambitious is a relief in Kos, probably from the base of a statue: on a couch an almost naked hetaira, with head bent back in profile and hair streaming down, reaches up to embrace a man on whose left thigh she leans and whose right arm holds out a lyre; on the floor in front, a fallen reveler teases the boy who tries to pull him up, while to the left and forward a piper plays on. The style, provincial rather than particularly East Greek, attempts the new anatomy that is best known from Attic works of the very end of the 6th century. But the composition in four planes, and perhaps the unique subject, suggests that the sculptor had not been educated in any strong tradition.

During the 5th century B.C., classical concepts spread and local independence disappeared. A transitional kouros from Samos is already beginning to conform to the general trend; and though some old-fashioned traits persisted for a time, they were not creative. While it is true that some of the classical monuments of Greek Asia were abnormal, such abnormalities were demanded by the Asiatic rulers who gave commissions. Nor were the sculptors necessarily Greeks of Asia: for example, those of the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos.

The East Greek style of sculpture flourished in the 6th century B.C. Its home area was extensive and there may have been local schools within it though, except perhaps at Samos, their peculiarities have not yet been determined. Its stylistic influence extended to at least some of the eastern colonies, notably Kyz-

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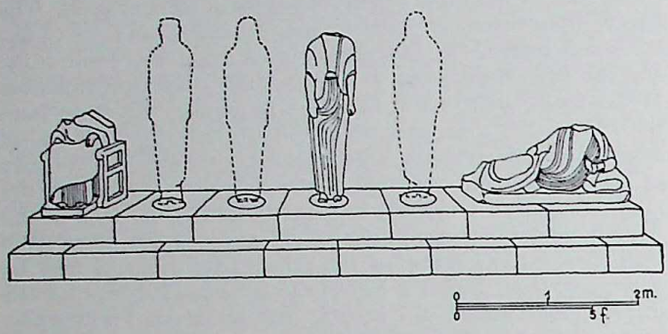
ikos and Naukratis, and its effect can be observed in Phrygia and Lydia, Asiatic realms receptive of Greek culture. At Xanthos a series of reliefs from Lycian tombs were carved by Greeks, though their artistic allegiances are not always evident. At its best, East Greek sculpture has a superficial elegance — a quality not to be despised, though it rarely permits further progress. The contrast between East Greek sculpture and that of Greece itself remains a puzzle, for which racial inheritance and geographical situation give only glib and dishonest answers.

Very little of value can be said about the personalities of East Greek sculpture. Something is known of Geneleos from his signed group (PL. 24; FIG. 79), the style of which allows the attribution of other fragmentary statues at Samos. Some of the masons who carved figures at Branchidai added their




Reconstruction of the votive group by Geneleos, originally in the Heraion of Samos.

signatures. From later writers have come the names of Rhoikos, Theodoros, and Telekles of Samos; Telephanes of Phokaia (who worked for Darius and Xerxes); Mikkiades, Archermos, Boupalos, and Athenis of Chios; Bion of Chios (or Klazomenai or Miletos); and Bathykles of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. It is worth noting that these sculptors worked for other cities besides their own. Archermos, so the scholia to Aristophanes assert, first gave Nike wings; and since a signature of Archermos and an early winged Nike were found near each other on Delos, it is often concluded that we have Archermos's original. But the statue from Delos looks more like an akroterion, to which the signature could hardly belong, and its style is not specifically East Greek, at least in the sense used in this article. For this reason, and for the greater glory of Ionia, some students extend the hegemony of East Greek (or Ionic) to include most of the Aegean Islands and Euboea. It would be as logical to call East Greek "festland-kykladisch." Nor is there much to be gleaned from the statements of Pliny the Elder and Pausanias that the Samians Rhoikos and Theodoros invented the hollow casting of bronze; Herodotus in a relevant passage (iv, 152) makes no mention of this claim. Certainly Samos did not keep a monopoly over the new technique, and not long afterward Kanachos of Sikyon in the Peloponnesos was making a bronze image at Didyma.

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ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. (*Sculptors*). *Lesbos*. Lesbothemis (Λεσβόθεμις) of Mytilene, where he worked between second half of 6th and beginning of 5th cent. B.C.: Muse with sambyke (ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 64). – Archermos, Boupalos, and Athenis (see below under *Chios*). – *Pergamon*. Amyn[omachos?] (Ἀμυν[...]), son of Poseidippos; 6th–5th cent. B.C.: fragmentary signature on base with marks of two statues, from Pergamon (Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, I, Berlin, 1923, no. 3; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Boupalos and Athenis (see *Chios*). – *Phokaia*. Telephanes (Τηλεφάνης) of Phokaia (or Phocis?), probably active in first half of 6th cent. B.C. in Thessaly, as well as for the Persian kings (for works see GREEK ART, NORTHERN; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 123). – *Sardis*. Dipoinos (Δίποινος) and Skyllis (Σκύλλις), brothers, probably from Gortyna; disciples or sons of Daidalos and teachers of Angelion, Tektaios, Theokles, Klearchos, Medon, Dorykleidas; lived in 7th or 6th cent. B.C.: Herakles, in gilded bronze, at Sardis (for other works see GREEK ART, AEGEAN; W. Amelung, ThB, s.v. Dipoinos; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v. Skyllis; Lippold, GP, p. 23; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v. Dipoinos). – *Chios*. Melas (Μέλας), founder of a family of sculptors or eponymous hero of Chios; supposedly father of Mikkiades and grandfather of Archermos; his name appears in inscription of a base from Delos, signed by Archermos; perhaps sculptor or engraver of gems (RE, s.v., no. 28; Picard, I, p. 565; Lippold, GP, p. 62 ff.; S. Ferri, Plinio il vecchio, Rome, 1946, p. 224; J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, II, Paris, 1957, no. 66). – Mikkiades (Μικκιάδης) of Chios, son of Melas(?) and father of Archermos; doubts exist as to whether he was a sculptor and whether date of activity can be fixed ca. 600 B.C.; named as having dedicated two bases from Delos and Paros (Lippold, GP, s.v. Archermos, p. 62; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 75). – Archermos (Ἄρχερμος) of Chios, thought to be grandson of Melas, was son of Mikkiades and father and teacher of Athenis and Boupalos; thus most likely active sometime during 6th cent. B.C. in Lebedos (Lesbos?) and Delos: winged female figure in Delos, related by some to a base for votive offering bearing his name and that of Mikkiades and identified (perhaps mistakenly) with Nike found near it in Delos; more recent signature (perhaps belonging to someone of the same name) from the Persian fill in Athens; dedicatory inscription from Paros by Mikkiades, perhaps referring to a work of his; inscription within the flutes of a column from Athens, giving only ethnic identification, attributed to him (Lippold, GP, p. 62 ff.; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 21–22). – Boupalos (Βούπαλος) of Chios, son of Archermos and brother of Athenis; also an architect; besides collaborative efforts with his brother (see *Athenis*), made a Tyche with cornucopia in Smyrna and Charites for Smyrna, some of which were in Pergamon. Attributed works: signature from Athenian Acropolis with only ethnic identification, held to be related to Kore 675; Nike from the Acropolis, similar to the same kore in style; fragmentary inscription from Pergamon, with ethnic identification only, perhaps belonging to Charites group; Hera of Samos; two bases with forged signatures, found near Rome (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 62 ff.; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 37; L. Catteruccia, EAA, s.v.). – Athenis (Ἄθηνις) of Chios, son of Archermos and brother of Boupalos with whom he worked in Pergamon, Lesbos, Smyrna, Klazomenai, and Delos. Other works by the two brothers: mask of Artemis in Chios; Artemis at Iasos (Lasos?); caricature of Hipponax; statues in Delos and other islands. Their works or copies also said to have decorated pediments of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine in Rome and those of many temples built during the reign of Augustus; columns of the Artemision in Ephesos attributed to Athenis (Lippold, GP, p. 62 ff.; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 26; M. T. Marabini Moeus, EAA, s.v.). – Bion (Βίων) of Chios, or Klazomenai, probably lived second half of 6th cent. B.C. (Lippold, GP, p. 62; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – Sostratos (Σώστρατος) of Chios, father and teacher of Pantias, active ca. middle and second half of 5th cent. B.C.: colossal statue of Athena for Aliphera (Arcadia), executed together with Hypatodoros (G. Lippold, RE, s.v.; Lippold, GP, pp. 126, 176). – *Erythrai*. Endoios (Ἔνδοιος), probably of Athens, second half of 6th cent. B.C.: colossal wooden Athena in Erythrai; marble Korai and Charites, before Temple of Athena in Erythrai; wooden Artemis in her temple at Ephesos (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 74; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). – *Klazomenai*. Boupalos, Athenis, and Bion (see above under *Chios*). – *Smyrna*. Boupalos and Athenis (see *Chios*). – *Lebedos*. Archermos (see *Chios*). – *Samos*. Smilis (Σμῖλις) of Aegina, son of Eukleides and contemporary of Daidalos: xoanon in Heraion of Samos, represented on coins (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 34). – Boupalos (see *Chios*). – Rhoikos (Ῥοῖκος) of Samos, son of Phileas, architect and bronzeworker; active in first half of the 6th cent. B.C.; along with Theodoros, considered to be inventor of hollow casting of bronze. Architecture: ca. 575 or 560–550 B.C., with Theodoros, built Heraion of Samos; probably identified with the labyrinth mistakenly called Lemnian, which he is said to have built with Theodoros and (mistakenly) Smilis. Bronzes: Nyx on the altar of Artemis Protothronia in Ephesos; crater made in collaboration with Theodoros, in Temple of Apollo at Patara (C. Weickert and M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 58 ff.; Dinsmoor, p. 124 ff.). – Theodoros (Θεόδωρος) of Samos, son of Telekles and brother of Rhoikos — or son of Rhoikos and brother of Telekles; bronzeworker, probably identified with the carver and engraver of gems and with the architect; active in first half of 6th cent. B.C.; invention of hollow casting of bronze attributed to him, together with Rhoikos. Bronzes: Apollo Pythios in Samos, in collaboration with Telekles (half the statue was made by Theodoros in Ephesos, the other half by Telekles in Samos); self-portrait, holding a file in his left hand and a tiny quadriga in his right; appears as dedicator in an inscription from the Acropolis of Athens. Toreutics: silver crater, ex-voto from Croesus at Delphi; gold crater owned by kings of Persia; bronze crater, made with Rhoikos in Patara; golden vine with clusters of emeralds and rubies, owned by kings of Persia. Gem carving: Polykrates' ring. Architecture: Heraion of Samos, with Rhoikos; foundations for Artemision in Ephesos; *skias*, or assembly hall, in Sparta (W. Züchner and M.

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Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 58 ff.; Dinsmoor, pp. 119, 124 ff.). – Telekles (Τηλεκλῆς), bronzeworker, thought to have been active in second half or ca. end of 6th cent. B.C. (see above under *Theodoros*; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 59). – Geneleos (Γενέλεως), probably of Samos, active ca. mid-6th cent. B.C.: votive group of six statues along Sacred Way to the Heraion of Samos, of which three statues, fragments, signature, and dedication remain (Lippold, GP, p. 57; EAA, s.v. Geneleos). – Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας) of Samos (or Rhegion), active ca. 480–448 B.C. (see GREEK ART, WESTERN). – *Ephesos*. Endoios (see above under *Erythrai*). – Rhoikos (see above under *Samos*). – *Magnesia*. Bathykles (Βαθυκλῆς) of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, architect and sculptor active at Amyklai (Laconia), ca. end of 6th cent. B.C.; however, also placed at end of 7th cent. and held to be almost mythical figure (for works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 55 ff.; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – *Miletos*. E[u]demos (or Epidemos? Echedemos?; E[ὔ]δημος), probably of Miletos, lived ca. mid-6th cent. B.C.: seated statue on Sacred Way of the Didymaion (Lippold, GP, p. 53; G. Fogolari, EAA, s.v.). – Terpsikles (Τερψικλῆς) of Miletos, active ca. mid-6th cent. B.C.: Anaximandros (the philosopher?), perhaps part of a group, in the Didymaion; base with dedication is preserved (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, pp. 47, 52 ff.). – Kanachos (Κάναχος) of Sikyon, brother of Aristokles, 6th–5th cent. B.C.: Apollo Philesios in the Didymaion of Miletos, taken to Ecbatana by Persians and returned by Seleukos I (Nikator); beside the god was a deer that moved mechanically. Attributed works: Artemis, known through coins of Miletos; marble torso from theater of Miletos (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; ThB, s.v., no. 1; Lippold, GP, p. 86 ff.). – Kydim[andros] (or Kydim[enes]?; Κυδιμ[...]), named as father of [Pa]sikles (or Tsikles, Isikles, Hesikles; [Πα]σικλῆς) in dedication of bronze astragal that must have been used as base of an ex-voto, which was taken to Susa in 494 B.C. from the Didymaion of Miletos (G. Lippold, RE, s.v. Tsikles; Lippold, GP, p. 55). – Bion (Βίων) of Miletos, son of Diodoros; perhaps emigrated to Sicily after destruction of the city (494 B.C.): signed base, at Delphi, held to refer to Nike and golden tripod he made, which Gelon of Syracuse dedicated after his victory of Himera (480 B.C.) (Lippold, GP, p. 122; J. Marcadé, op. cit., I, no. 9; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v., no. 3). – *Iasos*. Boupalos and Athenis (see *Chios*). – *Halikarnassos*. Daidalos (Δαίδαλος), son of Eupalamos or Metion, of Attic origin but active in Crete and the west: Artemis Monogisene (doubtful) in Caria; signed base at Halikarnassos, belonging perhaps to copy of a work attributed to him or to Daidalos of Sikyon (for other works see GREEK ART, AEGEAN; Lippold, GP, p. 18 ff.; A. De Franciscis, EAA, s.v. Dedalo). – *Birthplace unknown*. Pythis (Πῦθις), of Ionian origin, active in Athens in 6th–5th cent. B.C.: column, probably support for a statue, and base signed in Attic alphabet, from the Acropolis (A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 15 ff., no. 10, p. 98 ff., no. 90, p. 524). – *Naukratis*. Sikon (Σίκων), a Cypriote, from second half or end of the 6th cent. B.C.: statuette in Naukratis (Aphrodite?), of which only the inscription and lower part remain (Lippold, GP, p. 67; G. Lippold, RE, Sup. VIII, s.v. no. 2).

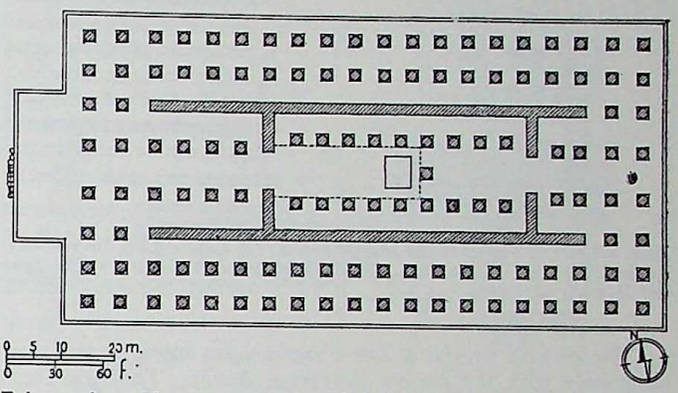
*Toreutic artists*. Glaukos (Γλαῦκος) of Chios, probably active ca. 7th–6th cent. B.C., but assigned by some to beginning of the 7th cent.: considered to have invented craft of soldering iron: silver crater on iron support, ex-voto of Alyattes II of Lydia at Delphi (Lippold, GP, p. 64; EAA, s.v.). – Rhoikos and Theodoros of Samos (see above under *Samos*). – Myrmekides (Μυρμηκίδης) of Miletos (or Athens?), archaic miniaturist in metal: miniature ship and quadriga (W. Müller, ThB, s.v.). *Gem engravers*: Melas of Chios, sculptor and gem engraver (see above under *Chios*). – Mnesarchos (Μνήσαρχος) of Samos, first half of the 6th cent. B.C., father of the philosopher Pythagoras (W. Müller, ThB, s.v.; Sieveking, RE, s.v., no. 6). – Theodoros of Samos (see above under *Samos*). – Aristoteiches (Ἀριστοτείχης), engraver or owner of gems, ca. 6th–5th cent. B.C.: scarab with representation of a lioness (signed) from Pergamon (E. Pernice, ThB, s.v.; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v.). – Epimenes (Ἐπιμένες) of Ionia, perhaps from Paros, active ca. 500 B.C.: scaraboid (signed) with representation of a horse tamer (E. Pernice, ThB. s.v.; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v.).

* *

ARCHITECTURE. The Ionic style of architecture, though brought to its classical perfection in Athens during the late 5th century B.C., was established much earlier in the East Greek regions. Because its general character has been defined elsewhere (see ARCHAIC ART), discussion here will be confined to some of its early and Asiatic peculiarities.

Architecture, that is, construction designed and executed with precision, seems to have begun in Greece itself about the middle of the 7th century B.C. In the East Greek region the beginnings cannot have been much later, since a large member of a column (more probably capital than base; PL. 36) has been found at Old Smyrna, which was destroyed about 610 B.C. It is presumably by accident that no other remains are certainly earlier than the second quarter of the 6th century. The style at this time is far from uniform — in this too contrasting sharply with the contemporaneous Doric style across the Aegean — but the erection of very large temples presupposes some architectural experience.

Capitals are not, of course, the essential characteristic of an order, but they have been the most studied. There are — to omit the member from Smyrna mentioned already — three types




Ephesos, Artemision, reconstruction of the plan of the 6th cent. B.C. (*from D. S. Robertson, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1954*).

of capital in or connected with Ionic: the Ionic capital proper; a second that, to avoid ambiguity, may be called the "Aeolic volute capital"; and the leaf capital.

The leaf capital, with its fronds flattened against the drum or turning out and over at the top, is sometimes used alone and sometimes, perhaps, as a supporting member beneath the Aeolic volute capital. This leaf type occurs in some nondescript buildings in Aeolis — hence some tiresomely call it "Aeolic" — and in two elaborately Ionic treasuries at Delphi, those of Klazomenai and of Massilia (mod. Marseilles); in the latter example the usual restoration improbably doubles the capital. Because no known example is later than the 6th century B.C., it does not seem likely that the Pergamene leaf capital of the 2d century is its direct descendant. Presumably both the early and the later forms were adopted from the Near East, where similar capitals were common enough.

For the Aeolic volute capital also (PL. 36; I, PL. 334), there are Oriental parallels, although those usually cited have an upright triangle at the base of the volutes. This capital, which is more generally known as Aeolic — or tendentiously, proto-Ionic — is most obviously distinguished from the true Ionic by the deep V-shaped junction formed by the volutes as they spring vertically from the shaft. In some accepted restorations the capital rests on a member with flat or pendent leaves, which is compared to the echinos of developed Ionic, with its egg-and-dart molding; but it cannot be proved that the leaf member is not the sole capital of another column. Carved volute capitals of Aeolic type, differing in more than details, have been found in nondescript buildings in Aeolis and can probably be dated about the second quarter of the 6th century. Other so-called "Aeolic" capitals with the volutes painted on a flat face come from an archaic context in Athens, and on a Clazomenian sarcophagus of about 500 B.C. both the Aeolic and the Ionic capitals are depicted. The relation of Aeolic to Ionic capitals is unknown. Many students regard the Aeolic as the older form, perhaps because it died early and, indeed, never established itself in reputable architecture; others think that the relationship was collateral. It is also conceivable that the Aeolic capital developed from the Ionic; something similar appears in Tarentum in the 5th century B.C., though there the evolution led toward Corinthian.

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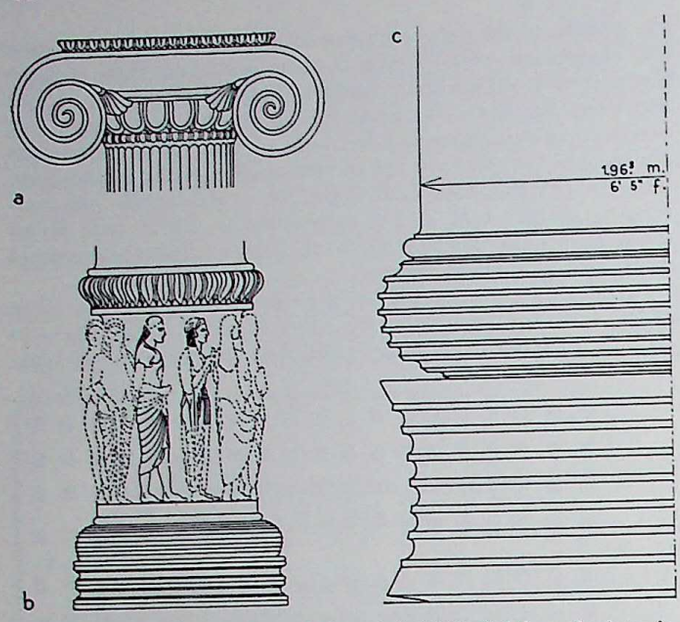


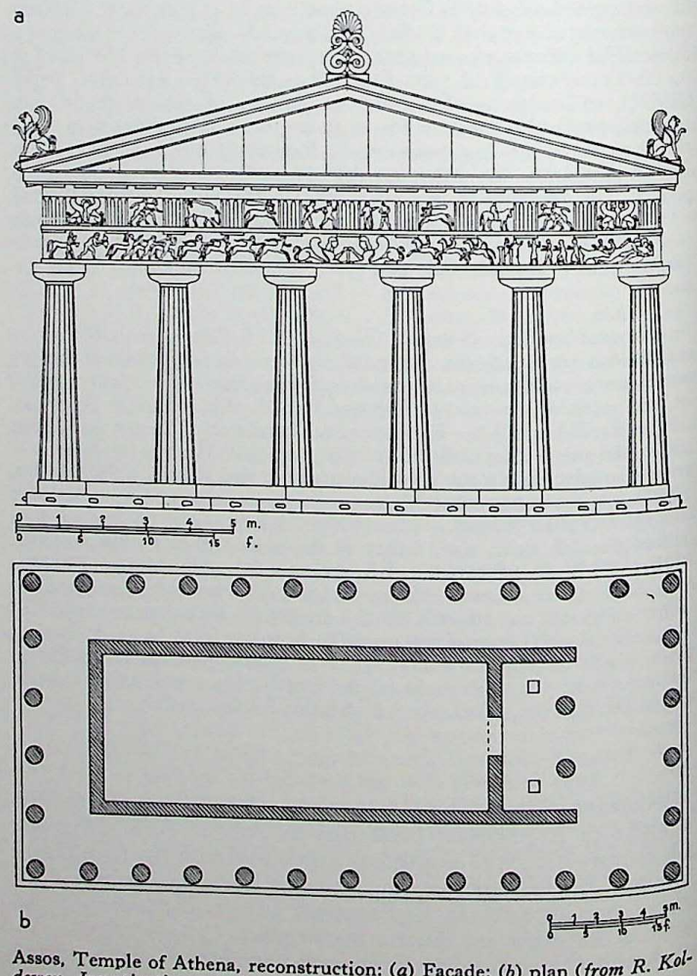

Ionic capitals and bases of the archaic period: (*a*) Capital from the Artemision in Ephesos; (*b*) base from the Artemision in Ephesos; (*c*) base from the Heraion of Samos.

The earliest surviving Ionic capitals are more or less contemporary with the earliest surviving Aeolic. The first Ionic examples are that of the column bearing a sphinx dedicated at Delphi by the Naxians (PL. 13) and a recent discovery in Paros; presumably these capitals are Naxian and Parian work. Another very early capital has been found in Naxos itself, and there are capitals presumed Naxian in Delos. There is also, from the Temple of Apollo at Naukratis, a capital with egg-and-dart molding that may or may not have been surmounted by a volute member now lost. What contribution Naxos or Paros may have made to the Ionic capital and order is not known or considered. But there is a general similarity between the Delphi capital of about 570 B.C. and capitals from the Artemision at Ephesos (FIG. 83), constructed perhaps fifteen or twenty years later. The volute member is very wide, with an almost cylindrical pulvinus (or cushion) and no eye. Since the volutes are spread clear of the shaft of the column, the overcurling egg-and-dart molding continues, though curtailed, beneath them. These are all signs of early date, after which there is probably fairly steady progress to the classical form; even so, the style was still fluid in the 6th century. At the Artemision in Ephesos the spirals of some volutes are replaced by rosettes, and on some early capitals — the piece from Paros, several smaller examples in Delos, perhaps the member of the Naxian column in Delphi — the volutes end in separate lobes with a plain surface or a floral design between. All these early capitals were much wider on the face than on the side, and where — at the corner of a peristyle — two rows met at a right angle, a plausible transition was necessary. How this was managed is not known — whether by giving the corner capital two adjacent faces that intersected or bent outward back to back, or by setting the capital aslant, or in some other way; yet, awkward as any of these solutions may seem, the Ionic capital continued to flourish, and the all-round leaf capital was soon abandoned. In the classic period the capital was standardized; nor is there any essential difference between examples from Greek Asia and those from European Greece, except perhaps that the East Greek *canalis* makes a lazier curve, in this being nearer to the canon later prescribed by Vitruvius.

Little need be said of the shafts of the columns. The earlier ones tend to be thicker than those that are later, and till the 5th century B.C. the flutes are usually separated by an arris that is sharp. They also vary in number, larger columns generally having more flutes than smaller ones. In a few elaborate Ionic porches of European Greece, caryatids take the place of columns, but there is as yet no trace of any caryatid from an East Greek site. About the third quarter of the 6th century caryatids appeared in three treasuries at Delphi: the Cnidian, the Siphnian (I, PL. 334), and another, unidentified one. The next known caryatids are those of the Erechtheion in Athens.

Ionic columns always stood on bases, which in turn sometimes stood on square plinths. The earliest type of base was a plain drum, cylindrical or slightly conical in shape; such a drum is found beneath the Column of the Naxians at Delphi and in some early structures of Delos, Samos, and Aegina. More elaborate bases appeared by the middle of the 6th century. According to Pliny the Elder, the architect Theodoros invented a process of turning column bases on a lathe, and in his Heraion of Samos (ca. 560 B.C.) some of the bases that have been found were lathe-turned. The new technique lent itself to horizontal channeling and was exploited with due vulgarity. The two best-known systems were the Samian and the Ephesian, but — as finds in Chios have made very clear — there was no orthodoxy. The Samian base flaunts a large convex member above a large concave member, both busily fluted; at the Artemision in Ephesos, about 550 B.C., there were bases whose lower part had a more vertical face with two much broader channels (FIG. 83). The Ephesian base developed into the standard Ionic base of the East Greek region, where till the 3d century B.C. it held its own against the more harmonious base that Attic architects had established in the early classic period.

The local East Greek entablature, as far as is known, at first consisted of an architrave in three fasciae, surmounted by dentils. The "Ionic" frieze, which replaced the dentils but gave the entablature greater height and often enlivened it with sculpture in relief, appeared about the third quarter of the 6th century in treasuries at Delphi and became a regular feature in the Ionic style of Greece itself. In the East Greek region the frieze was not admitted till the middle of the 4th century. A few East Greek buildings, including the largely Doric temple at Assos (FIG. 84) of the late 6th century, had an undivided archi-




Assos, Temple of Athena, reconstruction: (*a*) Façade; (*b*) plan (*from R. Koldewey, Investigations at Assos, London, Cambridge, Leipzig, 1902–21*).

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trave carved in relief (PL. 35); but the normal place for sculpture was on the sima that ran round the edge of the roof. A marble relief in the British Museum is probably from such a sima, and from as far afield as Amisos there are several smaller archaic slabs of terra cotta that crowned buildings of Ionic or less definite style. The origin of the decorated sima is said to be in the non-Greek architecture of Asia Minor.

The Ionic style always used moldings more lavishly than the Doric, and in its early phase sometimes to excess. The favorite motif was the ovolo carved with egg-and-dart, which began as a half-round and after some experiment attained the standard forms. The eggs themselves were at first much squarer and may have had the same origin as the ornament of the leaf capital. In Chios some unusual moldings have been found, as well as classic anta bases in the shape of giant claws. Also in Chios a local red limestone was sometimes used instead of the normal whitish stones.

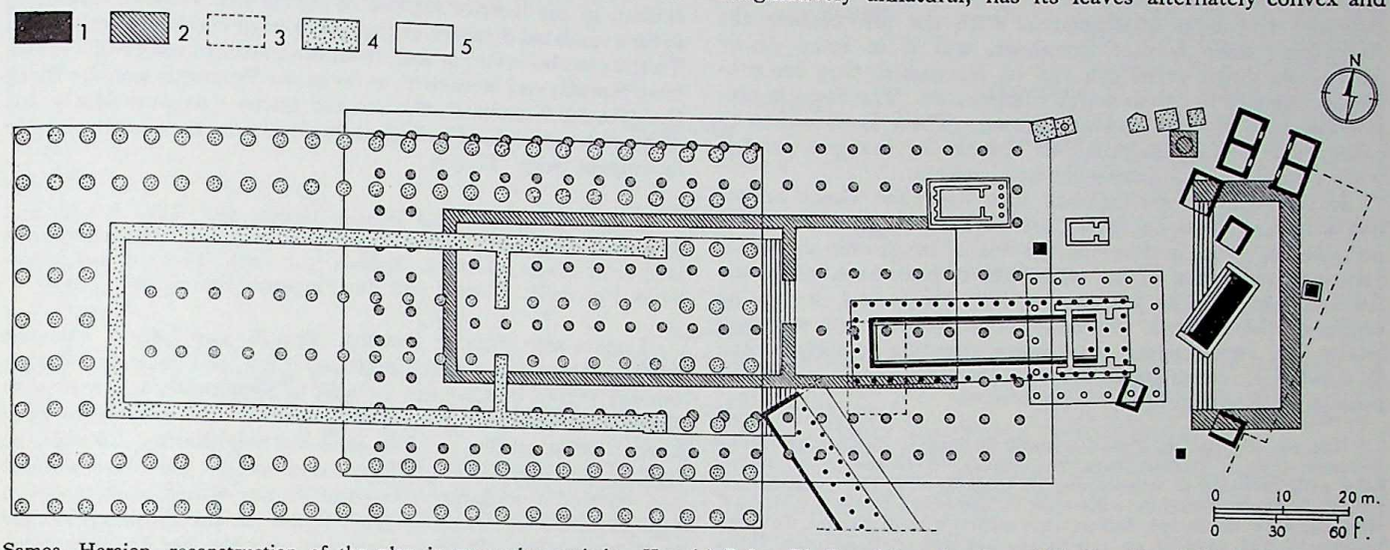
Though they were addicted to the showy and grandiose and in the 6th century completed some of the largest of Greek temples, the eastern Greeks found little place for sculpture in their architecture until they borrowed the frieze from European Greece. Till then the only regular position for sculpture was the sima edging the roof, and there sculpture is too remote and excrescent. The designers of the archaic temples at Ephesos and Didyma experimented with carved pedestals, or podia, for their columns, and the 4th-century rebuilders of the Ephesian temple piously repeated the device. Modern students cannot be blamed for failing to agree on the architectural placing of the relief sculpture of the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos, though it was built when Greek architecture was mature.

In general planning, the Ionic and Doric styles are similar. Some very large East Greek temples double the side and treble the end colonnades. There is a liking for a deep pronaos containing columns, with some grander temples having the columns in front of the door very widely spaced to create a more imposing entrance. In Lycia and perhaps in Caria, where Greek influence was felt, there was a tradition — whether native or imported — of tombs set on a high podium, in which (as in the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos, constructed in the mid-4th century B.C.) the Ionic order was sometimes incorporated.

Ionic of more specifically East Greek character may yet be discovered; but what is now known suggests strongly that the endemic style — though clever and even versatile — lacked the clarity and discipline of the Ionic, let alone the Doric, of Greece itself. The impression East Greek Ionic gives is strange and wayward, and not merely because modern taste is used to European Ionic; it is not surprising to see the style transmuted, presumably by East Greek craftsmen, to suit the more barbaric tastes of the Achaemenid kings of Persia.

On some minor structures also there are features that may usefully be considered architectural. A group of archaic grave steles from Samos is the most compact and illuminating set of examples. Their standard form is a tall, narrow slab, inscribed with the name of the dead person; above is a finial, or anthemion, composed of volutes and a palmette. One of the finest of these finials appears on a stele in Samos not much after the middle of the 6th century; the lower space between the volutes should be completed with a lotus flower. The palmette, imaginatively unnatural, has its leaves alternately convex and concave. The supporting volutes are of a regular type: gently hollowed and encircling a neat rosette, they are used as independent units of ornament, which can be built up in tiers. There are other and later finials with the outer ends of their volutes cut short, so that the effect resembles that of an Aeolic capital. The decorative forms of early Ionic were very adaptable.

R. M. Cook




Samos, Heraion, reconstruction of the plan in successive periods. *Key*: (1) Before Rhoikos; (2) at the time of Rhoikos (first half of 6th cent. B.C.); (3) 6th–5th cent. B.C.; (4) period of Polykrates (535–523 B.C.); (5) Roman period (*from AM, LXXII, 1957, with additions*).

Artists and bibliog. (*Architects*). *Chios*. Boupalos (see above under *Sculptors*). – *Samos*. Rhoikos and Theodoros (see *Sculptors*). – Mandroklees (Μανδροκλέης) of Samos, architect and perhaps painter: bridge across the Bosporus, built by order of Darius during expedition against Scythians in 514 B.C.; painted or dedicated a picture of Persians crossing the Bosporus on the bridge he constructed, in Heraion of Samos; accompanying epigram has come down to us, with the name corrupted to Mandokreon (Pfuhl, I, p. 498; E. Fabricius, RE, s.v., no. 1). – Eupalinos (Εὐπάλινος) of Megara: aqueduct at Samos, with long tunnel, built for Polykrates (535–523 B.C.; M. Schede, ThB, s.v.; G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – *Ephesos*. Chersiphron (Χερσίφρων) of Knossos, also active in theory of construction engineering: Artemision in Ephesos, built on remains of an older temple and of another temple, perhaps by Theodoros of Samos (see *Sculptors*); collaborated on Artemision with his son Metagenes, 560–546 B.C.; some believe he also built the temple preceding that from the time of Croesus (E. Fabricius, RE, s.v.; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Metagenes (Μεταγένης), son of Chersiphron, with whom he worked and whom he succeeded in construction of the Artemision in Ephesos; also wrote on construction technique (C. Weickert, ThB, s.v., no. 1; E. Fabricius, RE, s.v., no. 5). – *Magnesia-on-the-Maeander*. Bathykles, also a sculptor (see *Sculptors*). – *Miletos*. Hippodamos (q.v.).

Conclusions. By comparison with the art of Greece proper, East Greek art is surprisingly uniform and mediocre. In pottery its Geometric style had some modest peculiarities, but when it became ambitious, it merely aped Attic models. Its principal Orientalizing style, the wild-goat style, which persisted for about two hundred years, never achieved or aimed at more than decorative neatness. The later archaic styles, reserving or black-figure, showed an erratic and delusive promise. Indeed, the most satisfactory lines were placidly conservative — the

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Bird bowls of the 7th century B.C. and the Vroulian cups of the 6th. While it might be argued that in East Greek lands vase painting was always a minor art, local customers evidently appreciated the superior products of Corinth and Athens.

Sculpture was hardly more impressive. Very little is known of the school of the 7th century B.C., if there was one. In the 6th century an ideal developed that differed greatly from that of European Greece. The round, fleshy forms and superficial cleverness may perhaps express a less athletic view of life, but such excuses do not justify the sculptors' neglect of anatomical structure and even of elegance. With the 5th century the Panhellenic style became dominant, and if in some classic works East Greek traits can still be recognized, they are provincial relics rather than active components. The same is presumably true of monumental painting. There is no reason to believe that Polygnotos (q.v.) of Thasos, for example, painted with a northern — let alone Ionian — accent.

It was only in architecture that the East Greek school had a lasting effect on Greek art. Wherever the Ionic order germinated, its early development was in Ionia; even so, refinement and regulation of the style seem to have been left to the Athenians of the late 5th century B.C. In general, it may be said that the essential character of East Greek art was decorative; its styles, which paid more attention to surface than to substance and to detail than to the whole, are one of the byways of Greek culture.

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R. M. COOK

V. Bianco, M. Cajano, G. Colonna, A. Mattei, M. Panvini Cotellessa, L. Rocchetti, and A. M. Tamassia have compiled the biographies of the artists.

Illustrations: PLS. 17–36; 6 figs. in text.

**GREEK ART, NORTHERN.** Mainland Greece to the north of the Gulf of Corinth (Korinthos), except for its eastern arm (which contains Boeotia and Attica), may not be considered in the same category of artistic achievement as other Greek territories that produced more original creations and evidenced more intense development (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; GREEK ART, AEGEAN; PELOPONNESIAN ART); rather, it is an area in which, apart from the concentration of monuments at the sanctuary of Delphi, cultural and artistic manifestations are infrequent and of secondary quality. With that area it is convenient to treat also the art of those Balkan countries which were partly Hellenized and other areas of the north to which Greek influences spread, as well as the art of the Greek settlements in Epirus and Illyria and along the northern coasts of the Aegean and the Propontis. As a general rule, it may be assumed that the Heptanesos (Ionian Islands), Aetolia, and Epirus were directly under the influence of Corinth. Corinthian influences were similarly evident in the interior regions of Illyria and Thrace, extending as far as isolated discoveries that have been made at Trebeniště. To the east, however, at least from the southern coasts of Thrace, from Kavalla and Komotini, as far as the Propontis and the Black Sea (Pontos Euxeinos), the artistic idiom was prevalently Ionian, with noticeable Cycladic influence in the zone most directly in contact with Thasos.

SUMMARY. Locris and Phocis; Delphi (col. 88). Aetolia and Acarnania (col. 98). Epirus and Illyria (col. 100). Ionian Islands (col. 102): *Ithaca; Kerkyra*. Euboea (col. 105). Thessaly and Macedonia (col. 106). Thrace and the Propontic littoral (col. 109).

LOCRIS AND PHOCIS; DELPHI. Phocis, like Locris, between whose eastern and western divisions it lies, is a poor and mountainous region that cannot be said to have made any truly distinctive contribution to artistic endeavor. It appears to have been dominated by Corinth and by neighboring Boeotia, at least in the production of votive terra cottas. The most ancient and authentic sculpture from the region would seem to be a stele fragment of Daedalic type, found on the Boeotian border at Malessina (PL. 38): there remains only the head of a woman, stiffly frontal and held almost as if weighed down by her expansive coiffure. This head was modeled by a clumsy hand that seems unskilled even when compared with the very crude contemporaneous Boeotian sculpture, such as the torso of Tanagra and similar works. The kouros head from Galaxidi (PL. 38), like so much contemporaneous Boeotian sculpture, shows the influence of insular art centers; and the same influence is seen in the stele of Agasinos from Korseia, which dates from the beginning of the 5th century. The somewhat later relief from Larymna showing the sacrifice of a ram (Phrixos?), which dates from the pure classic period, displays a simple arrangement in its fluttering drapery. The great terra-cotta offerings from Elateia and Kirrha seem to belong entirely within the general development of Boeotian art. A more markedly individual character may be discerned in the antefix with a gorgoneion found subsequently in the Temple of Athena at Antikyra (PL. 38).

It seems quite futile to attempt to retrace and group such scant threads of evidence. What is known of the activity of Kalamis in Phocis, where he left a statue of Iphitos, or of Praxiteles (qq.v.), who carved the cult statue of Artemis for her temple at Antikyra, cannot be related to any survivals of the sparse local production and thus remains without illustration. In the same way, Menaichmos and Soidas, Locrians from Naupaktos (Lepanto) who were the sculptors of a chryselephantine statue for the worship of the Artemis Laphria of Kalydon (Calydon), are extremely nebulous personalities. An attempt to trace the character of this sculpture in a coinage type which may be derived from the archaic Artemis of Pompeii–Castiglione della Pescaia has not been generally accepted by critics.

Very different from the modest provincial role of Phocis as a whole during the vital centuries of creative activity in the Hellenic world was the part played by its sacred city of Delphi (PL. 37; III, PL. 340). In fact, Delphi as a religious center belonged to the whole of Greece and partook of the varied artistic forms of the most diverse and remote localities. Although Delphi evidenced no indigenous, truly original creative vitality, for more than a thousand years the great sanctuary provided one of the most solemn and official backdrops for significant artistic achievements of the whole Hellenic world.

Its remote and mountainous site did not protect Delphi from almost total destruction. Plundering must have begun early, for Pausanias records that on Nero's orders alone more

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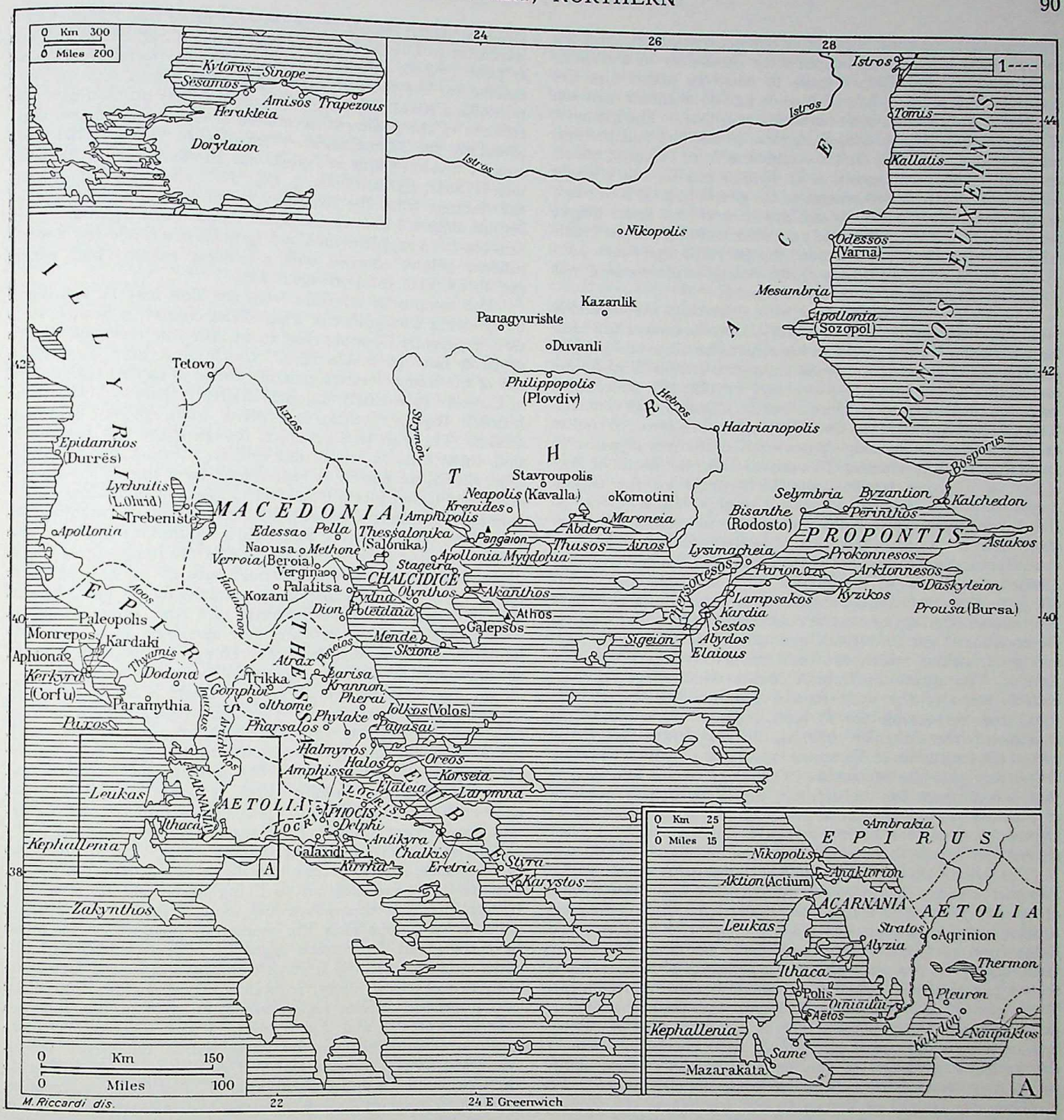


Chief sites of northern Greece and the Propontic littoral. *Key*: (1) Regional boundaries. The upper inset shows Greece and Anatolia with the cities of the south coast of the Pontos Euxeinos.

than five hundred bronze statues were sent to Italy from the sanctuary. Study of the temple foundations and the great pedestals despoiled of their statues, as well as the minute descriptions left by the much-traveled Pausanias, affords but a fragmentary estimate of the immense artistic wealth accumulated during so many centuries at Delphi. The names are so famous, the records so infused with glorious and poetic associations, that their evocative power seems to have triumphed over the devastation. From the records and monumental ruins of Delphi, there emerge vivid ghosts from the world of myth and picturesque characters from history: Neoptolemos (Pyrrhos), slain in the sanctuary by Orestes, had a heroön at Delphi; Alyattes and Croesus, kings of Lydia, sent elaborately worked metal craters to Delphi; the wise tyrant Kypselos dedicated a treasury there; and Alexander was glorified in rich votive offerings made by his general Krateros. Within the sanctuary itself, the statue of Homer was not far from the golden image of Phryne carved by Praxiteles; along with the tripod of Plataia and the monument of the Roman general L. Aemilius Paulus (PL. 260) were images of Antinoos.

While the sanctuary at Olympia was from the beginning of history the meeting place of the Hellenic peoples in quest of a spiritual center, the sanctuary at Delphi was the focus of an even wider field of influence, extending beyond the frontiers of the Hellenic world; the fame of the Delphic oracle and its surpassing wisdom spread through the semi-Hellenized Anatolian states and great Asiatic states much farther away. If the works of art dedicated in Olympia were generally votive

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offerings that had some athletic or competitive significance, the monumental offerings of Delphi were commonly of a civic or political character. Delphi came to wield an occult directive power in the political life of Greece and in relations between the Greek peoples and their barbarian neighbors. The influence of the oracle was increasingly decisive in military and political undertakings, especially in the establishment of colonies; hence, to secure a dominant position at Delphi and be able secretly to influence the pronouncements of the oracle became a constant political objective, especially for Sparta, and in a lesser degree for Thessaly. The prudent and reactionary attitude of the oracle with regard to Persia, and toward the generally aggressive policy of Athens when confronted with Asiatic expansionism, was a notable example of such maneuvering.

The Delphic sanctuary must have offered an incomparably vivid and varied panorama of historical events among the Hellenic peoples. Within the sacred precinct, the cities and peoples of Greece delighted to celebrate through offerings of elaborate and symbolic monuments the actual or officially proclaimed successes of their history: famous battles, alliances, and victories. Thus, Arcadia glorified the Battle of Leuktra in a series of statues of gods and local heroes; Sparta exalted her sea captains in an exedra with 37 statues; Thessaly recalled the Battle of Potideaia in a group representing the struggle for the tripod. Argos drew attention to her ancient origins with a row of 20 statues of Argive kings, celebrating the foundation of Messene; near at hand, in a series of votive offerings related in character to these, Argos presented replicas of the Seven against Thebes, the chariot of Amphiaraos, and the Epigoni. In addition to these preeminent monuments, there must also have been votive offerings of a more conventional character: chariots for ceremonial games; tripods and statues of athletes, heroes, and gods, among which the most numerous were statues of Apollo. The names of Delphic artists which have survived include some of the most famous that are known. Phidias (q.v.) was responsible for at least some of the statues that constituted the Athenian offering for Marathon; Hageladas carved the long series of Tarentine votive monuments celebrating the victory over the Messapians; Onatas of Aegina and Kalynthos carved those for the defeat of the Peucetians. Amphion of Knossos is remembered as the sculptor of the quadriga of Cyrene, Kalamis for having carved a famous statue of Hermione, and Myron (q.v.) and Pythagoras for statues of athletes.

The lesche of the Knidians held two great paintings by Polygnotos (q.v.) that not only were two of the masterpieces of ancient painting but may also have represented a decisive turning point in the ancient world's conception of form. To judge from surviving descriptions, these paintings must have been among the first examples of the elevation of human drama from a purely physical plane to an intensely spiritual treatment. These great Nekyia (Descent of Odysseus into Hades) and Ilioupersis (Sack of Troy) scenes, both in their vastness of subject and in their noble spirituality, must have constituted one of the loftiest expressions of ancient art, for the fervent admiration they aroused has echoed down to modern times.

This was Delphi as known to the citizens of the Roman Imperial epoch, and as Pausanias described it in the 2d century — quite different from the image the modern scholar may be familiar with, after a century of study and research into the deepest strata of the sanctuary. Very little of what Pausanias admired has come down to modern times; but in compensation for this loss, much that the Greeks of Roman Imperial times never knew or perhaps never even suspected has fortunately come to light again. Earthquakes, landslides, and other natural disturbances have indirectly preserved incomparable remains already apparently lost by the classical age.

Among other features, Pausanias describes the great temple of the 4th century B.C., with its pediments filled with sculpture by Praxias, and gives a short account of its earlier stages, as far back as the very ancient building of beehive form recognized as a Mycenaean tholos (corbel-vaulted) tomb. In modern times the importance of the Mycenaean site of Delphi can be appreciated, for it has yielded rich deposits of pottery, a superb rhyton in the form of a lioness head, and even idols of the mother goddess, which appear to be eloquent proof that Apollo was a latecomer at Delphi long preceded by Ge (Gaia; Earth) and the serpent Python. While it is true that the sculpture Praxias created for the most recent temple has not survived, exploration of the lowest depths of the sanctuary has restored precious remains of the pediment decoration of the archaic temple dedicated by the Alkmaionidai. According to tradition, the most ancient wooden statue of Apollo was an offering from the Cretans (Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 5, 40). As a matter of fact, among the findings from the sanctuary is the best-preserved Cretan bronze statuette known, the small Apollo with a girdle. This find has been supplemented by fragments of a shield and a magnificent helmet adorned with a goddess riding a bull, which are also Cretan (mid-7th cent. B.C.).

The sumptuous offerings from the East may be visualized by studying a fragment of a sacrificial chariot in bronze, of a rare, apparently Cypriote type; many *Assurattaschen*; and a large gryphon head in beaten metal, which must have come from one of the colossal craters generally found in eastern regions and in Etruria. Particularly abundant are the archaic and Geometric bronzes: tripods, statues, and plates from Argive-Corinthian shields. The imported ceramics, though found less frequently than these bronzes, are of fine quality. Corinth, naturally the most illustrious source, is represented by a superb Geometric crater and choice pieces from every phase, up to the extraordinary late Corinthian fragments with the Athena Promachos (possibly from an Ilioupersis, as H. Payne presumes) and with the Hermes leading the three goddesses to the judgment of Paris. There are other remarkable fragments of refined Cycladic plates. The Attic production, noteworthy for its black-figured wares — especially for the fragment of a large crater decorated with animal motifs — provides few examples from the red-figured phase. The discovery of a refined alabastron in a tomb, a work signed by Pasiades, furnished one such example.

But the most sensational find at Delphi is the outcome of the excavation of the Sacred Way that revealed numerous fragments of ivory (I, PL. 341) and of gold laminae (I, PL. 375), which comprise our first contact with the famous chryselephantine statues of antiquity. The most ancient statue found here, a lion-taming Potnios (VIII, PL. 238) of Asiatic type, shows a facial resemblance to the ivories of Ephesos and Sardis. The most recent studies of the mysterious traditions of ivory carving (so far as known, the Greeks, at least before the time of Alexander, had no precise knowledge of this material which, because of its resemblance to living tissue and its unearthly beauty, the gods themselves had used to restore the missing shoulder of Pelops after the monstrous banquet of Tantalos) have confirmed the curious aggregate of instructions and traditions that formed the fund of technical and formal lore common to workers in ivory, regardless of nationality. Therefore odd interdependencies and mixtures of style in this medium may be expected; and this Potnios, of such discrete and inorganic structure, may yet be attributed to the Greek world. Moreover, it is a strange fact that in Samos, much farther to the east, such a wonderful example of lucid Hellenic structure as a small kneeling kouros of about the mid-7th century B.C. may be found beside nonorganic figures of Oriental type. The remaining ivory carvings, eight more or less fragmentary heads, and parts of robes and tresses in gold sheet found at the sanctuary may be more definitely ascribed purely Hellenic origins and apparently do not date from earlier than the mid-6th century. Other heads show a timid but refined manner of modeling, while certain robes decorated with fabulous beasts may with some certainty be assigned to an eastern school. Attribution of openwork friezes to the same source seems less convincing, for the intense vitality of the minute figures and the fondness for detailed and excited narrative are more reminiscent of Corinthian examples. Also significant are the common features of certain schemes, such as that of the departure of Amphiaraos.

Of the larger sculpture from Delphi, the most noteworthy examples that may be assigned to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. are the twin statues of Kleobis and Biton signed by Polymedes (?) of Argos (I, PL. 342, lower right). These two works fix a starting point of indisputable authority for study of the

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Argive school, for which there are so few monumental examples to substantiate the copious literary references. The possibility, hazarded by Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, that one of these brothers was carved not by the Argive Polymedes but by a pupil of Ionian origin has not been convincingly proved. Certainly, the profound sense of virility emanating from the pair marks it as one of the clearest possible characterizations of the anonymous and abstract type of the kouros.

Insular Greece is represented at Delphi with consummate authority by an even more monumental and ambitious work, the great Sphinx of the Naxians (PL. 13). The fabulous animal is set in profile on a capital and flexes a long, slender, almost consumptive body, similar to those of the Naxian lions of Delos. The visage and the subtle design of the varied plumage betray somewhat chastened and softened lines, as if the hand of the sculptor was guided by his material, the translucent coarse-grained marble of the islands. There could be no more telling contrast than that between this almost schematic profile from the Cyclades and the frontal presentation and aggressive, vibrant realism of the Peloponnesian statues by Polymedes.

The metopes of the Treasury of the Sikyonians demonstrate the Corinthian style, with the fondness for diffuse and varied narrative that is sometimes difficult to fix within the confines of a metope. Thus, along with beautiful carved images that are compact and well-balanced (Europa on the bull, Phrixos on the ram), there are other representations incomparable for the daring and originality of their composition, scenes that were ingeniously handled within such a limited space — the ship Argo with the Dioskouroi, or the sons of Aphareus bearing away the heifers (I, PL. 343).

During the second half of the 6th century B.C., Ionian and insular art once again came to predominate at Delphi. Some torsos of kouroi are ascribed to the island of Paros. The Ionic treasuries of Knidos, Massilia (mod. Marseilles), and Siphnos have yielded figural friezes and exquisite architectural adornments. Sumptuous and delicate female figures support the façade architraves of the treasuries of Knidos and Siphnos (I, PL. 334) and of another, nameless treasury. The Treasury of the Siphnians, the most complete of all, may be dated with uncommon precision about the year 525 B.C.; accordingly, it constitutes an extremely important piece of evidence for the chronological arrangement of Greek sculpture. With regard to individual segments of the Siphnian sculpture, important problems remain to be solved, and no agreement has yet been reached on a more detailed classification. It is undoubtedly true that the collaboration of two or more masters of very different styles may be discerned in the frieze, and it is agreed that a Naxian character may be attributed to the one who shows a more dilute plastic sense and a tendency toward calligraphic outlines; but the question remains open as to which should be considered the more original master (or masters) — the artist who is em nently successful in developing the large and complex theme of the Battle of the Gods and Giants, with its complicated encounters and subtle superimposition of planes, or the artist who contents himself with concentrating in vigorous and compact form themes of epic struggles clearly and ceremoniously presented (PL. 11; I, PL. 358). An extremely fragmentary metrical inscription has been taken by some to represent the signature of an Argive artist. No less surprising is Andreas Rumpf's attempt to ascribe these problematical sculptures to Endoios, an Attic artist of Ionian tendency.

Infinitely more convincing is the attribution to the Attic world of the pediment sculpture of the great Temple of Apollo. The reconstruction effected approximately between 520 and 510 B.C. was intended, it is known, to testify to the magnificence and moral preeminence of the exiled Attic noble family of the Alkmaionidai. Both the furious strength of the charging Athena in limestone and the severity, reserve, and authority of the solemn figures of the marble front (depicting Apollo in his chariot, accompanied by Leto, Artemis, and the Muses) are completely in accord with the traditional qualities of the Attic figural idiom.

If the great Athena Promachos in the Marmaria is Ionian or from the islands, the Treasury of the Athenians, on the other hand, presents data of extreme importance affirming the vigor and the power of renewal of Attic sculpture. The treasury is variously dated — in general, sometime between the late 6th century and the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). In any case, there is an unbridgeable gap between it and the harmonious and self-contained world of mature archaism apparent in the sculpture of the temple of the Alkmaionidai. Beneath an external conformity with the most characteristic features of the archaic period, the dynamism and force of the new artistic spirit are already eloquently proposed. What is left of the pediment is too fragmentary to permit tracing the lines of composition, but the metopes, in the imagination and skill with which the twisted and strained figures of the struggling heroes are drawn, represent the most perfect expression of the unceasing Attic search for appropriate rendering of bodies contorted and articulated in their every fiber. In this conveying of heroic exaltation and concentrated energy through the awesome mechanics of the tense human body, the sculptures of the Treasury of the Athenians represent the closest Attic parallel to the pediment sculpture of Aegina. The tension of certain figures, curved like taut bows, might even be compared to the roundness of the Attic cup: that is, a confining shape which determines and contains the maximum force of the human figure, yet allows full play for the imaginative artist.

Another problem — one of the most crucial in the study of ancient sculpture — is presented by the *Charioteer* (III, PL. 346), part of a Delphic votive group and perhaps the most famous and most beautiful bronze that has come down to us. Not even the great *Zeus* (or, according to some scholars, *Poseidon*; III, PL. 356) sometimes even preferred to it, can be judged on the same level. In truth, the *Zeus* is expansive by nature; remote from the viewer, he reveals himself in the great traditional gesture of condemnation and menace. Whereas nothing disturbs the inner concentration, the pensive reserve of the *Charioteer*, a mood captured in outlines of miraculous clarity. Beneath this surface calm there seethes an enigmatic vitality, and the *Charioteer* confronts the spectator with a compelling presence of magical power. This figure is a work of incomparable originality, without visible affinity or even distant relationship to the various recognizable groups of sculpture dating from the late archaic period. Several of the varied conjectures that have been made — such as the attempts to relate the work to the memorial monuments of Cyrene or to those of the Deinomenids recorded by Pausanias — become most unlikely when it is borne in mind that the *Charioteer* must have been part of a votive offering subsequently buried by a landslide and therefore lost to sight by Roman times. Also to be dismissed as unacceptable is the suggestion that it was an Attic work, for since the Attic is the area of Greek culture best known to modern times, such an amazing work of art would surely have elicited appreciable comment. F. Hampe's attempt to determine the origins of the *Charioteer* by recovering the name of a sculptor otherwise without artistic identity, that is, Sotadas of Thespiai, has not met with universal assent. His hypothesis has no merit beyond that of linking two facts which are, so far as is known, completely independent of each other.

One of the islands may be the source of a little statue of the peplos wearer (*peplophoros*), a remnant from the Marmaria, and possibly an acroterium (*akroterion*) of almost classic character. A Cycladic origin has been assigned to two monumental steles of Delphi: a very mutilated draped figure of a man, and an athlete refolding his chlamys, the latter a work of supreme rhythmical fluidity that displays a refined plastic sense in the subtly graduated planes of its relief.

Although the height of the classic period at Delphi is not sufficiently represented in what has come down to modern times, examples from the end of the 5th century are nevertheless remarkable. Thus in the tholos — an elaborate and sophisticated construction based upon the detailed mathematical calculations of Theodoros of Phokaia — there has survived part of the figural decoration (metopes with acroteria showing the war against the Amazons), with fluid and graceful figures in the Attic style. In the same tradition, a few decades later, was carved the acanthus-sheaf column, with the group of three dancing girls hold-

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ing *kalathiskoi*, in which Ionian and Attic influences have been traced. Finally, G. Lippold has in this connection recalled the suspended figure motifs occurring in the work of Leochares.

It was Thessaly's traditional aim, many times attempted through the centuries, to dominate the sacred city of Delphi. This policy is attested by the most conspicuous of the votive offerings of the 4th century, of which sizable fragments remain: the exedra of Daochos, a Thessalian dynast who held the position of hieromnemon (sacred recorder) of Delphi. From this monument have survived a remarkable group of statues representing illustrious ancestors of the dedicant, apparently contemporaneous copies of a group erected in his own country at Pharsalos. The group is by tradition associated with the name of Lysippos (q.v.), and undoubtedly some of the statues preserved, such as the *Agias* (IX, PL. 219), reveal at least the immediate influence of the great master. Though some of the figures seem to indicate varied and unequal achievement, the *Agias* itself is in every way an original creation in the skillfulness of its design, the flowing lines of its contours, and its intense spiritual quality.

The latest impression obtainable from the remains of Delphi, near the end of the Hellenistic age, is of a resurgent classicism, evident in the reliefs of the monument of Aemilius Paulus and in the round altar depicting maidens hanging wreaths.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Locris. *Sculptors*. Menaichmos and Soidas (see below under *Aetolia*). – Phocis (for Delphi, see below). *Sculptors*. Epeios (Ἐπειός), son of Panopeus, identified also as an architect; the legendary creator of the Trojan Horse: xoanon of Hermes at Arbos — one also at Ainos? (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 1; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v.). – Kalamis (q.v.). – Telephanes (see below under *Thessaly*). – Praxiteles (q.v.). – *Painters*. Aristeides (Ἀριστείδης) of Thebes (Aristeides the Younger), son of Nikomachos and perhaps nephew of Aristeides the Elder: Battle of the Persians, for Mnason, tyrant of Elateia, not earlier than 333 B.C. (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Rumpf, MZ, pp. 126, 151; F. Magi, EAA, s.v., no. 2). – Theomnestos (Θεόμνηστος), recorded as a contemporary of Protogenes: heroes for Mnason of Elateia, ca. 330 B.C. (G. Lippold, RE, s.v.; ThB, s.v.). – Asklepiodoros (Ἀσκληπιόδωρος), Athenian (perhaps to be identified with bronzeworker of the same name), very skillful in rendering perspective, possibly a writer on this subject: 12 gods for Mnason of Elateia (B. Sauer, ThB, s.v., no. 2; Rumpf, MZ, p. 147; L. Forti, EAA, s.v., no. 1).

Delphi. *Architects*. Agamedes (Ἀγαμήδης) and Trophonios (Τροφώνιος), legendary characters from Boeotia (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART) or Arcadia (see PELOPONNESIAN ART): the earliest Temple of Apollo in stone (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v. Agamedes; M. T. Marabini Moeus, EAA, s.v. Agamedes). – Pteras (Πτερᾶς), legendary artist (hero who gave his name to Aptera?): second Temple of Apollo, made solely of beeswax and birds' feathers (*pterinos*), hence perhaps the builder's name (C. Weickert, ThB, s.v.). – Theodoros (Θεόδωρος) of Phokaia, end of 5th cent. to beginning of 4th cent. B.C.: tholos in sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, and wrote a treatise on same (W. Züchner, ThB, no. 4; Lippold, GP, p. 231). – Xenodoros (Ξενόδωρος): between 353 and 343 B.C. supervised reconstruction of Temple of Apollo, which was destroyed in 373 B.C. (W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece, London, 1950, p. 217 ff.). – Spintharos (Σπίνθαρος) of Corinth: toward middle of 4th cent. B.C. directed reconstruction of Temple of Apollo (C. Weickert, ThB, s.v.). – Kallinos (Καλλῖνος): collaborated as head architect (*hyperarchitekton*) in reconstruction of Temple of Apollo, between 343 and 340 B.C., as revealed in the expense accounts (C. Weickert, ThB, s.v.). – Agathon (Ἀγάθων), son of Neoteles, perhaps a native of Thourioi, second half of 4th cent.: completed restoration of Temple of Apollo (342–330 B.C.), of which he was considered the architect (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.; G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., no. 2). – Philon (Φίλων), son of Exekestides, from Eleusis; architectural theoretician and orator, lived in the second half of 4th cent. B.C.: restorations of a silver crater and of a golden vessel for lustral water (*perirrhanterion*), an offering from Croesus; uncertain attribution of armory (*hoplotheke*) and of stoa of the gymnasium (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; E. Fabricius, RE, s.v., no. 56). – Euphorbos (Εὔφορβος), according to expense accounts of 341–340 B.C., worked on the synedrion, Temple of Demeter, and the artificial baths (M. Schede, ThB, s.v.; G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v.).

*Sculptors active at Delphi 7th and 6th centuries* B.C. [Poly]medes ([Πολυ]μέδης), or [Aga]medes?, of Argos, lived ca. 600 B.C.: *Kleobis* and *Biton*, found near Treasury of the Athenians (Lippold, GP, p. 25; J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculptures grecs, I, Paris, 1953, no. 115). – Charopinos (Χαροπῖνος) of Paros, second half of 6th cent.: may have produced two works on which his name is preserved in inscriptions, an Ionic votive column and a pedestal with the feet of a kouros (what seems a disproportionate torso has sometimes been associated with the latter work). Other attributions: southern and western friezes of Treasury of the Siphnians (Lippold, GP, p. 68; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 21; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v). – Domis (Δόμις), of unknown origin, hypothetically identified with Somis, lived in the second half of 6th cent.: signature relating to votive offering of Theugenes of Poteidaia (Lippold, GP, p. 87, note 13; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 29; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.).

*Sculptors active at Delphi 5th cent.* B.C.: Hageladas (Ἀγελάδας), Ageladas (Ἀγελάδας), Hagelaidas (Ἀγελᾴδας), of Argos, lived between 520 and 480; according to sources was master of Polykleitos, Myron, and Phidias, but is also dated ca. 432 B.C.: bronze offering from the Tarentines after victory over Messapians, remains of the base of which are preserved together with the inscription (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 88 ff.; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). – Chionis (Χίονις), or Chion (Χίων), of Corinth, lived at beginning of 5th cent.: *Artemis* and *Athena*, from group depicting the struggle of Apollo and Herakles for the tripod, offered by the Phocians after victory (ca. 485 B.C.) over the Thessalians (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v. Chion; Lippold, GP, p. 87; G. Carettoni, EAA, s.v. Chionis). – On this Phocian offering, two other Corinthian artists who worked in bronze collaborated: Amyklaios (Ἀμυκλαῖος; W. Amelung, ThB, s.v.; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.) and Diyllos (Δίυλλος) worked on the *Leto*, *Apollo*, and *Herakles* (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 1; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Theopropos (Θεοπρόπος) of Aegina, active at beginning of 5th cent.: bronze bull, dedicated by the inhabitants of Kerkyra (Corfu) at entrance of sacred precinct, from whose base fragments have been preserved (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 98; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 106). – Aristomedon (Ἀριστομέδων) of Argos, lived at beginning of 5th cent.: group offered by the Phocians after victory over the Thessalians, included Apollo, the seer Tellias, Phokos, Phocian chiefs and heroes, to which a fragmentary base remaining (with inscription remade in 4th cent. B.C.) may be referred (Lippold, GP, p. 89, note 6; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). – [D]iop[eith]es ([Δ]ιοπ-[εἰθ]ης), Attic sculptor working before 480: signed base belonging to a figure of Apollo with doe (for other signatures see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 108; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 26–28; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – Onatas (Ὀνάτας) of Aegina, son and probably pupil of Mikon; active from before 480 until at least 467: warriors surrounding fallen King Opis, group offered by the Tarentines after victory over the Peucetians; doubtful fragmentary inscription preserved (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; P. Amandry, BCH, LXXIII, 1949, p. 447 ff.; Lippold, GP, pp. 98, 102 ff.). – Kalynthos (Κάλυνθος), a name also erroneously interpreted as Kallisteles, Kalamis, or Kallon; possibly from Aegina and active ca. 470; collaborated with Onatas on the Tarentine group (ThB, s.v.; C. Picard, II, p. 220; Lippold, GP, p. 98). – Bion (Βίων), son of Diodoros of Miletos: a statue base with his signature has been associated with the *Nike and Golden Tripod*, a work of Bion offered by Gelon of Syracuse after victory of Himera in 480 (Lippold, GP, p. 122; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 9; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v., no. 3). – Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας) of Samos, or of Rhegion, active between 480 and 448: statue of wrestlers, or *pankratiastes* (see GREEK ART, WESTERN; Lippold, GP, p. 124 ff.). – Kalamis (q.v.). – Sotadas (Σόταδας) of Thespiai, first half of 5th cent.: signed base from supporting wall of northern terrace of Temple of Apollo, therefore considered to belong to the offering of Polyzalos (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 113; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 102). – Hypatodoros (Ὑπατόδωρος), or Hekatodoros(?) (Ἑκατόδωρος), of Thebes, active probably ca. mid-5th cent.: *Seven against Thebes*, in collaboration with Aristogeiton, offering of the Argives after victory of Oinoe (460 or 456 B.C.), from which fragments of the base are preserved; fragmentary base, signed together with Aristogeiton, which supported the offering of an inhabitant of Orchomenos, dated ca. 445 B.C. (see also ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 112; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 38). – Aristogeiton (Ἀριστογείτων) of Thebes, second quarter of 5th cent.: *Seven against Thebes*, described above, and fragmentary signed base, subsequently lost; both works executed in collaboration with Hypatodoros (Lippold, GP, p. 112; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 8; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). – Myron (q.v.). – Phidias (q.v.). – Amphion (Ἀμφίων) of Knossos, son of Akestor and pupil of Ptolichos, active ca. mid-5th cent.: offering of Cyrene, showing the founders (*oikistes*) Battos and Libye in a quadriga (Lippold, GP, p. 176; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – Kresilas (Κρησίλας) of Kydonia, active in the second half of 5th cent.: signature in Ionic dialect and characters, dating from 430–420 B.C. (for other works see GREEK ART, AEGEAN; Lippold, GP, p. 172 ff.; P. Orlandini, Kresilas, MemLinc, ser. VIII, vol. IV, 1952, p. 275 ff.; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 62–64). – Phradmon (Φράδμων) of Argos, probably lived in the second half of 5th cent.: the athlete Pythodeles

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(or Pithodoros), of which the base with part of signature remains. Attributed work: Sisyphos I of the Daochos group (see also PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 169 ff.; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 87–88). – Dorotheos (Δωρόθεος) of Argos, second half of 5th cent.: inscription with doubtful restoration of the name (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 170; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 30–31). – Patrokles (Πατροκλῆς) of Sikyon, perhaps the son of Naukydes (brother of Polykleitos), father of Daidalos and Naukydes the Younger, or of Polykleitos the Architect: ten statues of sea captains (*nauarchoi*), part of Spartan offering dedicated by Lysandros (Lysander) after victory of Aigospotamoi (405 B.C.), of which a fragment of the base remains (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 8; Lippold, GP, p. 217). – Kanachos (Κάναχος) of Sikyon, pupil of Polykleitos: also collaborated on Spartan offering of Lysandros (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; ThB, s.v., no. 2; Lippold, GP, p. 216). – Other collaborators for the same offering: Alypos (Ἄλυπος) of Sikyon, pupil of Naukydes: seven statues of nauarchoi, of which only a base in two blocks remains, with a signature (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 3; P. Orlandini, EAA, s.v.). Pison (Πίσων) of Kalaureia, disciple of Amphion (of Knossos?) and master of Damokritos of Sikyon: statue of the soothsayer Agias (G. Lippold, ThB, s.v.; G. Lippold, RE, s.v.). Tisandros (Τίσανδρος), or Teisandros (Τείσανδρος): group of eleven nauarchoi, of which a signed base remains (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v. Tisandros; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 104). Dameas (Δαμέας) of Kleitor, school of Polykleitos: statues of Artemis, Poseidon, and Lysandros, with fragments of the base of the last-named remaining but without signature (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 2; L. Guerrini, EA, s.v., no. 2). Athanodoros (Ἀθανόδωρος) of Kleitor, school of Polykleitos: statues of Zeus and Apollo (W. Amelung, ThB, s.v., no. 2; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v., no. 2). Theokosmos (Θεόκοσμος) of Megara, probably father or grandfather of Kallikles: votive offering of a Hermon (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.). Antiphanes (Ἀντιφάνης) of Argos, pupil of Perikleitos (or Periklytos) and master (or disciple?) of Kleon of Sikyon: statues of the Dioskouroi; also executed a bronze horse (Trojan Horse?) for Argive donation after victory over the Spartans in Thyrea (414 B.C.?), from which the base remains with a dedication; also collaborated on Argive offering in memory of alliance with Thebes for founding of Messene (370–369 B.C.), contributing statues of Danae, princess of Argos, and her son Perseus, of which the signed base remains, as well as on the offering given by the Tegeans (or by all the Arcadians?) for victory over the Spartans (369 B.C.), with statues of Elatos, Apheidas, and Erasos (or Arkas?), of which two signed bases remain (Lippold, GP, p. 216 ff., p. 247; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 5–6; D. Mustilli, EAA, s.v.). Akron (Ἄκρων), probably of Selinous, son of Praton, active toward end of 5th cent.: signed base that supported two statues, perhaps Asklepios and Hygieia (Lippold, GP, p. 211; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 2; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Nikodamos (Νικόδαμος) of Mainalos, active ca. 400 B.C.: offering of Hetairichos, of which the inscription on the base remains (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 218; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 84). – Trito[. . .] (Τριτο[. . .]), perhaps a sculptor of the 5th cent.: name in fragmentary inscription on a block that may have supported a Boeotian offering (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 108). – [. . .]nio ([. . .]νιο) of Thebes, probably of the 5th cent.: fragmentary signature on a base showing traces of statues it once supported (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 116).

*Sculptors active at Delphi 4th cent.* B.C. A[g]athon ('A[γ]άθων), probably a sculptor of the end of 5th or the first half of 4th cent.: fragmentary signature on a base bearing the impression of a group in bronze, perhaps Artemis and Kallisto (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 1; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v. no. 3). – [Andr?]on ([Ἄνδρ?]ον) of Thebes, active perhaps in the first decade of 4th cent.: fragmentary signature on base (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 117). – Daidalos (Δαίδαλος) of Sikyon, son of Patrokles, active first half of 4th cent.: base signed and presumed part of statue of a boxer (Glaukon, son of Taureas?), ca. 400 B.C.; statues of Nike (recognized in a bronze at Lyons) and Arkas for anathema (votive offering) of the Tegeans, which stood before the portico of Lysandros, the base remaining (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 217; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 22–24; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v. no. 1). – Pausanias (Παυσανίας) of Apollonia (Illyria): huge statues of Apollo and Kallisto for Tegean offering, of which the common inscription remains (Lippold, GP, p. 247; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 86). – Samolas (Σαμόλας), an Arcadian: images of Triphylos and Azan, also for the Tegean anathema, of which the inscribed bases remain (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 92). – Kleon (Κλέων) of Sikyon, pupil of Antiphanes of Argos, active first half of 4th cent.: signed base that belonged to statue dedicated by Spartan ruler Pausanias to his son Agesipolis, who died in 380 B.C., with dedicatory epigram restored ca. 150 B.C. (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 217; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 60–61). – Praxias (Πραξίας), son of Lysimachos, Athenian: pediments of Temple of Apollo (ca. 366 B.C.), with Apollo, Leto, and the Muses on the east; Dionysos, the Thyiades, and the setting of Helios on the west; sculpture groups completed by Androsthenes (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 243; J. Marcadé, op. cit., II, 1957, nos. 110–11). – Praxiteles (q.v.). – Herakleidas (Ἡρακλείδας) of Atrax: offering from the people of Pharsalos, with Achilles on horseback and Patroklos, to which an inscribed base dated 344 (or 363) has been assigned (Lippold, GP, p. 248; J. Marcadé, op. cit., I, 1953, no. 35; M. B. Marzani, EAA, s.v., no. 2). – Hippokrates (Ἱπποκράτης) of Atrax, collaborated on Pharsalian donation (J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 37). – Satyros (Σάτυρος), son of Isotimos (or of Apollodoros?) and father of Lykos; architect and sculptor of Paros, author of treatise on Mausoleion of Halikarnassos and perhaps of one about stones: bronze statues of Idrieus and Ada, Carian dynasts, dedicated by the Milesians to Apollo (346–344; possibly reproduced on two reliefs from Tegea and Halikarnassos), of which the base remains (for other works see GREEK ART, AEGEAN; Lippold, GP, p. 254; J. Marcadé, ibid., no. 93; C. Picard, IV, p. 70 ff.). – Androsthenes (Ἀνδροσθένης), an Athenian, pupil of Eukadmos, active ca. 335–325: completed pediments of Temple of Apollo and perhaps was the sole artist responsible for western side (Lippold, GP, p 244; M. T. Amorelli, EAA, s.v.). – Lysippos (q.v.). – Leochares (Λεωχάρης) of Athens: *Alexander Attacked by a Lion*, carved for Krateros in collaboration with Lysippos ca. 320–315 (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 268 ff.; C. Picard, IV, p. 22 ff.).

*Painters active at Delphi*: Polygnotos (q.v.). – Timagoras (Τιμαγόρας), from Chalkis, active ca. mid-5th cent., won a victory over Panainos in painting competition at Pythian games (ThB, s.v.; G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 6). – Panainos (Πάναινος) of Athens, lived ca. 450 B.C., took part in painting competition at Pythian games (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; F. von Lorentz, ThB, s.v.; Rumpf, MZ, p. 95). – Aristokleidas (Ἀριστοκλείδας; to be identified with Aristokydes?); active ca. mid-4th cent. B.C. in the Temple of Apollo (B. Sauer, ThB, s.v.; L. Forti, EAA, s.v.). – *Metalworkers active at Delphi*: Glaukos (Γλαῦκος) of Chios, active probably between 7th and 6th cent., but sometimes assigned to early 7th cent.; held to be the inventor of iron soldering: silver crater on iron support, offering of Alyattes, King of Lydia (Lippold, GP, p. 64; EAA, s.v.). – Theodoros (Θεόδωρος) of Samos, son of Telekles and brother of Rhoikos, or son of Rhoikos and brother of Telekles; sculptor and possibly an architect, active in the first half of 6th cent.: silver crater, offering of Croesus (for other works see GREEK ART, EASTERN; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 58 ff.).

AETOLIA AND ACARNANIA. Aetolia is another poor and mountainous region that made no notable contribution to the artistic patrimony of Greece. The period witnessing the most intense political activity in this region, that of the Aetolian League, corresponded in fact to a time of meager creative activity throughout Greece. As is well known, during the Hellenistic age innovations in artistic endeavor occurred mostly in the east, in those large rich countries lately conquered, where all the vital energies of the Greeks appeared to be concentrated.

Some fortified cities such as Pleuron and, particularly, Oiniadai still preserve imposing walls and other structures, with most unusual arched doors; but the only important contribution made by the region consists of the large terra cottas of Thermon and Kalydon (Calydon). The latter city, seat of the ruler Oineus, which is famous for the themes of the great boar hunt and the struggle of Herakles against the river Acheloos, has yielded extensive remains of the Temple of Artemis Laphria (FIG. 99), of which it is possible to detect at least three restorations. The temple decoration includes painted metopes, antefixes with female faces, and terra-cotta acroteria of great beauty in the pure Corinthian tradition; the faces of the antefixes and the acroterial sphinxes (PL. 41) are, indeed, among the most notable examples of terra-cotta modeling from the late 7th century through the first decades of the 6th century. Faint traces remain of a single carved metope: the date suggested by the discoverers — 4th century B.C. — is merely provisional; in any case, this metope was assuredly part of a later restoration, of which no other traces remain. The painted metopes, in an extremely fragmentary state, evidence an alternation of complex mythological schemes (e.g., Herakles and the boar), with great Gorgon faces, an arrangement somewhat similar to that at Thermon. From Kalydon also are remains of an unusual heroön displaying friezes and architectural motifs of Hellenistic type, completed by a series of busts set between shields that seems to



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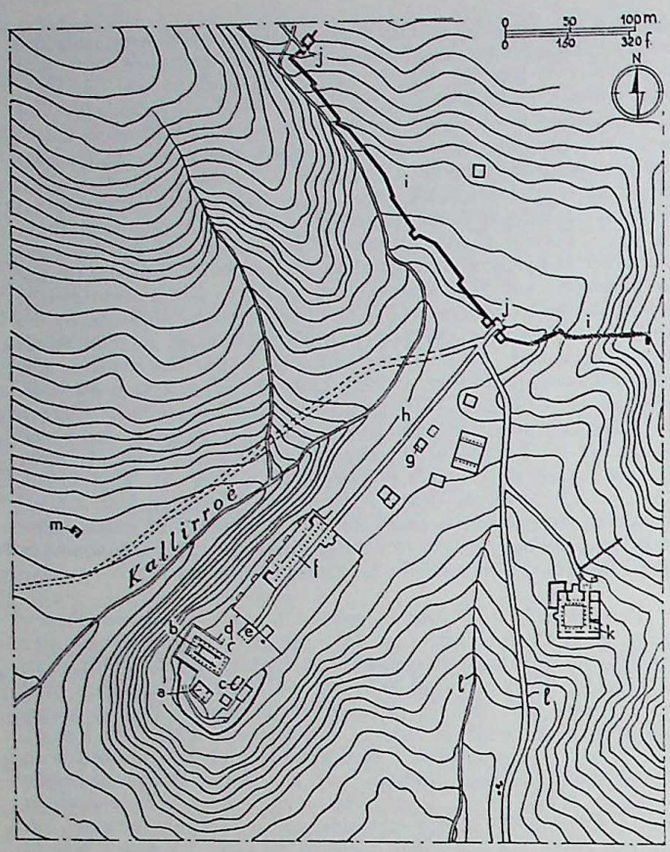



Kalydon, plan of the Laphrion: (*a*) Temple A; (*b*) Temple of Artemis; (*c*) apsidal building; (*d*) exedra; (*e*) propylon; (*f*) great stoa; (*g*) templelike structure; (*h*) Sacred Way; (*i*) city walls; (*j*) gates; (*k*) heroön (Leonteion); (*l*) necropolis; (*m*) heroön (*from E. Dyggve, 1948*).

initiate the classicistic tradition of copying famous originals. Among the mostly anonymous or doubtful faces appears that of Meleager, the central figure of the Calydonian hunt, adopting the type traditionally assigned to Skopas.

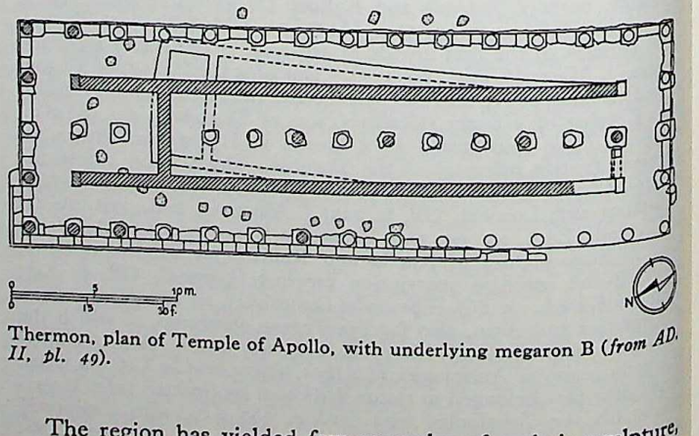
Thermon, with its great Temple of Apollo Thermios (FIG. 100), decorated with superb painted metopes (PL. 39; I, PL. 336) and various terra cottas, has been judged by some as less purely Corinthian than the Temple of Artemis at Kalydon. Even if some of the faces of antefixes restored at various times have a crude local character, it is certain that the metopes and the facial types present a true reflection of Corinthian art. At Thermon the antefixes (PL. 42) are even more varied and vigorous than at Kalydon. From faces of Daedalic character, possibly from the end of the 7th century, they evolve into types — already almost classical — of the mid-5th century. Moreover, alongside the usual female faces, there appears in varying versions a noble bearded face that must be Apollo, lord of the temple, as well as the face of a satyr of tremendous vitality. The painted metopes, which may be compared with the figures of archaic Corinthian vases, constitute the most complete and authoritative data yet discovered about ancient painting. As at Kalydon, large winking Gorgon heads alternate in the large square spaces with mythological scenes apparently unrelated to one another: Perseus flying with the magic pouch (*kybisis*), a hunter (perhaps Herakles or Orion), Chelidon, and Philomela bending over little Itys, who is to be sacrificed in vengeance. The large bodies with angular, simplified outlines are most impressive in their limpid clarity, and the color so freely applied confirms the impression of freshness and joyous abandon common to all Corinthian art forms.

Acarnania, another region of peripheral civilization, also manifests vague and scanty artistic traditions. An isolated monument from the area is the stele with a lyre player, from Anaktorion (Athens, Nat. Mus.), a weak sculpture of linear character from the beginning of the 5th century B.C. One of the most important sites in Acarnania is Stratos (Suvovigli), notable for monumental remains of the great walls and of the Temple of Zeus (FIG. 102), a Doric hekatompedon with columns partially fluted, dating from about the mid-4th century, the time of maximum expansion and importance for the Aetolian League. In contrast to the splendor indicated by the temple vestiges is a surprising lack of art objects, for no sculpture, not even minor votive offerings, has been found.

Aktion (Actium), at the mouth of the Gulf of Ambrakia, now best known as the scene of the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra, had long been famous for its venerable Temple of Apollo, which later generated the imperial devotion to Apollo Palatinus. From the point of view of the art historian, the most important find on this site was that of two large torsos of kouroi (Louvre), evidently works of importance, concerning which the debate continues as to whether they show a Corinthian character or the influence of island centers.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Aetolia. *Sculptors.* Dipoinos (Δίποινος) and Skyllis (Σκύλλις), Cretan brothers, probably of Gortyna; pupils or sons of Daidalos and teachers of Angelion and Tektaios, Theokles, Klearchos, Medon, and Dorykleidas; worked in Aetolia (7th or 6th cent.); most ancient antefix at Thermon attributed to them (see GREEK ART, AEGEAN; W. Amelung, ThB, s.v. Dipoinos; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v. Skyllis; Lippold, GP, p. 23; G. Cressedi, EAA, s.v. Dipoinos). – Menaichmos (Μέναιχμος) and Soidas (Σοΐδας), both of Naupaktos, active in the first half of 5th cent.: image of Artemis Laphria, executed for Kalydon ca. 460–450 B.C., known through copies and coins (Lippold, GP, p. 113 ff.). – Lysippos (q.v.).

EPIRUS AND ILLYRIA. Farther north the centers of Hellenic culture seem progressively more isolated and distant from one another. According to tradition, Ambrakia possessed a very ancient effigy ascribed to Dipoinos (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, xxxvi, 14, 9). The earliest examples of sculpture that have come down to us, however, are a very primitive small bronze figure (perhaps the handle of a hydria) from Agrinion and the statuette of Zeus the Thunderer from Ambrakia (Athens, Nat. Mus.), a vigorous work of a most unusual character. As more precise and convincing comparisons are lacking, the suggestion may be accepted that these works are vaguely related to the figures of combatants on the pediment of the temple at Corfu (PL. 44), mainly because of the angular forms of the statuette, with its hard and simplified outlines. Recent discoveries have brought to light attractive votive terra cottas of Corinthian origin, among which are some small, seated sphinxes of a type akin to that of the Melian reliefs. Ambrakia must have enjoyed a period of exceptional splendor during the reign of Pyrrhos, at the beginning of the 2d century B.C. It is known that Pyrrhos, in the tradition of the Macedonian kings, attempted to gather in his capital city a number of famous works of art. This period of magnificence was not protracted, however, and subsequently a group of Muses of Ambrakia was transported to Rome by Fulvius Nobilior and there dedicated in the Temple of Hercules. Afterward, Ambrakia was depopulated in favor of the new city Nikopolis, founded by Augustus after his victory at Actium.




Thermon, plan of Temple of Apollo, with underlying megaron B (*from AD, II, pl. 49*).

The region has yielded few examples of archaic sculpture, and these are almost unidentifiable: a very mutilated torso of a kouros from Durrës, Albania, a draped torso from Apollonia, a fragmentary kore in Dodona. From the city of Epidamnos,

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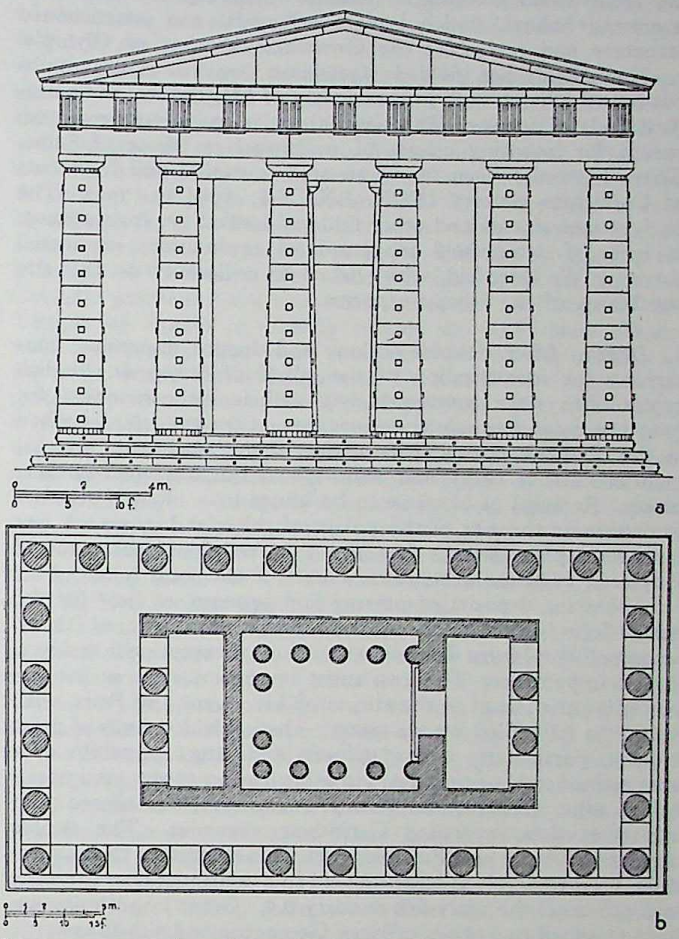
corresponding perhaps to the modern Durrës, there remains a broken fragment of the sculptural decoration of a treasury of Olympia. Nevertheless (and in this respect the area resembles others in which the vital artistic impulse seems to have expired toward the end of the ancient world), precious objects in other media have frequently been found in Epirus, bronze examples being especially noteworthy. An incomparable series has been found at Dodona, as well as a remarkable group at Paramythia. Here also the general characteristics of style consistently conform to the Corinthian mode. One of the most ancient bronzes of Epirus (known only through a sketch), a mirror support in the form of a maiden, is purely Corinthian, as is the greater part of the work found at Dodona. Among the bronzes of Paramythia, most of them of the Hellenistic age, one of the finest must have been the lost *Seilenos the Hammerer*, which — to judge from the sketches — seems to have been of different quality from the other known examples and which, on the basis of its figural scheme and probable date, may be related to the Epimetheos (or Hephaistos) of Dumbarton Oaks (PL. 70). The predominance of Corinthian influence may also be seen in the fact that the most notable of the rare ceramics of the region are the Corinthian fragments of Apollonia. The terra-cotta antefix of Apollonia, its face betraying a lingering Daedalic character, is also Corinthian. It is more difficult, however, to discern the influence of central Greece in the fragment of a frieze with warriors, which has sharp, provincial forms.

One of the most important factors in the development of sculpture on the shores of Epirus, at least during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., may have been the introduction of the rich and exuberant forms fashionable at Taras. This influence has been recognized in the steles of Durrës and Apollonia, and particularly in an elaborate acroterium with maidens among leafy scrolls (Louvre). With regard to the contacts between this northern extremity of Greece and southern Italy and Sicily, it should be remembered that as early as the 6th century one of the rare artists known from this region, Polystratos of Ambrakia, carved a famous statue of the tyrant Phalaris of Akragas (Agrigento). Offshoots of Hellenic influence are found in the interior as far as the shores of Lychnitis (Lake of Ohrid), where the princely tombs of Trebenište have yielded a wealth of refined Corinthian bronzes, especially tripods and large craters with Gorgons and horsemen of a type associated with Dodona in particular. The bronzes and other precious objects of Duvanli (Duvanly) show a strong infiltration of barbarian art, while importation of Attic vases confirms the artistic aspirations of the region.

The remote sanctuary of Dodona requires separate description. As at other sites in Epirus, the relatively small yield of monumental and sculptural remains from Dodona is compensated by bronzes of great interest, ranging from late Geometric statuettes, tripods, and lebetes to free imaginative creations of the mid-4th century B.C. Certain of the Dodona bronzes, such as the warrior in Berlin, *Zeus the Thunderer*, and the small horseman of Athens, are considered among the most significant examples of this metal sculpture in the entire Hellenic territory. Even when undoubted masterpieces are excluded from consideration, the general artistic level of these statuettes and reliefs is astonishingly high. Once more the influence of Corinth is pronounced; to the sculptural traditions of this city may be ascribed relief plates from shields and mirrors that carry on, until the beginning of the 5th century, traits of the splendid series recovered at Olympia. Corinthian influence is revealed in tender, vibrant statuettes of animals and human beings, rendered with particular limpidity. The stag accompanying Apollo in certain statues turns round, almost as if to suggest a more intense spiritual relationship with the god, who holds the animal with his great hand; also worthy of note is a little horseman, evidently part of the decoration of a crater of the type found at Trebenište. A small figure of Apollo (Louvre, no. 140), as if to confirm the theory of Corinthian influence, preserves the dedications of a Corinthian sculptor, Ethymokleidas. Later mirrors, helmet adornments with relief groups, and late classical statuettes, such as the seated maenad and the furious maenad types, are most likely Corinthian as well. Ernst Langlotz is not alone in assigning to Sparta the strange little figure, generally described as a running maiden, who wears the short tunic of Artemis or Atalante (PL. 45). Certainly in the running maiden, with her compact and firmly outlined body, there seems evident a more concentrated vitality than in the re-




Stratos, reconstruction of Temple of Zeus: (*a*) Façade; (*b*) plan (*from F. Courby and C. Picard, 1924*).

laxed mood conveyed by the serene and graceful Corinthian figures. Although this running maiden from Dodona differs in temperament from the Berlin Artemis (no. 7971) and from the running maiden of the British Museum (even though the latter resembles her so much in formal composition), nevertheless — in her neat proportions, round and clearly outlined face, and expression of moral energy — she is akin to the Maenad of Tetovo, another notable Peloponnesian import found in the Illyrian hinterland.

Recent excavations, continuing to add bronzes of interest and of exceptional quality, have brought to light the fragment of a protoma of a gryphon in beaten metal, from a crater of eastern character like those found at Delphi and Perachora; the quite singular Zeus in combat, with tightly curled locks, almost in imitation of the archaic style; and an unusual banqueter, whose soft and languid structure recalls Ionic style. A superb reclining bearded banqueter lately acquired by the British Museum is now generally believed to have come from Dodona (I, PL. 350; place of origin erroneously given as Ruvo).

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Epirus. *Sculptors*. Dipoinos (Δίποινος) and Skyllis (Σκύλλις): one or more statues at Ambrakia (see above under *Aetolia*). – Polystratos (Πολύστρατος) of Ambrakia, active ca. mid-6th cent. B.C. (pupil of Dipoinos?): statue of Phalaris of Akragas (F. von Lorentz, ThB, s.v.; G. Lippold, RE, s.v.). – Lysippos (q.v.).

IONIAN ISLANDS (Heptanesos). The islands of the Heptanesos, although remaining under the general influence of the

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predominant Corinthian style, nevertheless revealed some independent characteristics and a marked individuality of style within historic times. Zakynthos (Zante), the most southerly island of the Ionian group, is also the least thoroughly explored archaeologically. The most representative examples so far are some small Geometric bronzes, including a warrior with a crested helmet, which is of a schematic and unarticulated structure and resembles the Geometric bronzes of Olympia.

Kephallenia has yielded Mycenaean remains, tholos tombs cut into the living rock in the locality of Mazarakata, and abundant finds of pottery. The classical age is sparsely represented, except for imposing circles of walls such as those of Same. There have also been found an archaic capital and fragments of Corinthian pottery (*BCH*, LXXXII, 1958, p. 732). The ancient monuments and other finds at Leukas are insignificant, in spite of determined topographical explorations conducted there by W. Dörpfeld, who wished to rediscover on this site the Ithaca of the Homeric poems.

*Ithaca*. After decades of long and dogged discussion concerning the identification of the island of Odysseus, English explorations have produced data sufficiently convincing for even the most scrupulous consciences. Like the isle described in the Homeric poems, Ithaca, one of the smallest of the Ionian Islands, is rocky and wind-blown but has good landing places. Remains of Mycenaean buildings have allowed scholars to determine the site of the palace of the island rulers. A late terra-cotta pinax with a face carved in relief and the name of Odysseus confirms a continuing cult of the local hero.

Abundant deposits of pottery and bronzes, at least for the period from the 8th to the 6th century B.C., have assured Ithaca, among all the Ionian Islands, a position of exceptional archaeological importance. The two most important sites as yet explored on the island — the shrine of Mt. Aetos and Polis, with its grotto half filled by sea water — have yielded finds of great interest, particularly bronze tripods and large quantities of a very refined type of pottery. No other Ionian center, and possibly no other Greek center (except Perachora), has offered such important data regarding Corinthian ceramics. The sizable deposits of Aetos and Polis support the assumption that Corinthian products arrived on the island in a continual flow from the mid-9th until the early 6th century B.C. Great importance has been attached to a series of large Geometric and sub-Geometric vases rarely found elsewhere. A fragmentary crater from Aetos, of certain Corinthian origin, apparently places within the sphere of the Corinthian industry at least the prototypes of the well-known Syracusan craters that had been provisionally assigned to the island centers or to Argos.

A notable proto-Corinthian artist, the Aetos Painter, has derived his identity from two small kotylai of Ithaca. Other vases and fragments found in the Aetos shrine, particularly the large and exquisite conical oinochoe with a horse's head on the bottom, have come to be regarded as classics of proto-Corinthian painting (E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1940, p. 30). Among the numerous significant examples should be mentioned the Corinthian kotyle displaying one of the oldest certain representations of the Muses.

Corinth, in spite of its decided predominance in the pottery market, was not the exclusive source of imported art objects in Ithaca; in the deposits at Aetos, large Cretan vases, vases from the islands, and even East Greek fragments (Rhodes) have been found. In addition to these imported wares, there arose in Ithaca in the 7th century a local production of remarkable artistic quality that, while evidently inspired by the Corinthian ceramics, showed much independence in the forms and decorative schemes adopted. Some scholars have detected Cycladic influence in the decorative motifs, which are larger and arranged in free and inventive designs, in some respects contrasting with the limpid, restrained, and delicately finished style of the proto-Corinthian production. Apparently, the ceramic artist Kalikleas should be assigned to this workshop; in a non-Corinthian dialect he signed a vase of the so-called "candlestick" type, commonly found in these deposits. The flow of imported and independent local products seems to desist abruptly in the mid-6th century B.C. One small bronze perhaps of later date should be noted, a little goat standing on a bronze supporting rod (from a tripod?); this may belong to the second half of the 6th century but does not bear comparison in artistic quality with the series of small Geometric and sub-Geometric horses.

*Kerkyra* (Corfu). The exploration of Corfu, which has been both intense and sporadic, has revealed monuments of exceptional interest that are, however, extremely isolated and difficult to relate to one another. The island, which may be identified with the legendary Scheria of the Phaeacians, has yielded very sparse Mycenaean remains. On the other hand, fine testimony of Hellenistic Kerkyra is offered by three splendid temples that have been fully explored, the two at Monrepos and the great Temple of Artemis at Kardaki with the famous sculpture of the pediment. These are outstanding examples from a general architectural point of view because of their refinement of forms, the introduction of unusual decorative elements, and the structural anomalies that have often led observers to associate them with the more unconventional buildings of Sicily and southern Italy, in particular with the "Basilica" of Paestum (the Greek Poseidonia; I, PL. 333).

The architectural terra cottas of the most ancient temple of Monrepos date from the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and although they present some points of resemblance with the older examples of Thermon, they also reveal a remarkable individuality. The wide bands, painted and carved in relief, offer singular examples of new and refined decorative schemes. The antefixes show female heads or Gorgon heads between pairs of facing lions. The finest sculpture of the temple is found in the lion heads of the cornice, modeled with a notable combination of vigor and delicacy. Here, as in the large lion couchant of the cenotaph of Menekrates (dated by inscription ca. 600 B.C.; PL. 43), one may recognize the continuance of traditional proto-Corinthian forms rather than the adoption of the new type common to Corinthian painting of the time.

At Kardaki, the pediment sculpture of the great Temple of Artemis represents not only the most important and most complete example of Corinthian sculpture but also one of the most remarkable examples of archaic temple sculpture, illustrating that strange fondness for monumental figures which is attested by the colossal kouroi in late archaic style, for instance, those of Samos and Sounion. In its dimensions alone and in its use of marble, the pediment was an innovation and marked an uncommon advance beyond the normal evolution of this artistic form. Dominating the group at the center is an immense Gorgon in high relief, flanked by panthers couchant (I, PL. 343); at either end are battle scenes — a gigantomachy (PL. 44) and an Ilioupersis, with a seated Priam threatened by the lance of Neoptolemos. In this fragmentary and disjointed figural scheme, some scholars have detected the primitive quality of an age in which it was not yet necessary to present a single sustained narrative. According to this viewpoint, the full Gorgon figure is an outgrowth of the primitive Gorgon head that, set within a medallion, decorates the most ancient pediments. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Gorgon in this monumental representation is goddess of nature and ruler of the animal world and is simply another form of Artemis, who reigned absolute in the religious world of Kerkyra. This plan of disjointed narrative, in which story episodes alternate with static presences of animals or monsters, was commonly adopted in Corinthian vase painting. An extreme example is an aryballos (Paris, Bib. Nat.) on which the Trojan Horse — from which are emerging the Greek warriors in battle array — is placed as a sort of pendant beside an enormous seated panther.

As for the pediment of the Kardaki temple, it is not possible to discount entirely a narrative continuity in the three great scenes represented. Although some scholars consider the central group to be merely a glorification of the Gorgon as goddess of nature, ruling over her children and the animal world, others hold that the young hero to the right is not her son Chrysaor but her slayer Perseus about to attack. Moreover, in accordance with the customary juxtaposition of events that in reality occurred consecutively, Pegasos (who sprang from the blood of

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the Gorgon) is included in the scene (fragment toward panther at left). This great pediment, with the smooth and well-defined forms of the figures and the austere elegance of the decorative motifs in the borders of robes, the serpents heraldically entwined, and the rosettes placed at regular intervals on the panthers' hides, represents one of the loftiest expressions of Greek sculpture at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. The contrast between the ample curves and round face of the Gorgon, with its soft contours, and the sinewy, virile anatomy of the hero is also worthy of note. In particular, Perseus (or Chrysaor) — with his long, angular limbs; frank, clear-cut face; and wide-open eyes — presents a fitting Corinthian counterpart to the Attic sophistication and restraint manifested in the kouros of the Sounion temple (I, PL. 346) and in the Dipylon head (I, PL. 345).

More recent evidence of the artistic tendencies of Kerkyra may be seen in the rich Karapanos collection of terra cottas (Athens, Nat. Mus.), among which are large figures of Artemis with animals of varied aspect; this form developed between the beginning of the 6th and the middle of the 5th century. While these figures seem reminiscent of certain schemes and methods of the Corinthian tradition, they are at the same time related to motifs found in southern Italy and Sicily, particularly in Taras and Syracuse: for example, the Tarentine Artemis type with a fawn under her arm. The most important small bronze from Kerkyra is undoubtedly the so-called "boxer" (Br. Mus., no. 212), with his powerful and sinewy body, a work that Langlotz includes in his "Sikyonian" group. More timid and languid of mien, despite her great size, is the Karapanos Aphrodite wearing a peplos (Athens, Nat. Mus.). A small bronze lion (Br. Mus., no. 232), in its kinship to a lion from Perachora, confirms the Corinthian influence in even the minor plastic arts of Kerkyra; whereas the small warrior in combat, from Aphiona, is already classical and therefore impresses with a more elusive individuality.

More recent exploration in Corfu has revealed vestiges of a Doric temple near Paleopolis, architectural fragments of capitals, palmettes, and figural acroteria — the last elements apparently of the early 5th century. Great quantities of ceramic fragments, most of them from Corinthian workshops, have also come to light.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Kerkyra. *Sculptor*. Ptolichos (Πτόλιχος), lived 5th cent. B.C. (second half?), pupil of Kritios and master of Amphion of Knossos (C. Picard, II, p. 637, note 1; Lippold, GP, p. 175).

EUBOEA. The inclusion of Euboea, largest island of the Aegean, in an article on the art of northern Greece may be justified by a degree of affinity with the great northern centers of Greek civilization in certain marginal aspects of culture, even if the bonds of race and culture with the Aegean Islands and with Attica and Boeotia might have suggested its discussion in the articles devoted to these areas (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; GREEK ART, AEGEAN). Excavations at Eretria that have revealed a quarter inhabited by ceramic artists, together with a thorough classification of the most ancient discoveries, allow much more precise opinions than were formerly possible concerning the artistic development of the island. It is therefore possible to form, at least for Eretria, a picture of a continual development, from about the 8th century onward. With all this wealth of data, there is not the slightest link with the class of vases usually called "Chalcidian." The study of Euboean or Eretrian pottery reveals an uncertain line of development that wavers noticeably among various artistic tendencies of the vicinity or those predominant in particular periods. Some dependence upon Corinthian models has been discerned, such as in the cylindrical pyxis decorated with running dogs. Nevertheless, the general stylistic direction was determined above all by repeated contacts with Cycladic production, even in the shapes adopted, among which the large amphoras with tall truncated-cone supports predominate. But in the 6th century B.C. the fashion changed, and subservience to Attic influence was complete. Three large craters or funerary amphoras in Athens (Nat. Mus.) might be described as wholly Attic except for a slight provincial flavor about the figures. The customary form also changed from the large Cycladic amphora to the lebes gamikos, a jar for lustral water, which prevailed in Attica in the first half of the 6th century B.C.

Still remaining to be discovered is the vaunted Chalcidian bronzework. The only consistent group that, on the strength of isolated finds, might perhaps be linked with Euboean art is that of the late bronze hydrias, so many of which have been found in northern Greece.

Chalcidian origin of a small statue of a seated goddess, apparently in pure Cretan style (Louvre), is uncertain. In any case, this statue remains an isolated work that cannot be traced to a Chalcidian center or even to Euboea in general. The few works of sculpture found in the island cannot be dated before the second half of the 6th century B.C. To this period should be assigned a little Poseidon in combat from Chalkis, and to about 520 B.C. an exquisite kouros head in the Archaeological Museum of Chalkis, a work clearly imbued with the softened Cycladic plasticity. On the other hand, the pediment of the Temple of Apollo in Eretria reveals an undoubted affinity with contemporaneous Attic sculpture, an affinity evident in the solid, firmly outlined figure of Theseus from the principal group, representing the rape of Antiope (I, PL. 369). The hero, with his elaborately patterned curls and unyielding square jaw, demonstrates Attic origin in the balance maintained between solid structure and delicately modulated and carved surfaces. The same clear-cut outline is seen in a standing figure of Athena (PL. 46), even though greatly mutilated, and in remarkable figures of Amazons, to which examples have lately been added the kneeling statue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome and another broken figure from Eretria.

A torso of Apollo from Eretria, dating from the initial phase of the severe style, characterized by extreme formal austerity and intense virility, already seems to have surpassed contemporaneous Attic models of the first quarter of the 5th century, almost as if anticipating the reserve and calm authority of the Phidian *Apollo* of Kassel (III, PL. 353). Later examples of sculpture, such as the interesting stele from Karystos (PL. 46), might easily be included, almost without distinction, among the contemporaneous production from Attica, absolute ruler in the general artistic koine of mature classicism. The sparse examples of later work, such as the headless statue of a seated goddess from Chalkis, seem to confirm this orientation; but minor works, such as a votive relief with Aphrodite seated on a rock and an Eros, reveal a deficient plastic sense, as well as the prevalent taste in the decorative arrangement of drapery, and therefore should be related instead to Boeotian or Locrian work; the previously mentioned relief of Larymna showing the sacrifice of a ram is a relevant illustration.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Euboea. *Architect*. Kleisthenes (Κλεισθένης) of Eretria, father of the philosopher Menedemos, active before mid-4th cent. B.C.; scenographer, hence may have worked as theater architect, perhaps on reconstruction of the theater of Eretria (Pfuhl, II, p. 700; C. Weickert, ThB, s.v.). – *Sculptors*. Megistokles (Μηγιστόκλης), archaic period, probably of Chalkis, where a signed relief representing a sculptor at work has been found (Picard, I, p. 196, note 2; G. Lippold, RE, Sup. VIII, s.v.). – Philesios (Philesias?; Φιλήσιος) of Eretria: bronze bull, offered at Olympia by the Eretrians before 490 B.C., of which some fragments and the signed base remain (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 3; Lippold, GP, p. 73, note 4). – Hierarchos (Ἱέραρχος), 4th cent. B.C.: signature on a block with votive offering of a fountain, from Styra (G. Lippold, RE, Sup. III, s.v.; ThB, s.v.). – Silanion (Σιλανίων) of Athens, active ca. 370–320 B.C.: statue at Oreos, taken to Pergamon by Attalos I (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 272 ff.). – *Painters*. Timagoras (Τιμαγόρας) of Chalkis, mid-5th cent. B.C.; winner in painting competition at Delphi (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 6; ThB, s.v.). – Kleisthenes (Κλεισθένης) of Eretria, scenographer and architect (see above). – Ismenias (Ἰσμηνίας) of Chalkis, perhaps the father of the sculptor Parthenokles: panel (pinax) offered by Habron, son of the orator Lykourgos, after 324 B.C. in the Erechtheion (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Pfuhl, II, p. 779; J. Marcadé, RA, XXXI–XXXII, 1948, p. 688). – *Gem engraver*. Syries (Συρίης), probably Euboean, archaic period: scarab of steatite, signed (W. Muller, ThB, s.v.).

THESSALY AND MACEDONIA. Thessaly, of such importance in prehistoric times for its many centers of advanced culture

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and so famous in the epic period as the scene of many ancient legends, seems to have been comparatively inactive during the periods of maximum expansion and great vitality of the Hellenic genius. And modern research has confirmed this contrast between the intense life of the most remote ages and the relative quiescence of the periods coeval with the great centuries of artistic creativity in other parts of Greece. It therefore seems obligatory to recognize a period of attenuated vitality in Thessaly, amounting almost to a gap without any precise historical justification: for instance, at Pharsalos a tumulus tomb of late archaic style is grafted, without transitional forms, onto a Mycenaean tholos.

The most notable Mycenaean remains of Thessaly have been located in fabled Iolkos (mod. Volos), where excavations have yielded remarkable remnants of pottery that shed new light on the store of ancient legends. Examples from the Geometric age are few and of little interest, with the noteworthy exception of a bronze statue of a warrior, fully armed and unusual in its dimensions (Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 12831). Nothing else has been found to compare with the disharmony and disjointed vehemence of this unusual figure. Thessaly has revealed few traces of temples or votive statues. The modest offerings of the Temple of Zeus Thaulios at Pherai (mod. Velestinon) — although this edifice must have been of great importance for the local cult — include bronzes that are of poor quality, with the exception of a magnificent archaic warrior, unanimously judged an importation from a Peloponnesian center. Moreover, the bronzes that have appeared from time to time in this region, often remarkable both for general and individual qualities, cannot be classified according to a continuous and consistent scheme of development. Thus, the vibrant and delicate *Perseus* from Halmyros, with the large kybisis hanging from his shoulder, should perhaps be attributed to a Corinthian source. The warrior of Edessa may be related to the bronze craters of Dodona and Trebenište; however, it is more difficult to ascertain the source of isolated works such as the goddess with the dove (Berlin), also found in Thessaly, and the uncommon nude maiden (Munich) from Verroia, considered one of the most notable female nudes of ancient times prior to the inspired work of Praxiteles. Such works are foreign to the general artistic climate of the region, and their presence in Thessaly seems as fortuitous as the discovery — rare in a land where ceramic importations were, indeed, infrequent — of a superb calyx-crater in the tumulus tomb of Pharsalos, which approaches the work of Exekias (q.v.). The same disjointed and random impression is created by the few finds of marble sculpture in this region, most significant of which is a head of a youth, from Halmyros, probably an example of island art (*AM*, LXV, 1940, p. 63).

The only consistent art form, making up a compact group, is the Thessalian stele, a form developed over a rather limited period, however — apparently less than a century (ca. 480–400 B.C.) — and on a very modest scale. One of the oldest, and perhaps the most refined, is a stele from Pharsalos (PL. 47) with two facing female figures (their interpretation remains debatable), which because of its decidedly Ionic style must in some way be related to the long Thessalian sojourn of the wandering artist Telephanes of Phocis. It is known, furthermore, that Telephanes worked in Persia at the court of the Great King as well. In any case, there is an extremely close similarity between the heads on the Pharsalos stele and a head found at Xanthos in Asia Minor, which is in turn related to reliefs from the Tomb of the Harpies (Br. Mus.). Consequently, although the theory of a northern Ionian school has not found the necessary support in the data available, there remains the fact of a production of reliefs, of limited range and subject matter but often most attractive in their very modesty. They generally exhibit figures austerely draped in heavy and substantial garments: the men often with the chlamys and petasos (wide hat); the women veiled, timid, and withdrawn. Plastic effects are at the same time delicate and vigorous, with decided emphasis on the soft, heavy folds, the simplified and blunted outlines, and the serene, easy attitudes. Within these limits the Athens stele of a man with a petasos, with its heavy modeling of the back of the neck and attenuated planes of relief, and that of the veiled woman of Volos (*AM*, LXV, 1940, p. 78) are artistic expressions of great originality and poetic charm.

The earliest of the Thessalian steles has something in common with a singular relief from Gomphoi, depicting the recognition of Odysseus. The legendary scene seems to have been conveyed in the manner of a votive relief, which has also lent its form to the slab; thus there seems to be a return to some aspect of hero worship, typical of Thessaly. Because so few names of Thessalian artists are known, it is exceptional that those of Herakleidas and Hippokrates, named as the creators of a votive offering at Delphi, have come down to us; the offering included statues of two great heroes of the land, Achilles on horseback and Patroklos running beside him. Thessaly, like neighboring Macedonia, was a land of feudal and heroic traditions, barely touched by the democratic spirit of the rest of Greece and perhaps less completely dependent upon temple and religion as a focus for noteworthy artistic activity. It might almost be said that the enormous importance of heroes and hero worhip, obviously essential in a country of feudal traditions, resulted in a degree of decline for the temples and the cults of the major gods. In fact, among the most famous sanctuaries of the region are that of Achilles, the Thetideion at Pharsalos, and the sanctuaries of Protesilaos at Phylakes and at Elaious in the Chersonesos. Even the worship of Asklepios — at least in its original form — was at Trikka decidedly a hero cult of oracular character. Such tendencies may be linked with the enormous importance attached to tombs, especially in the Hellenistic age, in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. Attesting this prominence are the magnificent tumulus tomb of Pharsalos and numerous monumental tombs with architectural fronts, decorative sculpture inside and out, painted vaults, and sumptuous funerary beds, really worthy of a heroön, such as may be seen in a semisubterranean building at Kalydon. These artistic forms are present in the monumental tombs of Vergina, Naousa, and Stavroupolis, which constitute valuable elements of knowledge of Hellenistic art. In this connection, isolated monuments such as the painted tomb of Kazanlik (PL. 48) in Thrace are noteworthy.

The tendency toward a more and more civilized and luxurious life, with the merely human and secular elements predominating, is evidenced by the famed achievements of Hellenistic goldsmiths, sumptuous objects found quite frequently in Thessalian and Macedonian territory. Worthy of mention are the very important finds included in the Benaki and Stathatos collections (now respectively in the Benaki Mus. and the Nat. Mus., Athens); the silver patera with an inscription to Athena from Kozani; and the Bulgarian treasures of Duvanli and Panagyurishte (PL. 49). These evidences of a feudal and luxurious life in countries whose coinage alone shows them to have been rich in metals, particularly Macedonia, are proof of the orientation of artistic endeavor more and more toward purely human and secular ends. In Macedonia, especially in the princely palaces of Pella and Palatitsa, are found the first examples of a sumptuous civic architecture quite unimaginable in any other part of Greece. Particularly striking are the mosaic pavements, apparently of the end of the 4th century B.C., which surpass in purity of design and wealth of invention those of Olynthos and Sikyon. The great mosaic of Palatitsa constitutes one of the most elaborate examples of decoration contrived from a basic pattern of scrollwork. Even finer are the mosaics of Pella, with the superb adolescent Dionysos riding on a panther and the monumental lion hunt (PL. 48; X, PL. 175), which recalls the figures on the monument portraying Alexander's hunt offered at Delphi by Krateros. The great stele from Pella (now in Istanbul; III, PL. 357) stands in a class apart, as a most important monument almost without connection to the production of Thessalian steles, which appear modest and simple in comparison. In the figure of the Macedonian warrior the breadth of design, the subtlety of the graduated planes, and the decorative effect of the chlamys indicate Ionian influence, though it is not possible to suggest a precise point of reference. The last artistic descendants of the Thessalian steles are the painted steles of Pagasai (PL. 48), works of the late Hellenistic period that, while often of very inferior quality, nonetheless have the merit of offering a fairly direct reflection of Hellenistic painting.

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One of the strangest problems in the identification of crafts in 4th-century Greece is presented by a class of large bronze hydrias, with figured emblems in relief at the base of the vertical handle. The sources hitherto suggested include the Dodecanese, Euboea, or possibly Attica (the last because some of the hydrias depict the rape of Oreithyia, a subject considered to be chiefly an Attic favorite). However, important discoveries in northern Greece (for instance, the very beautiful example found at Pharsalos in the 1950s) have led to reexamination of the question, with the result of suggesting the existence of a productive center — even if not the chief source — in this very region. It is difficult to separate this production of bronze hydrias from that of the mirrors with cases, decorated in high repoussé relief, which are generally found concentrated around Corinth; indeed, in its westerly regions and continental extensions, northern Greece seems to have been dominated substantially by Corinthian artistic traditions.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Thessaly. *Sculptors.* Telephanes (Τηλεφάνης) of Phocis (or Phokaia?), first half of 5th cent. B.C., worked also for kings of Persia: statues of Larissa (example of the so-called "Penelope type"?); Apollo; Spintharos. Attributions: the *Zeus* (*Poseidon?*) of the Artemision; the Ludovisi *Hermes* (III, PL. 361); reflections of his wor in the funerary reliefs of Larisa (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 123; E. Langlotz, Museum Helveticum, VIII, 1951, p. 157 ff.). – Pronos (Πρόνος), active in the first half of 5th cent. B.C.; recorded in Thessalian inscription as the artist of votive offering to Apollo Leschaios (Lippold, GP, p. 117, note 2). – Phradmon (Φραδμων) of Argos, probably second half of 5th cent. B.C.: 12 heifers in bronze offered by the Thessalians in Temple of Athena Itonia for victory over the Illyrians and therefore dated by some scholars after 356 B.C. (for other works see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 169 ff.; J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculptures grecs, I, nos. 87–88). – Herakleidas (Ἡρακλείδας) and Hippokrates (Ἱπποκρατης) of Atrax, active ca. mid-4th cent. B.C. at Delphi (see above under *Delphi*; Lippold, GP, p. 248; J. Marcadé, ibid., nos. 35,37). – Lysippos (q.v.).

Macedonia. *Architects.* Deinokrates (Δεινοκράτης; or Deinochares? Hermokrates? Timochares?), considered Macedonian or Rhodian, also identified with Cheirokrates; active under Alexander the Great: plan for foundation of Alexandria; project for transformation of Mount Athos (Chalcidian) into a colossal statue of Alexander, in one hand holding a city and in the other a gobiet from which the mountain streams might flow into the sea; funeral pyre for Hephaistion in Babylon (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.; P. Romanelli, EAA, s.v.). – Diokles (Διοκλῆς) of Rhegion: project of transforming Mount Athos, mainly assigned to Deinokrates (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v., no. 1; G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., no. 2). – *Sculptors.* Leochares (Λεωχάρης), active ca. mid-4th cent. B.C.: portraits of Philip, Olympias, Amyntas, Eurydice, and Alexander, the last possibly reflected in the Rondanini statue (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 268 ff.; C. Picard, IV, p. 22 ff.). – Chaireas (Χαιρέας), second half of 4th cent. B.C.: portraits of Philip and Alexander the Great (Lippold, GP, p. 288; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – Lysippos (q.v.). – *Painters.* Apelles (q.v.). – Nikomachos (Νικόμαχος), Boeotian, second half of 4th cent. B.C.: portrait of Antipatros (Antipater), king or administrator of the Macedonians, perhaps dated 323–319 B.C. (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Rumpf, MZ, p. 146 ff.). – Zeuxis (q.v.). – *Gem engraver.* Pyrgoteles (Πυργοτέλης), because of his fame, the only gem engraver authorized to portray Alexander the Great (W. Müller, ThB, s.v.).

THRACE AND THE PROPONTIC LITTORAL. The southern region of Thrace, which for the ancients was still part of Macedonia, offers a decided contrast with the picture just presented of the artistic activity of the Thessalian and Macedonian lands. Whereas these vast regions of decidedly continental character remained open to Corinthian influences, the cities of Thrace seem to have looked toward the sea and to have been profoundly influenced by the Ionian and other islands. It is not improbable that among the chief transmitting centers of such influence were Thasos, the northern exponent of the Cycladic culture, and the metropolis of Neapolis (mod. Kavalla). The character of ancient Neapolis has begun to emerge more clearly as information on the site has grown. Excavations since World War II have revealed a magnificent temple dedicated to Athena Parthenos, architectural fragments of which have come to light, among them some fine archaic Ionic capitals and a collection of votive offerings lent extreme interest by the variety and refinement of its ceramic importations. In ceramics the dominating influences also were from the Ionian and other islands. The principal finds comprise fragments of Melian and Rhodian work as well as remains of the very unusual Cycladic plates, whose importance has been disclosed by later discoveries at Thasos. The Neapolis finds are completed by some Laconian fragments and copious Attic black-figured fragments, many from cups. (There is a notable absence of red-figured pottery.) The well-known Vulgaridis head of a kore (PL. 50), a highly refined example that rounds out the scant information about female types in the art of Thasos and coastal Thrace, cannot be effectively separated from the sculpture and minor plastic arts of Thasos, though it is from Neapolis. Most unusual is a representation in archaic style of Neapolis itself, in a 4th-century frieze carved in relief.

Thessalonica (mod. Salonika) was a relatively late Macedonian foundation; no definite remains have emerged of the ancient city of Therma, which had preceded it on the same site. A terra-cotta relief of the mid-5th century B.C., with one of the customary heroes astride a dolphin, has been tentatively accepted as an image of Thermaios, mythical founder of the city.

Several of the coastal cities of Thrace are known in modern times only through their superbly designed coinage. The gold deposits of Mount Pangaion cannot wholly explain the magnificent assortment of coins; indeed, cities that boast a solid economy and assured sources of wealth do not generally design countless variations of their coinage. High artistic standards, imagination in decorative motifs, and a peculiar descriptive idiom are among the most vivid and characteristic features of the monetary production of this whole region. The widely varied representations on the coins found in the region around Pangaion, sometimes of unknown provenance, reflect the mannered and languid expressions of the last phase of Ionian archaism in their complicated scenes depicting heroes on horseback, satyrs courting and abducting nymphs, sacred chariots, and oxen. The coinage of Ainos (PL. 52), displaying typically Hellenic concentration and limpidity in its polished forms, constitutes one of the most important sources for the study of ancient numismatics. From this coinage — in which there insistently reappears, with ever-increasing authority and purity, the face of the god Hermes or the image of the goat, an animal sacred to him — has been derived more precise knowledge of the great deity of the city; a votive image of Hermes is also known to have been mounted on a complicated throne or base, like the Apollo of Amyklai. The face of this Hermes of Ainos presents an example of harmonious and resplendent classicism such as has never been found elsewhere in Thrace.

Even more nebulous are certain cities of the area, famous in antiquity, that have become little more than names: for example, Akanthos, a colony of Andros with a treasury at Delphi, in modern times known only for a simple relief (Louvre) showing a lion attacking a bull; the design of this relief recurs on the coins of the city.

Olynthos, despite a long history and the important archaeological fact that it was totally destroyed and apparently abandoned in the mid-4th century B.C., has not substantially rewarded the great excavations undertaken there. The findings have provided a picture of a largely bourgeois city of the late classical age, with extremely limited artistic activity — a city importing an abundance of Attic vases of poor quality. It has proved vain to seek traces of the sculptors Herodotos, Herodoros, and Sthennis, who are known to have been natives of the city. However, it should be borne in mind that even late Hellenistic sculptors, such as a certain Simos who worked in Rhodes, were still called citizens of the already destroyed Olynthos. Nothing remains of the most ancient city on the site; and although it is possible to trace the outlines of the Hellenistic city, including a series of modest houses (FIG. 111), Olynthos does not seem to have had any imposing center for votive monuments set within its own architectural precinct. The examples of sculpture found here are very poor (PL. 50). Even the terra cottas of Olynthos represent an intermediate ground in which old Ionic models (such as the head type of a veiled goddess, perhaps of Rhodian origin) are modified by Boeotian traditions. Certainly the most

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significant finds are a few fragments of Attic pottery, among them a cup by the Heidelberg Painter. There is also a curious local production of pottery, of a vaguely Orientalizing type, not unrelated to the so-called "Tyrrhenian" pottery of Lemnos.

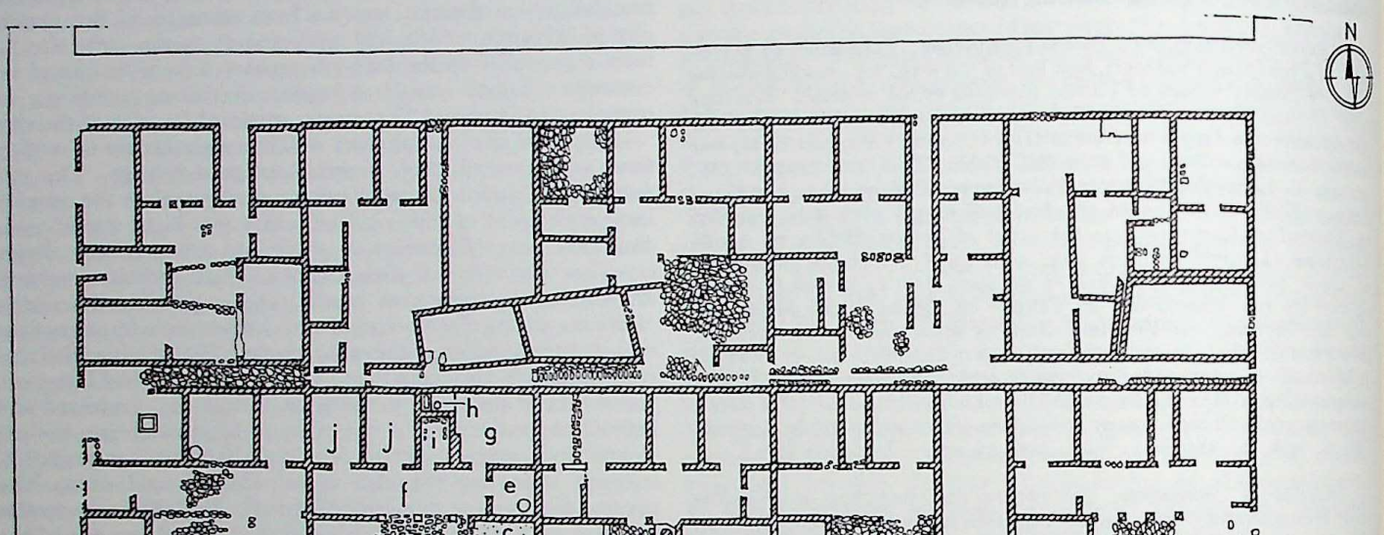
Archaeological research has begun at Amphipolis, where a monumental commemorative lion similar to that of Chaironeia has been restored; a necropolis of the 4th century B.C. has also been explored. The most significant finds, however, have occurred in a locality hitherto almost unknown, Komotini; among the objects found here was the missing segment (with the whole body of a figure), of a stele believed to have come from Abdera (Athens, Nat. Mus.). This piece, which must be considered one of the finest examples of northern Ionian sculpture, is a "double-faced" relief, like the stele from Dorylaion and that of Anaxandros (PL. 51). From Komotini also has come a singular torso of a peplophoros entirely new in form, possibly related to the isolated peplophoros from the Piazza Barberini in Rome (Mus. Naz. Rom.). The cultural attainment of Komotini has been verified by the discovery at Strini, also in the vicinity of Komotini, of a remarkable red-figured Attic vase (pelike), perhaps from the group painted by Polygnotos. From another little-known locality, Bisanthe (mod. Tekirdağ or Rodosto), comes a remarkable torso of a kore (Salonika, Mus.) of very late archaic style, judging from the languid treatment of typical formal schemes.

The shores of the Propontis still redound to famous names, sites full of imaginative associations in myth and in the chronicles of great artists. Facing the tumulus of Achilles near Cape Sigeion were the tumulus and sanctuary of Protesilaos at Elaious, with its statue of the hero standing at the prow of his ship as if about to disembark on the shores of Troy. In all probability, this was the work of Deinomenes, an artist of whom little is known, but whom G. Lippold assigns to the end of the 5th century B.C. on the grounds of historical associations deduced from two statues of heroines, the Argive Io and the Arcadian Kallisto, on the Acropolis of Athens. The ancients recorded another statue (also of the Propontis) by this artist, that of Queen Besantis. A famous *Hermes* by Polykleitos was at Lysimacheia and another, more popular *Eros* by Praxiteles at Parion. However, apart from literary references, the two centers that have yielded the most significant material are Perinthos and Kyzikos.

Perinthos, a colony of Samos with a long and glorious history, was the source of a kouros torso in Budapest and an archaic head of a youth, clearly Ionic in character, in Berlin. Even more than for these works, however, Perinthos is famed in archaeological literature for two other masterworks, the Polykleitan athlete's head in Dresden and a bronze head of Berenike type (Athens, Nat. Mus.). This head type, associated with the Lichtenstein head which has been mounted on a body from Ephesos, has been met with again in a bronze Artemis subsequently discovered in the Piraeus. Kalchedon (Chalcedon), a Megarian colony, has yielded a candid and youthful kore, and a notable archaic relief in Istanbul presenting a scene similar to those of Athena issuing from the head of Zeus, attended by the Fileithyiai.

On the Asiatic shore of the Propontis lay the great and unrivaled center of Kyzikos, a Milesian colony of great splendor, famous for the high standard of its coinage. Kyzikos has yielded such remarkable examples of pure Ionic style as the two reliefs with chariots (PL. 50); another relief, with softened outlines, of Herakles shooting an arrow; and the unusual relief depicting two heraldic groups of lions on a stricken bull. The impressive figure known from a statue in the Metropolitan Museum and from the Kyzikos torso in the British Museum — provisionally identified with Protesilaos — in the opinion of L. Curtius represents Kyzikos, the hero who gave his name to the city, in a gesture of attack. A comparable figure recurred on the coins of Kyzikos at the height of the classical period. It should be pointed out that in the great variety of types used on the coins (e.g., animals, winged spirits, monsters, heroes) there are also images borrowed from other cities, such as the two Athenian tyrannicides. The names of some artists of Kyzikos have been recorded, among them the bronzeworker Stratonikos of the Hellenistic period. It is reasonable to suppose that the famous "rococo" group called "Invitation to the Dance," a theme of idyllic charm whose individual statues are scattered in a number of museums, was known at Kyzikos, as attested by the coins.

The shores of the Bosporus have yielded some unusual reliefs with involved calligraphic outlines, assigned to the end of the 5th century B.C., which seem to be the most significant echoes of the ancient Greek Byzantion (Byzantium), later submerged by the Roman Imperial city and then Byzantine Constantinople. On the shores of Asia one of the most promising archaeological localities seems to be Daskyleion, whence comes a relief perhaps of a funerary building, with a representation of veiled




Olynthos, plan of a residential block. (*A*) Plan of a typical house: (*a*) *prothyron*; (*b*) *aule*; (*c*) *prostas*; (*d*) andron; (*e*) storeroom; (*f*) *pastas*; (*g*) kitchen; (*h*) bath; (*i*) *kapnodoke*; (*j*) *diaiterion* (*from D. A. Robinson, 1930–52*).

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women riding; in this relief Hellenistic elements are combined with an Asiatic motif, possibly of Achaemenid origin. Dorylaion is famous for its so-called "double-faced" stele bearing an image of the Potnia Theron (PL. 51), a subject unusual in late archaic art and simplified in design, with only a single lion represented. On the Pontos, from the Megarian colony of Mesambria (mod. Mesembria) have come large reliefs, apparently of a funerary character, also dating from the first classical age. One of these shows a household procession with domestics, as well as chariots and men on horseback, widely spaced and modeled in the late Ionic style, a mode also seen in the tomb friezes of Xanthos in Lycia. Another fragment, more obviously Asiatic in character, is important not only for its uncommon sacrificial scene but also because the representation is similar to that on one of the doors or niches typical of the altars of Thasos. The great bronze bear (Istanbul, Archaeol. Mus.) from Adrianopolis, in the interior of Thrace, must also be traced to an Ionian formal tradition because of the tonal brilliance of the long shaggy hide, so different from the formal clarity of the Corinthian and Attic traditions. The objects in bronze and precious metals from Duvanli seem to show more evidence of barbarian intrusions, but the importation of Attic vases is indicative of the artistic aspirations of the region.

Farther north on the Thracian coast was Apollonia, a Milesian colony traditionally regarded as the most illustrious center in the region. However, no trace remains of the city, known to have been the site of the famous Temple of Apollo adorned with a colossal statue of the god by Kalamis. A somewhat vapid head of Apollo from Odessos (mod. Varna) vaguely resembling the *Apollo* from the Omphalos (III, PL. 353) seems to reflect the *Apollo* of Kalamis. This renowned statue from Apollonia, taken to Rome by Lucullus, appears also to have been recorded on coins. The most significant remains from Apollonia consist of notable examples of Ionian pottery, Rhodian Bird bowls, fragments in the Camiran style, and Ionian cups, in addition to Attic fragments. A singular terra-cotta frieze (Louvre) exhibits pointed and incised forms that seem to reflect provincial developments rather than the normal Ionic idiom of the region. On the other hand, purely Ionian origin is manifested by a robed kouros that closely resembles two figures from Samos and a torso in the Archaeological Museum in İzmir. The beautiful stele of Anaxandros (PL. 51) from Apollonia is serenely harmonious in its graceful outlines and refined forms. As has been noted, this is another of the steles decorated both front and back.

Excavations of Istros, a more northerly Pontic site, have proved far more rewarding than those at Apollonia — and this despite the fact that they have been of more limited scope as far as deep excavation, below the level of the Roman city, is concerned. The few deeper trenches have yielded an unusually rich and varied trove of Ionian ceramics. The most notable finds include Rhodian Bird bowls, Milesian eye cups, the common Ionian cups, and some remarkable examples of calyx-craters and amphoras from Fikellura.

Increasing archaeological importance has come to be assigned to the city of Sinope, on the Paphlagonian coast of the Pontos. This old Milesian settlement was in a strategic location that gained it dominance both over sea transport and over the caravan routes of the interior. Its coinage displays a type of archaic Apollo, not unlike the *Apollo Philesios* of Kanachos. Excavations have brought to light fragments of Corinthian aryballoi — proving the ancient origin of the city — and notable examples of ceramics from Chios and Fikellura; Attic penetration as early as the mid-6th century B.C. is indicated by the presence of a Siana cup. However, the most surprising evidence yet uncovered is two steles in the severe style, carved in the northern Ionic manner with notable skill and vigor. Interesting data are also offered by a bronze hydria decorated with a female bust, a late archaic work that shows exceptional refinement and formal originality. Sinope is also famous for the colossal *Hades* by Bryaxis, a statue later transported to Alexandria, where it was to represent Serapis.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Thrace. *Architect*. Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης) of Lampsakos, active in Thracian Chersonesos at an uncertain date; known only from an inscription in Madytos (H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.; G.A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., no. 4). – *Sculptors*. Polykleitos (q.v.). – Paionios (Παιώνιος) of Mende, active ca. middle of or second half of 5th cent. B.C. at Olympia (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; G. Lippold, RE, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 205). – Dorotheos (Δωρόθεος) of Olynthos, son of Hagesandros (or Hegesandros?), probably lived before 348 B.C.: signed base from Mytilene, re-used in 62 B.C. for statue of Pompey (Lippold, GP, p. 248; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 2). – Herodotos (Ἡρόδοτος) of Olynthos, lived 4th cent. B.C.: portraits of the courtesans Phryne and Glykera (the former perhaps identifiable in a later inscription: younger artist of the same name?); the lyre player Argeia (E. Pfuhl, RE, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 248). – Herodoros (Ἡρόδωρος) of Olynthos, father of Sthennis, identified by some scholars with Herodotos (ThB, s.v. Herodoros; Lippold, GP, p. 248). – Sthennis (Σθέννις) of Olynthos, emigrated to Athens after the destruction of his city (348 B.C.); (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; C. Picard, III, p. 248; Lippold, GP, p. 303). – *Painters*. Pamphilos (Πάμφιλος) of Amphipolis, pupil of Eupompos and master of Apelles, Melanthios, and Pausias; active in the first half of 4th cent. B.C.; established rules of the Sikyonian school (see PELOPONNESIAN ART); wrote on the art of painting and skilled in encaustic technique: *Battle of Phlious* (367–366 B.C.); *Odysseus on the Raft*; a family group (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 30; Rumpf, MZ, p. 132). – Athenion (Ἀθηνίων) of Maroneia, pupil of Glaukion of Corinth, active in the second half of 4th cent. B.C.; works found at Athens and Eleusis (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Pfuhl, II, p. 775 ff.; EAA, s.v., no. 1). – Aristomachos (Ἀριστόμαχος), of the region of the Strymon, also identified with Aristomenes, a painter from Thasos (or Strymon?): scene of three courtesans (painting or relief?) bringing offerings to Aphrodite (L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 2; B. Sauer, ThB, s.v. Aristomenes, no. 2).

Propontis. *Architects*. Mandroklees (Μανδροκλέης) of Samos, perhaps also a painter: bridge of boats across the Bosporus for expedition of Darius against the Scythians in 514 B.C. (see GREEK ART, EASTERN; E. Fabricius, RE, s.v., no. 1). – Hermokreon (Ἑρμοκρέων), active in the second half of 4th cent. B.C. or during Hellenistic age: great altar at Parion, reproduced on coins (E. Fabricius, RE, s.v.; ThB, s.v.). – Asklepiades (see above, under *Thrace*). – *Sculptors*. Hagesias (Ἁγεσίας), sometimes identified with Hegesias and Hegias; dates uncertain: a *Herakles* at Parion, possibly reflected in a small surviving bronze (Lippold, GP, p. 108). – Deinomenes (Δεινομένης), perhaps an Argive, active in the last quarter of 5th cent. B.C.: statue of Protesilaos, hero of Elaious (copy found at Kyzikos); statue of Queen Besantis (see PELOPONNESIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 203). – Praxiteles (q.v.). – Lysippos (q.v.). – Sosigenes (Σωσιγένης), son of Eukrates; dates uncertain: inscription from Kyzikos (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.). – *Painter*. Androkydes (Ἀμδροκύδης) of Kyzikos: battle of horsemen, commissioned by Thebes in 379 and dedicated in 371 B.C.; Scylla surrounded by fish (Rumpf, MZ, p. 124; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – *Metalworker*. Tauriskos (Ταυρίσκος) of Kyzikos, dates uncertain (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v., no. 2).

Pontos Euxeinos. *Sculptors*. Kalamis (q.v.). – Bryaxis (Βρυάξις) of Athens, active ca. mid-4th cent. B.C.: a Hades enthroned, in his sanctuary near Sinope, later brought to Alexandria, or perhaps executed for temple at Alexandria (known from copies, gems, and coins); kore in the same sanctuary at Sinope (for other works see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART; Lippold, GP, p. 257 ff.; L. V. Borrelli, EAA, s.v.). – Sthennis (Σθέννις) of Olynthos (see above, under *Thrace*; Lippold, GP, p. 303). – *Painter*. Zeuxis (q.v.).

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Enrico PARIBENI

NOTE. Biographies of the artists were prepared with the assistance of Vera Bianco, Mariano Cajano, Giovanni Colonna, Ambretta Mattei, Maria Panvini Cotellessa, Giovanni Scichilone, and Anna Maria Tamassia.

Illustrations: PLS. 37–52; 5 figs. in text.

**GREEK ART, WESTERN.** The representational art of the West Greeks is known mostly through finds in the Greek colonies established after the 8th century B.C. in southern France and Spain and above all in southern Italy and Sicily. From the 8th century on, the most significant artistic developments of the Hellenic civilizations of the west occurred in the important Greek colonies of Sicily and in the lands collectively termed Magna Graecia (*Μεγαλη Ἑλλας*; Polybius, ii, 39, 1) by the Greeks themselves. The Italic population of the neighboring regions imported and copied Greek works of art in great quantity. The art of these areas, which flourished especially between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C., assumed characteristics that distinguish it from the contemporaneous art of the Greek homeland (see ARCHAIC ART; CLASSIC ART). The advance of the Italic peoples (4th cent.), the Punic Wars (3d cent.), and finally the Roman conquest prevented the autonomous political development of the colonies and limited the possibilities of their economic expansion. The art also declined, but only after it had served, in the regions subjugated and unified by the Roman republic, as the effective leaven in the Hellenization of Italy (see HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART).

SUMMARY. General considerations (col. 116). Precolonial Aegean traditions and indigenous substrata (col. 118). Architecture (col. 120): *The development of the orders in the west: a. Doric; b. Ionic; c. Corinthian. Architectural terra cottas. Lion-head waterspouts.* Sculpture (col. 130): *Marble sculpture; Pythagoras; Limestone sculpture; Terracotta sculpture; Bronze sculpture.* Metalwork (col. 150). Ceramics (col. 153). Painting (col. 161). Mosaics (col. 162) Coins (col. 163). Art of West Greek colonies outside Italy (col. 166): *Gaul; Spain.* Greco-Punic art (col. 170). Conclusion: Diffusion of Magna Graecian and Sicilian art (col. 171).

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. Although the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily was once considered a provincial offshoot of the art of the Greek mother country, recognition of its independence and originality has grown. But even so, it cannot be thought of as a unified and homogeneous entity. The many forms of this art can best be understood as a series of gradations from Greek art proper, arising from complex relationships between the Hellenic artistic tradition and indigenous Italic forms.

There is no doubt that some sculptors of bronze as well as potters reached Italy with the first Greek colonists. Certainly the works these artists created in Italy were no different from the productions of contemporary Greek masters or from their own earlier work done on Greek soil. Later, as the standard of living rose, the colonies were able to attract other artists as well, many of whom remained and adapted themselves to the way of life of the western colonies. Thus, during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. there was gradually established in Sicily and Magna Graecia a more autonomous artistic tradition: "Italiote art," as the Greeks of the mother country called it (Antiochos of Syracuse, fragments 3–7). But even this art varied from one colony to another, often in a manner difficult to define, primarily because there were no centers influential enough to unify the numerous colonies culturally and artistically. Moreover, there were differences of degree in the integration of local populations with colonists in various areas, which, among other factors, also contributed to cultural differences. The various cultural components and strata are well documented by the burial finds of Lokroi hoi Epizephyrioi (mod. Locri), Megara Hyblaia, and Leontinoi (mod. Lentini). In Sicily, Carthaginian influence, felt as far as Akragas (mod. Agrigento) and Selinous (mod. Selinunte), also played a part; cultural relations with North Africa were particularly strong in the Hellenistic period, especially with Cyrene, where they had an early start, and with the Nile Delta.

The commercial necessity of creating objects to meet the tastes and needs of the neighboring Italic populations must have played a determining role in art production. The composite nature of the artistic forms thus produced was particularly evident in the Sicilian towns around Syracuse (Syrakousai), Grammichele, San Mauro, and Monte Casale, and in the Messapian colonies of the Tarentine. While these mixtures were primarily found in minor provincial centers such as Krimissa (mod. Cirò), they also penetrated to a surprising degree into more cosmopolitan centers such as Lokroi, Leontinoi, Taras (mod. Taranto), and even Syracuse, attesting the vigorous survival of non-Hellenic elements. Enough has been said to indicate why it is difficult to find a single definition capable of embracing the many-sided art of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Such works as the Demeter Kourotrophos from Megara Hyblaia (PL. 64) and certain of the "Treasury" metopes from the Heraion at the mouth of the Sele (PL. 60; I, PL. 343) have so

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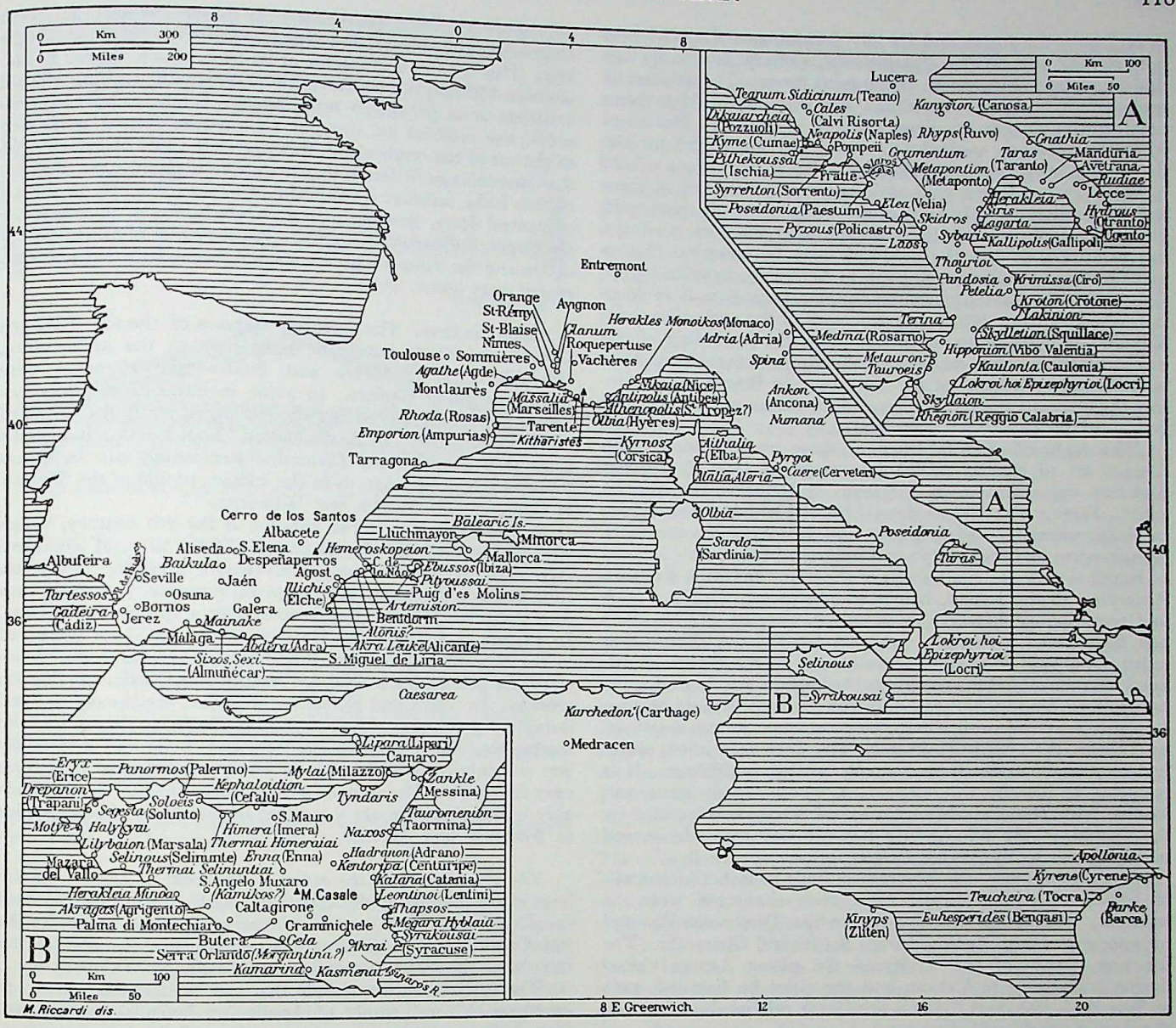


Diffusion of Greek culture in the western Mediterranean basin.

great a Siculan and Italic component that it may well be asked if they still can be called Hellenic art.

Even in the major cities of Syracuse and Taras, which preserved the strongest ties with the motherland — Syracuse with Corinth, Taras first with Sparta and, from the 5th century on, with northern Greece and the territory on the Black Sea, by way of Kerkyra (Corfu) and the Egnatian Way — consideration of an autonomous Syracusan and Tarentine art is meaningful only until the early 3d century B.C. Of course, ties with Greece were not uniformly strong, whether because of war or for some other reason. There were periods of strong Greek nationalism in the west, especially in Sicily: for example, in the early 5th century, when the Carthaginians were defeated in Sicily. In these periods artistic bonds with Greece were strongest. The influence of the Greek homeland is clearly evident in the colonial architecture of about 500 B.C., the period when the finest works of Attic pottery were being interred in burials in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

Generally, the West Greek world was characterized by greater mobility of types and forms than Greece proper. Terra cottas were in great demand for ritual purposes, and the mass-produced objects as well as original models and casts were transported from place to place. Because local modifications were slight, it is difficult to isolate important art centers and to locate variations of form and decoration. Often various centers are best distinguished by some technical specialty or favored forms rather than by particular motifs and artistic devices — Lokroi by its openwork mirror handles, Kanysion (mod. Canosa) by its white jugs and askoi, and Kentoripa (mod. Centuripe) by stamnoi and bowls.

PRECOLONIAL AEGEAN TRADITIONS AND INDIGENOUS SUBSTRATA. Recent discoveries have established pre-8th-century antecedents for the art of Sicily and Magna Graecia. It has been proved that commercial relations existed between Greece and these regions as early as the 2d millennium B.C., and it even seems likely that migratory currents moved from the Aegean area westward. Systematic excavations of prehistoric strata in Sicily and Lipari by Paolo Orsi and L. Bernabò Brea and in Ischia by Giorgio Buchner have uncovered pottery of a Late Minoan type (perhaps in part locally produced) dating as early as the middle of the 2d millennium.

Mycenaean pottery types and ornamental motifs, which had degenerated and become stagnant in the west by about 1000 B.C., survived in some areas into the 8th and 7th centuries. In Cerveteri (anc. Caere), a Late Minoan crater was found in a burial together with Corinthian vases (Rome, Villa Giulia); some pithoi found in Butera and Gela (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., nos. 50187,

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21205) have the forms and the lily decoration of Late Minoan pottery; and the Siculan "prehistoric" pottery shows obvious derivation from Mycenaean ornamental forms. The prehistoric architecture of Sicily also shows the stimulus of Mycenaean architecture, though no direct contact is evident. The royal Mycenaean burials undoubtedly furnished the model for the domed tombs of Sant'Angelo Muxaro (near Agrigento), in which, moreover, were found gold seals and bowls inspired in form and decoration by Mycenaean art. The date of these gold objects is controversial: the accompanying material is of the 7th century B.C., but the goldwork may be inherited objects made in the 2d millennium. Even in Agrigento, founded by the Greeks in 585 B.C., Mycenaean pottery fragments have been unearthed, in the grottoes of a sanctuary of the chthonian gods. Whether it dates from the 2d or from the beginning of the 1st millennium, this sanctuary (which was covered by false vaulting similar to that of the Tullianum in Rome) existed before the Greeks founded the city, and the cult seems to have been continued by the Greek colonists.

The archaeological evidence of these ancient bonds with Aegean art of the 2d millennium is given what approaches historical corroboration by the myth of Daidalos, the Minoan artist. Fleeing the Cretan king Minos, Daidalos took refuge in Sicily, where he made a golden honeycomb for the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx and built the impregnable fortress of Kamikos near the south coast of the island for King Kokalos. According to the legend, Minos sought to take Daidalos back to Crete forcibly; however, in Kamikos, after he and his army had been given a friendly reception by Kokalos, Minos was killed in his bath and his fleet was burned by the Sicani. A funeral monument with a temple to Aphrodite was built for the assassinated king in Akragas, and this presumably Late Minoan structure survived until about 500 B.C., when it was destroyed by Theron, the tyrant of Akragas. The Cretans, without ships, had to remain in Sicily and finally settled in Makara. It is tempting to identify this settlement, whose Greek name was Minoa, with Herakleia Minoa, west of Akragas, refounded by the Greeks in the 6th century B.C. In any case, the legend bears witness to the strong Cretan influence in Sicily.

In the same way, the Mycenaean finds in Ischia (necropolis of Pithekoussai) and Lipari have been connected with the legendary wanderings of Odysseus on the Tyrrhenian Sea and his encounters with Aeolus, Circe, Scylla, and Charybdis. The fabulous voyage of the Trojans — the places Aeneas visited during his voyage to Latium and the cities he founded, such as Segesta — also casts light on pre-Greek relationships between the Aegean world and the west.

On the Italian peninsula the Mycenaean stratum of the 2d millennium is not so distinct as in Sicily; but Mycenaean pottery fragments found in the area of Taranto (Pulsano, Avetrana, Leporano, Scoglio del Tonno) suggest that here, too, a cultural and artistic bond with the basin of the Aegean existed at that time. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that Minoan forms continued to be used in this area as well, into the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. Not all Mycenaean vases found in Italy and Sicily date from the 2d millennium — the debased examples might have been made in the 8th and 7th centuries.

In summary, southern Italy and Sicily had artistic contacts with the Aegean world long before their colonization in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. The bases established by the Mycenaeans may even have facilitated the later Greek colonization (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY).

More important than Mycenaean influence in the formation of the art of Sicily was the survival of one of the oldest indigenous cultural elements, the megalithic, which had emanated from the Balearic Islands, Malta, and Sardinia and thereafter reached Sicily. The tendency to exaggerate dimensions that can be discerned in Temples E and G of Selinous, in the Olympieion of Akragas, and in the altar of Hieron in Syracuse, is probably of megalithic derivation. To this current can be added the influence, difficult to isolate, that the Sicani, Siculi, and Elymi exercised in areas in which Greek art was not strong or was already in decline. More than in Greece itself, the variety of cultural strains had a determinant effect on the art of Sicily and southern Italy, particularly in minor colonies too weak to preserve the cultural and artistic peculiarities of their mother city. This art has a character of its own, which should not be dismissed simply as conservatism occasionally tending toward archaism or as provincial tastelessness. While, at least in some areas, the colonial art did not achieve the formal perfection of the art of the motherland, it is precisely in its deviation from the common Greek forms that it shows independence. Because of this Italic infusion it exerted a stronger influence on the art of central Italy, Etruria, and particularly Rome than did the Greek art of the mother country. (For the phase of Greek colonization and the diffusion of Greek influences in Italy, see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART; GREEK ART.)

ARCHITECTURE. The essential features of the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily are particularly clear in the architecture, although here too Greek and Siculo-Italic elements were fused in varying degrees. In some monuments there is evidence of the survival of prehistoric forms, as in the so-called "Temple of Diana" in Kephaloidion (mod. Cefalù) and in the great well near Ugento (Salentine Peninsula), and in others Punic influence appears, as in the cornice profile of the Temple of Demeter Malophoros near Selinunte.

Nothing remains of the temples of the 7th century, which were constructed, like Greek temples of the time, of wood and clay. The highly developed execution of surviving terra-cotta sima and cornice revetments suggests, however, that wood was used extensively in western temples over a long period of time. In Etruria and Rome this wooden architecture was preserved in the time of Cato. Local limestones of various qualities became the standard material for temple construction in the 6th century. In Taras and Syracuse the stone used was hard and durable; in Akragas, very soft and easily corroded. White marble was scarce in southern Italy and Sicily and apparently was cut only in small blocks; its transportation must have been very expensive. The only surviving works that are unquestionably of local marble are a number of lion heads from temples in Syracuse and Akragas.

*The development of the orders in the west: a. Doric.* In the large cities (Syracuse; Akragas; Metapontion, mod. Metaponto) the Doric order was used as in the motherland, while in the less Greek localities (Selinous, Krimissa, the Heraion at the mouth of the Sele) deviations were common.

The earliest marble temple that can be described with any exactness is the Temple of Apollo (or Artemis) in Syracuse (FIG. 121), dated to the second quarter of the 6th century on the basis of the proportions of its peripteral colonnade (6 by 17 columns), the structure and proportions of its columns, and especially by its capitals, which closely resemble those of the mid-6th-century Temple of Apollo in Corinth (I, PL. 332). The essential features of this temple are Greek: for example, the megaron-like form of the cella and the common level of peristyle, pronaos, cella, and *adyton*; some details are more specifically Corinthian: the single rather than double peripteral colonnade (*pteron*), the rigorous placement of the cella within the pteron, and the monolithic columns on the entrance side. The pycnostyle colonnade — closely spaced, massive shafts — is an archaic feature. Besides the laxness demonstrated in the unequal intercolumniations, Sicilian characteristics of the temple are the adyton, the six-stepped *krepidoma* with small staircase in front, and the relatively recessed position of the cella.

The temples of Selinunte (PL. 53, FIG. 121), typical of West Greek architecture, diverge even more from the Doric canon of the motherland. The oldest extant, Temple C, could hardly be earlier than the middle of the 6th century, that is, about seventy years after the founding of the city in 625 B.C. The temple rests on a four-stepped krepidoma and has a wide staircase of eight steps in front. The long and narrow cella, placed, as often in the west, toward the far end of the pteron, has an anteroom, *oikos*, and adyton and lacks pronaos and *opisthodomos*. The effect of an inner porch was obtained, however, by duplicating the front row of columns along the axis of the third columns of the side ranks. The adyton was required

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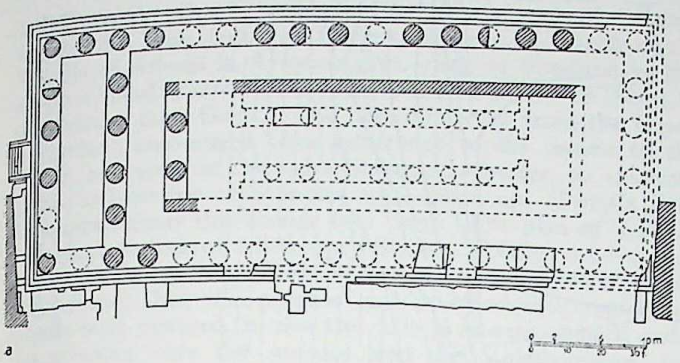

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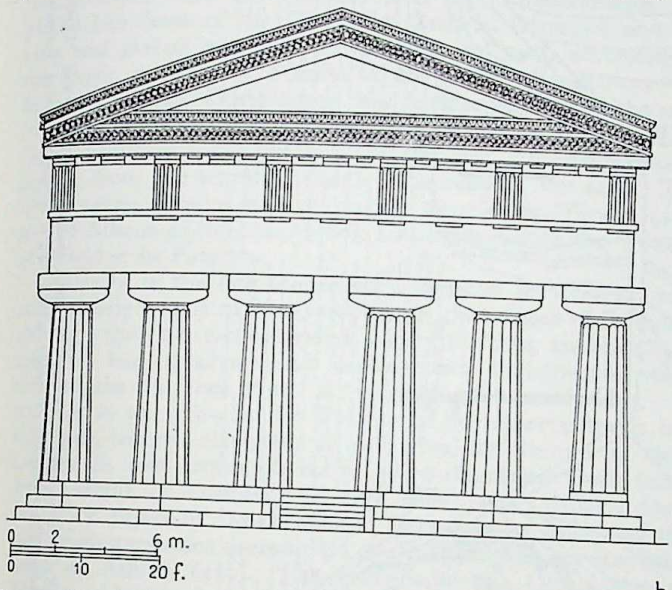



b

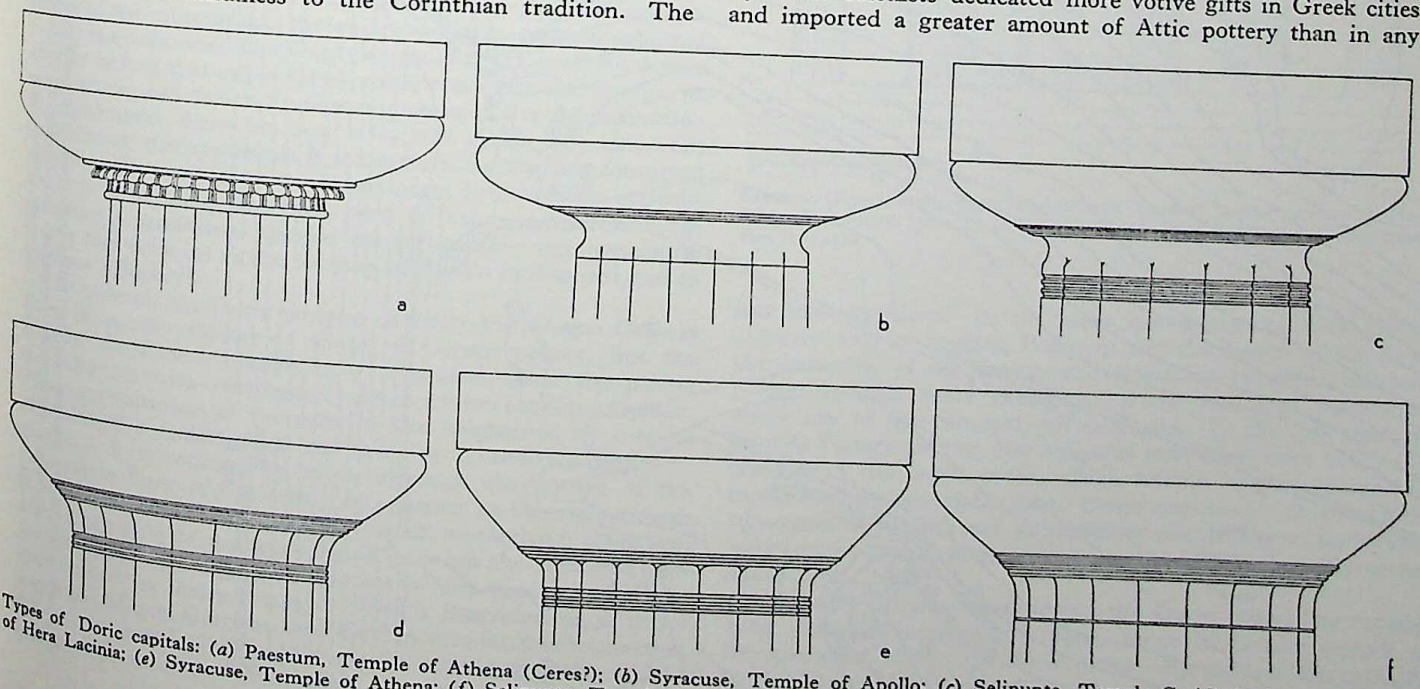
Syracuse, Temple of Apollo: (*a*) Plan; (*b*) reconstruction of the front elevation (*from MALinc, XLI, 1951, col. 827 ff.*).

by the cult in most Sicilian temples of the period; in Greece proper it was rare, appearing only as a feature of the worship of pre-Greek chthonic deities, but at Cyrene there is an adyton in the Temple of Apollo. The placing of the altar in the middle of the cella also differs from the Greek norm and suggests that at least this part of the cella was open to the sky. The columns of the east side are monolithic, either for technical reasons or simply out of faithfulness to the Corinthian tradition. The proportions of the building, its dimensions, and the form of the capitals reveal arbitrary variations which were unknown in the mother country. For example, the column drums of the north, south, and west colonnades vary in height; the columns on the sides have no entasis and are more slender than the columns on the end; the intercolumniations range from 12 ft., 8 in. to 14 ft., $5^5/_8$ in. This irregularity is certainly not due to negligence on the part of the architect — it is rather the expression of an architectural ideal seeking greater freedom than the strict canon of the Greek orders allows. Archaic tendencies underline this attitude; for example, the base of the triangular pediment does not extend to the edges of the cornice, and the whole pediment is reduced in size. Archaic Greek forms of the late 7th century are brought to mind by the low, wide-spreading echinos of the Doric capitals, but even the earliest Akragas capitals, of more archaic form than these, could not be that early.

Temple D also has an adyton and a wide area between the cella and pteron, but it differs from Temple C in the megaron-like form of the cella and in the termination of the antae in engaged columns, a characteristically West Greek feature which appeared in Greece only later. The architectural conception embodied is more advanced than that of Temple C — the krepidoma has five steps, and the stairway leading to the pronaos as well as the four columns of the pronaos are visible from the front, between the columns of the façade. This arrangement undoubtedly demonstrates a desire to accentuate the sense of space in the structure.

Temple F, whose metopes indicate a date in the early 5th century, has yet a different plan. The peripteral columns of all sides but the front are joined by a stone curtain wall rising to about half their height. This uncommon feature may have been designed to protect the temple, situated as it was outside the city walls, but it may also have been intended to create an enclosed area almost as wide as the cella between the cella and the pteron. The plan of the colossal Temple G shows even greater independence. The freestanding staircase in front is only as wide as the cella, whose columns have a prostyle arrangement that makes the building appear dipteral from the outside. The cella, moreover, is so wide that it may have been hypaethral. The form of the capitals suggests that the building was begun about the middle of the 6th century and finished — if it ever was finished — in the 5th century.

The Persian Wars and the threat posed by Phoenician power led the tyrants of Akragas, Gela, and Syracuse to strengthen ties with the mother country. Between about 500 and 460 — years in which Pindar and Aeschylus sojourned in Sicily — the colonists dedicated more votive gifts in Greek cities and imported a greater amount of Attic pottery than in any




Types of Doric capitals: (*a*) Paestum, Temple of Athena (Ceres?); (*b*) Syracuse, Temple of Apollo; (*c*) Selinunte, Temple C; (*d*) Agrigento, Temple of Hera Lacinia; (*e*) Syracuse, Temple of Athena; (*f*) Selinunte, Temple E.

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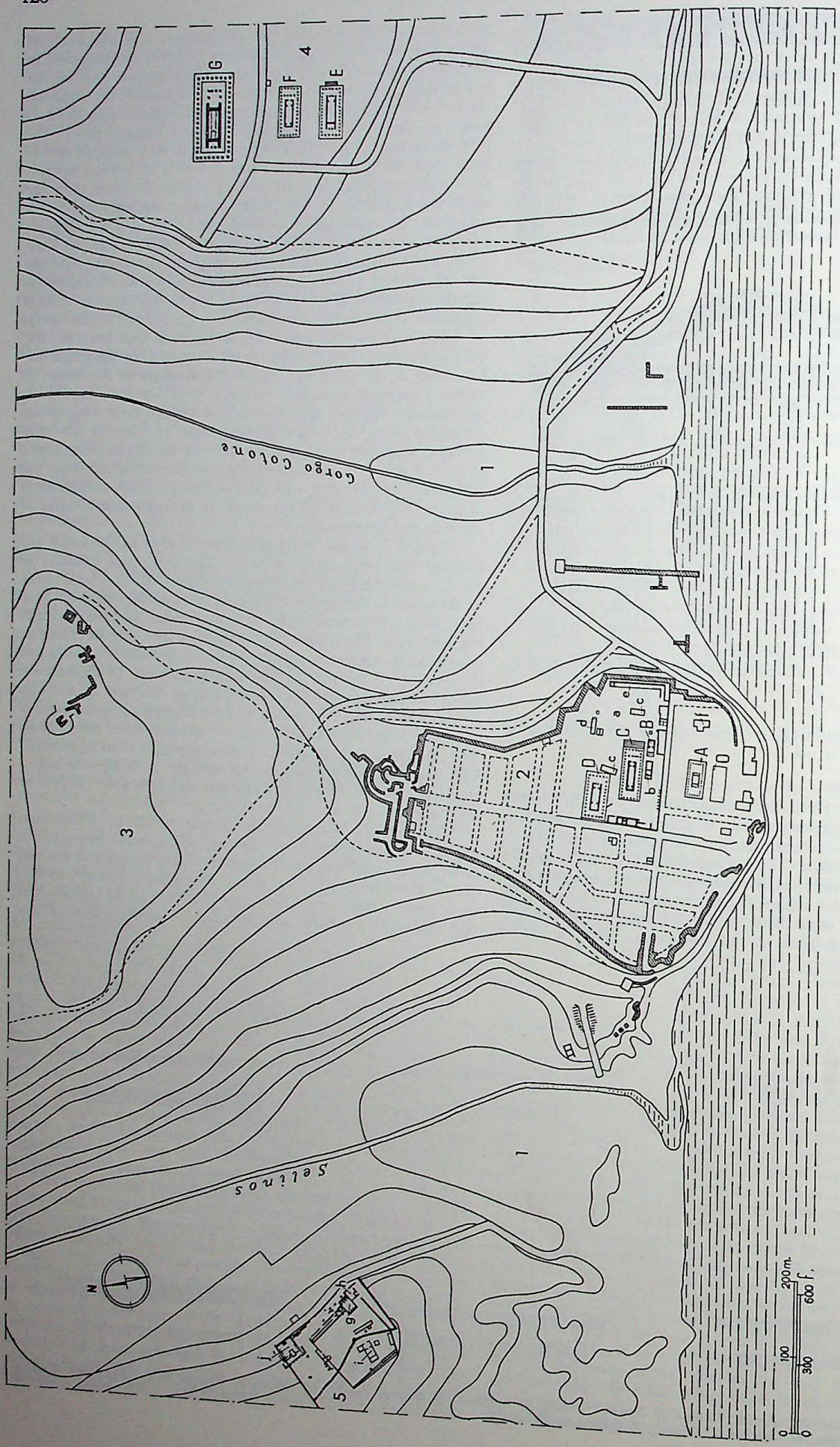


Selinous, plan of the ancient city: (1) Filled-in harbor; (2) acropolis: (*a*) Agora, temples O, A, B, C, D; (*b*) megaron; (*c*) altar; (*d*) small temple known as the "Little Metope"; *e*) stoa; (*f*) propylaion of Temple A; (3) site of the ancient city; (4) eastern hill, temples E, F, G; (5) Malophoros sanctuary: (*g*) propylaion; (*h*) propylaia of temenos of Hekate; (*i*) temenos and Temple of Demeter Malophoros; (*j*) temenos of Zeus Meilichios (*from M. Santangelo, Selinunte, Rome, n.d.*).

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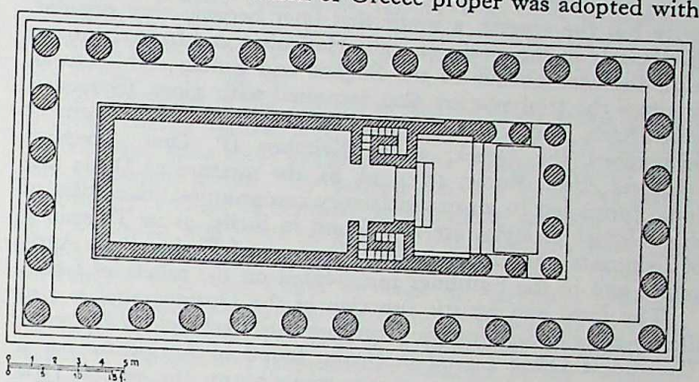
other period. Greek artists and architects probably moved west at this time, and true Doric structures rose, such as the Temple of Athena in Syracuse (FIG. 121), of Poseidon in Poseidonia (mod. Paestum; PL. 53), and of Concord in Akragas, each almost pure Greek. The new influences from the Greek motherland encouraged close adherence to the canons of the orders, and some of the more divergent schemes, so apparent in the architecture of Selinous, were given up. Temple E at Selinunte reflects this change (FIG. 123). The plan of Temple E is characteristic of 6th-century Sicilian architecture — it has a freestanding staircase in front and steps leading to the cella and adyton. But the pronaos and opisthodomos typical of Greece were restored, so that the cella is *in antis* at both ends; the metopes over the pronaos and the opisthodomos are placed like those of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia; and the cella and pteron comprise an architectural unit, according to the Doric canon. In Temple A the same arrangement was followed, and the Doric canon was further applied in the narrowed proportions of the pteron. On the other hand, a West Greek peculiarity was retained in the two circular staircases leading from the entrance door of the cella to the attic. The Doric canon likewise prevails in the temples of Himera (470) and of Athena in Syracuse (460), and especially in the Temple of Poseidon in Paestum.

As early as the late 6th century, temples in Akragas were more closely bound to the Greek canon than those of Selinous, although they too demonstrated a local building tradition. At first they had no adyton but probably still had the two stairs next to the entrance door, a typically western element. In contrast to the 6th-century Temple of Herakles (shortly before 500), with its elongated ground plan, the Temple of Hera Lacinia (ca. 460) attests the shift toward the classic Doric taste. The Temple of Concord, on the other hand, departs from the strict, typically Greek relation between the cella and the surrounding columns exemplified in the contemporary Hephaisteion of Athens (430). The remains of the Olympieion of Akragas, a building hybrid in its dimensions and in other respects, are very scanty and provide insufficient evidence for an accurate reconstruction. All that can be said with certainty is that the intercolumniations were closed by walls reaching to the entablature. The cella was apparently oikos-shaped, but it extended to the west wall of the temple and therefore lacked an opisthodomos. Thus the building had three aisles, the two outer ones roofed and the central aisle probably hypaethral. The atlantes (telamones; PL. 57) were placed either between the exterior half columns or inside the cella. An innovation in the Olympieion of great significance for later central Italian architecture, particularly of the Imperial age, is the incorporation of the columns into the walls to simulate engaged columns.

Of the unfinished temple of Segesta (PL. 54), probably begun shortly before that city's catastrophic end, only the pteron, its entablature, and the two pediments remain. Its reconstruction is problematic. Since not even a trace of a cella foundation has been found, the hypothesis that the building was not conceived as a temple according to the Greek norm is not wholly improbable. The building may have been an experimental form, resembling a traditional temple on the outside but containing only a tiny cella, as in the temples of Apollo in Pompeii and in Didyma (Turkey).

In general, the Doric temples of Sicily and Magna Graecia were outwardly similar to those of Greece proper, but the internal areas were distinctively organized, since the pteron and cella had to be coordinated with an adyton for cult purposes. The impressiveness of the exterior was heightened by a series of stairs or a freestanding staircase, by a relatively deep vestibule, and sometimes by views through the pteron of the columns in front of the cella. In contrast to the rigorousness of the Doric constructions of the Greek motherland, there was a freer handling of the relationship between the cella and surrounding pteron. The development of the space around the cella reflects an interest in space that is characteristic of other forms of Magna Graecian and Sicilian art. In this connection the greater technical difficulties encountered in spanning widths up to 16 ft. must be emphasized. A constant feature of Italic architecture is the shifted position of the temple cella, which in many cases was placed not in the center of the pteron but toward the farther end, anticipating the temple architecture of Rome and central Italy from the 3d century B.C. to the late Imperial age. It is significant, however, that this characteristic arrangement of the interior space is found only at temple sites such as Selinous and Poseidonia, which were far from the Greek centers, whereas in cities where the influence of the mother country was more alive, in Syracuse, Metapontion (PL. 54), and Taras, the Greek canon was more closely observed. Moreover, it is significant that the cella was set in the rear of the pteron only in temples of the 6th century B.C. In the period after 500, the era of the great tyrants and of the victory over the Carthaginians, the Doric canon of Greece proper was adopted with



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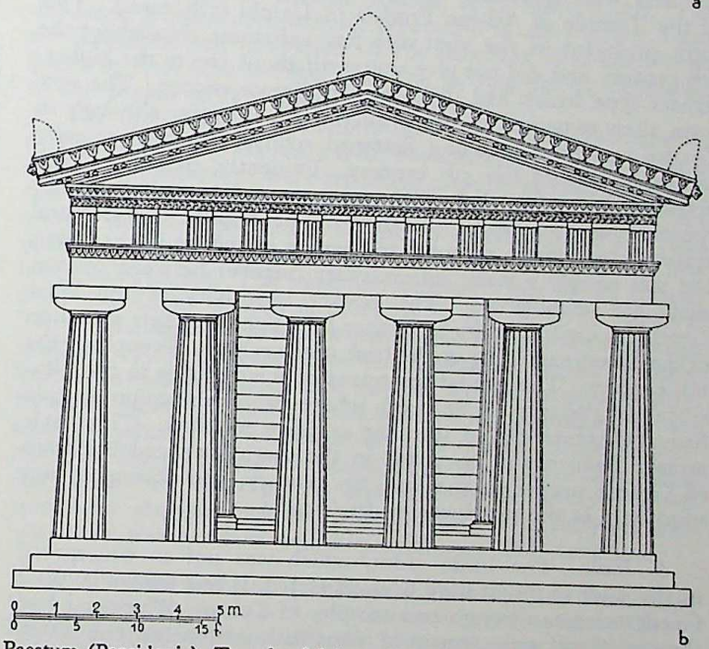

b

Paestum (Poseidonia). Temple of Athena (Ceres?), reconstruction: (*a*) Plan; (*b*) front elevation (*from F. Krauss, Die Tempel von Paestum: I. Athenatempel. Berlin, 1959*).

but few variations. In the areas less permeated with Greek culture, such as Segesta, Pompeii, and the mouth of the Sele, the loosening of the structural relationship between cella and pteron is even more evident. All the buildings mentioned above are of the 6th and 5th centuries. In the 4th century, even in Greece proper, few religious structures were built, and temples in the Doric order, which was no longer regarded as modern, were especially rare. Some impression of the Doric structures of the 4th and 3d centuries can, however, be formed from architectural fragments from Predio Spagna (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.).

Probably because they viewed the Doric canon less rigidly, West Greek architects anticipated those of Greece proper in incorporating Ionic with Doric forms. By the late 6th century, in the Temple of Athena (Ceres?) in Poseidonia (FIG. 126), for example, the severity of the Doric order is mitigated by the

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insertion of light, graceful Ionic columns in the vestibule. The absence of a horizontal cornice further emphasized the verticality of these slender columns, thus destroying the balance of horizontal and vertical, which is an essential feature of the Doric temple. Ionic ornamental motifs were also introduced into Doric architecture, perhaps to cover parts considered artistically weak or to enrich the severe Doric forms. The finest extant example of this combination is a group of fragments from a 4th-century temple at Predio Spagna, among which are metopes decorated with elegant crossed palmettes as well as triglyphs bordered at top and bottom by Ionic *kymatia* (cymatia).

The love of ornament may also be considered a characteristic of the architecture of Magna Graecia and Sicily. A metope of the 6th century (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz. no. 12247) already has the rosette, a motif that later became very popular, particularly in the works of Italic Hellenism and Imperial Rome (e.g., the sarcophagus of the Scipios and Sullan architecture). At times the triglyphs are also decorated with vines (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.). In the areas in which the Italic element outweighed the Greek, as in Krimissa (P. Orsi, *Templum Apollonis Alaei*, Rome, 1933, pl. 8), the mixture of Doric and Ionic forms led to an unsatisfactory compromise. Examples of this mixture of styles are also found in Sicily, as in Temple B of Selinunte and the so-called "Oratory of Phalaris" in Agrigento, and in the buildings represented on the reliefs of Locri.

The form and artistic function of the Doric capital is also illuminating in defining the Doric architectural style of the west. The oldest Doric capital in Sicily, found in Agrigento, has a low and wide-spreading echinos modeled on the capital type of the Temple of Athena Pronaia in Delphi (7th cent.). This form prevailed in the west with few variations throughout the 6th century and did not give way until about 500 to the higher, tighter type which had developed in Greece proper. The new form then remained in use until the 4th century, although in Greece variations such as a flattened echinos appeared as early as the middle of the 5th century. Evidently, in West Greek architecture, unlike that of Greece proper, the capital did not function as an integral member of an organic architectural system, changing in response to changes elsewhere in the order, but was simply a static intermediary member between column shaft and entablature. The weaker sensitivity of the West Greeks to organic unity is further illustrated by their retention of the concave molding at the base of the echinos throughout the 6th century. The richest treatment of this motif is in the "Basilica" of Paestum (I, PL. 333), where two of the columns even have palmettes carved into the concave molding. This early archaic feature was discarded in the more advanced buildings of Greece proper in the late 7th century, and thereafter was used only in the provinces, as in Arcadia.

*b. Ionic.* The Ionic order, which was not so widespread in the west as might have been expected, is best known in West Greek colonies through two temples of Lokroi. The older had the traditional arrangement of oikos with adyton and two aisles, like the 7th-century Greek temples; the antae and a pteron were added later. The second temple, larger and better known, is *in antis*, with pronaos and opisthodomos, no adyton, and the cella placed almost in the center of the pteron. Although the capitals have convex fluting, in the 6th-century manner, the temple unquestionably belongs to the height of the 5th century, as is shown by the strong articulation of the lotus bands on the necking of the column. This decoration, also present in the Erechtheion in Athens (ca. 420), was apparently widespread in southern Italy, as on the 4th- or 3d-century columns of Manduria and in the Cathedral of Otranto.

Typical of the Hellenic west are the capitals on the terra-cotta sarcophagi of Gela, which bear high crowns of leaves between the volutes, comparable to that on the Column of the Naxians (PL. 13), although the Gela sarcophagi are later by almost half a century. Other examples are the Ionic capital of the Temple of Athena in Paestum and a splendid fragment with Lesbian kymation and egg-and-dart frieze, from a marble temple in Catania (anc. Katana) preserved in the Museo di Castello Ursino, coming, to judge by the form, from a building of the mid-5th century. The terra-cotta facing from a temple in Adrano is later, the ornamentation recalling that of a late-6th-century Ionian treasury in Delphi. Engaged Ionic columns must have been much used, but the only examples known are in the Oratory of Phalaris, the Tomb of Theron in Agrigento, and the Plinian spring in Manduria. This type of wall articulation spread during the Hellenistic period, especially in central Italy. Two Ionic capitals with antae in the courtyard of the Museo Nazionale in Naples may belong to the archaic style of late Hellenism.

In the 3d century the Ionic order took the lead in Italy as in Greece. Only the capitals of sacred buildings have been preserved, principally from Syracuse, Kamarina, Akrai, and Soloeis (mod. Solunto; PL. 57). These are generally characterized by a slanted position of the volutes, shrinkage of the shallow channel connecting the volutes (*canalis*), and by the elaborate curling of the palmettes next to the volutes, which by covering the canalis vitiate the sense of elasticity the palmettes were meant to give. Apparently the form of the Ionic capital, like its 6th-century Doric predecessor, was so conventionalized that it too became merely a standard connecting element between column shaft and entablature. When the decisive influence of the artistic forms of Magna Graecia and Sicily on central and northern Italy is considered, it becomes historically important that just this type of Ionic capital should more than the others have influenced Campanian, Latian, and Etruscan architecture, beginning with the 3d century. Not till the classicism of the Augustan age was it replaced by the purer 5th-century Ionic form.

*c. Corinthian.* The Corinthian order was used in Magna Graecia and Sicily from the early 3d century, but no traces have survived. The "Corinthian-Doric" Temple of Paestum, although it contains decidedly Hellenistic forms and ornamentation, must be attributed to Etruscan art rather than to that of Magna Graecia. Of extreme importance for the study of western Corinthian is the capital represented on a golden scepter found in Taranto (Br. Mus.; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery . . .*, London, 1911, no. 2070, fig. 65). It must date from the period before the Punic Wars, that is, the 4th or early 3d century. The popularity of the Corinthian order in Taras is demonstrated by the many capitals and the limestone friezes surviving from sepulchral structures (L. Bernabò Brea, *RIASA*, N.S., I, 1952, p. 224 ff.). In burials of Rhegion (mod. Reggio Calabria; *NSc*, 1942, XX, vol. 3, 2, p. 225; S. Ferri, *Divinità ignote*, Florence, 1929; Reggio, Mus. Naz., nos. 1566, 9951) many small late-Hellenistic terra-cotta capitals have been found. Their use is not completely clear, but perhaps they were placed on the graves to serve as funnels into which libations were poured. In the late Hellenistic age a special form of Corinthian capital, distinguished by curled acanthus leaves worked in high relief, developed in Syracusan monumental architecture. Similar forms have been found in Alexandria, and although it is impossible to determine whether they originated there or in Syracuse, they nonetheless document the close artistic bonds uniting the Greek west with Alexandria. The Syracusan capitals, used also in Taras, strongly influenced the architecture of Campania and Rome in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. An unusual form of Corinthian capital, decorated with heads, busts, or figures, is found in a house at Ptolemaïs (North Africa) probably dating from Imperial times; although perhaps of Alexandrian origin, it is representative of the decorative taste and ostentation of Magna Graecian and Sicilian art.

*Architectural terra cottas.* The most distinctive element of the western temples, especially the Sicilian, was the rich, almost excessive decoration of the roof with terra-cotta revetments and figures. The colonies did not limit themselves to the current Greek systems of tile roofing but in most cases combined the Laconian with the Corinthian system (Pace, II, 1938, p. 264 ff.). The oldest simae have gutter moldings with gaily painted kymatia. Sumptuous polychrome facings were used in later buildings, mainly in Gela and the Treasury of Gela in Olympia, the old temple of Athena in Syracuse, and Temple C in Se-

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linous, where terra-cotta boxes, solidly nailed to wooden simae, were topped by upright plaques that served to direct the water toward the drainage canals (PL. 56). Beginning at the end of the 6th century, lion-head spouts developed from this system of simae with drainage canals; the spouts were of terra cotta in modest temples, of limestone (PL. 57) or marble in the more important. In a third, rarer type of sima, the water flowed from palmettes and lotus flowers made in an openwork technique. These simae supported a row of antefixes, upright ornaments that were decorated with heads and often elaborated imaginatively, as at Taras (PL. 56). The chronological relationship of these antefixes to the oldest ones of Thermon (PL. 42) has not yet been clarified, but evidently it can be established that the type emigrated from Taras to Etruria, where a flourishing terra-cotta sculpture then arose (see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART).

Another characteristic feature of the temples of Magna Graecia and Sicily is the decoration of the ridgepole. The *kalypteres*, which covered the ridgepole, were at times gigantic and bore great palmettes or, as at Megara Hyblaia, almost life-size figures of horsemen. It is not known whether these horsemen, sometimes found on the oblique pediment simae as well, were only an imaginative form of decoration or whether they had some iconographic significance relating to the temple worship, perhaps representing the Dioskouroi. Such ridgepole decoration, foreign to Greek taste, may have been invented in Sicily, perhaps by Gorgasos and Damophilos, the famous clay sculptors of the late 6th century. The tradition that they also worked in central Italy is supported by similar terra-cotta figures found at Veii (I, PL. 359) and elsewhere. Numismatic evidence indicates that such sculptural decoration of the roof was still fashionable in the Imperial age.

Human busts may have appeared on other parts of the entablature in Magna Graecian and Sicilian architecture, but figural friezes, the most important examples of which are from Velletri and the Esquiline, were not employed. Like many Etruscan motifs, the human bust may derive from Anatolian architecture. The frieze from Labocetta (Reggio Calabria; PL. 62) and the splendid fragments with a depiction of Herakles and the Hydra in Taormina were probably votive gifts rather than structural elements of the architecture.

Gorgoneia, at times very large, are also part of the elaborate decorations of Sicilian temples. The best-known examples are from Syracuse (PL. 61), Gela, and Selinunte. Fragments of pedimental terra-cotta figures have been found in Gela; they seem, however, to be rare in Sicily and southern Italy.

*Lion-head waterspouts.* From the late 6th century on, lion protomas apparently of East Greek origin were used as waterspouts for gutters and fountains in Sicily. It is not known whether they had a religious or mythological meaning, perhaps Near Eastern, in addition to their decorative and practical function. It seems logical that those worked in Greek marble, such as a protoma from Selinunte (*MALinc*, XXV, 1933–35, pls. XXXI, 1; L, 1, 2), were imported as finished products. In any case an East Greek provenance or prototype seems certain. Two types of lion protomas are found in Sicily: the first, massive and almost cubical, widened and flattened, with muzzle and throat projecting but slightly, is a variety particularly common in Anatolia and may be related to the lions of Hittite art; the second is slenderer and has a more wolflike muzzle, an almost oval head, and prominent nose and throat. It might be assumed that the types originated in two different art centers, with their own marble quarries, where protomas were mass-produced and exported to western Mediterranean lands. Analysis of the marble might supply an answer. The models themselves may have been exported — one small but very fine example, whose significance has not yet been determined, was found in the favissa of the Temple of the Dioskouroi in Agrigento. This cubic, more leonine type is also found on the northern side of the temple at Himera and in Paestum (*AAnz*, LXXI, 1956, col. 422, fig. 140), while the earliest appearances of the slender wolf's-head variety are on the Temple of Athena in Syracuse (ca. 470 B.C.), the south side of the temple at Himera, and on a waterspout in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (no. 1575).

It is only natural that in the hands of the stonecutters the two types became mixed, leading to variant forms such as those of the spouts of the temple at Himera, which clearly express the unique character of the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily. If their prototype could be identified and its successive modifications by different artists traced, it would surely be found that the development leads toward increasing ornamentality and greater accentuation of the grimace of the lion. This is particularly well illustrated by the spout heads on the south side of the temple at Himera (PL. 57), whose ferociousness is increased by ornamental devices such as furrows on the muzzle and the broad, almost square nose; the inner corners of the eyes are formed by right angles. The heads are also differentiated by the degree of agitation of the mane and by the sometimes linear and planar, sometimes curved and three-dimensional treatment of the forms. Closely related to the Himera heads are those of the Temple of Demeter in Agrigento (*Die Antike*, VI, 1930, p. 187, fig. 2).

The protomas of the Temple of Athena in Syracuse, worked in south Italian marble, follow the wolf's-head type and look more archaic than those of Himera, even though they are probably contemporaneous. By comparison, the protomas attributed to the Temple of Herakles in Agrigento are more mature in style, fuller and more sculptural, but they may have been placed on the building during a later restoration. The late-5th-century lion head found by itself in Agrigento (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.) was greatly altered by restoration (*Die Antike*, VI, 1930, p. 186, fig. 1). It is of a somewhat provincial and simplified type, which reappears in Paestum in the "Basilica" and in the Temple of Athena (Krauss, 1938, figs. 19, 37). The menacing grimace and pathetic expression of 4th-century heads are especially well illustrated by the excellent terra-cotta head found in Gela (*Die Antike*, VI, 1930, p. 199, fig. 9), belonging to the period of Timoleon (late 4th cent.).

The inferiority of terra-cotta lion heads to marble ones is evident in the clay examples from Kaulonia and Kroton. These lion-head waterspouts were especially popular in Hellenistic art, and those with unpierced throats must have served solely a decorative function (Syracuse, Tempietto of Herakles). The final phase can best be followed in the numerous limestone lion heads in Syracuse. The most important and one of the largest, from the Kyane spring, is probably of the early 3d century. The skillful accentuation of the pathos and ferocity of the animal, qualities often exaggerated to an unpleasant degree in other Syracusan examples, lends this work an almost baroque quality. In many other lion heads, the plastic form approaches an abstraction wholly free of resemblance to nature. Another head from the Kyane spring (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 6341; *Die Antike*, VI, 1930, pl. 23) demonstrates the persistent preference for abstract form in Italiote art, which is fully revealed when the purely Italic tendencies emerge and dominate.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. (*Architects*). Daidalos (see GREEK ART, AEGEAN). – Hippodamos (q.v.). – Demokopos (Δημόκοπος), or Damokopos, of Syracuse, active 5th cent. B.C.: according to Eustathius (Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam, III, 68, p. 1467), constructed the theater of Syracuse (G. E. Rizzo, Il teatro greco di Siracusa, Milan, 1923; H. Thiersch, ThB, s.v.; P. Romanelli, EAA, s.v. Damokopos). – Phaiax (Φαίαξ), active in Akragas, first half of 5th cent. B.C.: great system of subterranean hydraulic canals (E. Fabricius, RE, s.v., no. 5; W. Deecke, Z. der Deutschen Geologischen Gesellschaft, LXXXV, 1933, p. 83 ff.). – Epikrates (Ἐπικράτης), son of Hageas, known from an inscription near the Olympieion of Syracuse, according to which he constructed a palaestra dedicated to the city (G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., n. 3). – Diokles (Διοκλῆς) of Rhegion, age of Alexander the Great, thought to be author of a project for transforming Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander (G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v., no. 2).

SCULPTURE. Except for Pythagoras — and he probably went to Rhegion when he was already a mature artist (see below, *Pythagoras*) — we are unable to reconstruct the artistic personality of any of the sculptors of Magna Graecia and Sicily, despite numerous references to them in the written tradition. The very number of artists' names known from tradition bears witness to the importance of the West Greek sculpture, though



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for the most part it is not even known in what material the works were carried out. Mention has been made above of Damophilos and Gorgasos, who about 480 B.C. decorated the Temple of Ceres in Rome with terra-cotta statues and painted the cella; an idea of their artistic style can be gained through other great figures found in Sicily, the terra cottas of Gela and Megara. Perillos (Perilaos?), presumably a native of Akragas, designed the bronze bull in which the Akragantine tyrant Phalaris roasted his victims — a work that evokes Minoan echoes, along with the cow of Pasiphae and the Trojan Horse. The statue of Dionysos Morychos, by Simmias, son of Eupalamos of Athens, which was said to be of "cork stone" (φελλάτας), was perhaps of porous limestone. Dameas of Kroton executed his statue of the victorious athlete Milon (after 532) in bronze. A statue of Apollo in boxwood, the head gilded, stood in Olympia, a votive offering from the citizens of Lokroi hoi Epizephyrioi. Akron, son of Praton, was born in Selinous. Klearchos of Rhegion, reputed to be the master of Pythagoras, created the bronze *Zeus Hypatos* in Sparta, assembled from separate pieces, hence probably worked in the *sphyrelaton* technique. Mikon, son of Nikeratos, executed the portrait of Hieron II of Syracuse in Olympia (3d cent. B.C.). It must be remembered that artists of Greece proper had also worked for the west: Onatas of Aegina and Hagelaidas of Argos worked for Taras, and Kalamis of Phocis made the race horses of Hieron I in Olympia. The activity of these Greek artists is reflected in the similarities to works of the mother country seen in western Greek terra cottas and small bronzes.

Whether the marble sculptures found in Sicily and southern Italy are the work of Greek or of Italic artists has for some time been disputed, but the argument is really a matter of terminology rather than of fact. There is no question that southern Italy imported both forms and works of art. It is also true that in the Greek colonies the inhabitants were mostly Greeks, and this must hold for the artists, too. Naturally, from the 7th century on, indigenous imitations of the art of Greece proper, both in sculpture and in pottery, were being made. In the course of time this folk art increased in quantity and quality. It is difficult to separate the Greek stylistic contribution from the local one in a given work: the very essence of the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily is this mixture of stylistic elements. The more a work is Greek in its forms, the more likely it is to have been made by a Greek artist, whether one who had lived for generations in the west or one who had come there to execute it. The more a work tends toward the nonnaturalistic and abstract — as in Siculan and Calabrian sculpture in particular — the more plausibly it can be placed in the Italic artistic milieu. In limestone and in terra-cotta sculpture the Italiote style did not begin to develop until the 5th century; it can be recognized at least in work of that period from Taras, Syracuse, and Selinous.

Sculpture worked in Greek insular marble presents a different problem. The keen business sense of the Greeks would hardly have permitted them to export blocks of marble double the weight of the ultimate statues, risking the presence of internal flaws — cracks, bands, or dark spots — as well. Add to this consideration the fact that there was a steady demand among Greeks in Magna Graecia and Sicily, as in Egypt and southern Russia, for certain predetermined types of marble sculpture for funerary and other religious purposes: kouroi and korai, sphinxes and sirens, funerary steles, votive reliefs, lamps for temples, and, in the Greco-Phoenician border territories, anthropoid sarcophagi. It seems much more logical to assume that these were mass-produced in the quarries of Paros and Naxos and then exported than that the marble was exported to the western colonies to be worked there. If this hypothesis is correct, the kouroi in Metaponto, Megara Hyblaia, Lentini, Grammichele, and Locri, the korai from Taras, Garaguso, and Syracuse, the funerary steles in Syracuse, and the sphinxes from Megara, as well as the marble lamps from Selinous, must be considered — in so far as they conform with objects found in Greece — not as products of Greeks working in the west but as exports from Parian, Naxian, and other Greek workshops.

The problem takes on yet another aspect in the case of significant single works such as the enthroned goddess from Taras (PL. 65), the so-called "Ludovisi Throne" (PL. 63; III, PL. 350), and the torso in Agrigento (probably once part of a group). Here too it is less credible that a heavy block twice the weight of the relief or statue was imported and worked in Sicily than that the work was executed (as is still done in Carrara) in the area in which the marble was quarried. For these works there is no choice but to analyze them stylistically and attempt to relate them to kindred works from Greece or Italy. Since marble sculptures were probably in great demand, the possibility must be entertained that they were executed by itinerant sculptors who went in search of commissions, much as in later times the medieval masters traveled from one cathedral town to another.

*Marble sculpture.* The earliest piece of marble sculpture found in the west is the late Daedalic head in Agrigento. The granular marble, unquestionably from Naxos, as well as the style, which is somewhat old-fashioned for the period (ca. 595), points to its being an imported product rather than the work of a Siculan artist. Similarly, the verdict on the Selinuntine lamps must be that they were mass-produced in the Cyclades and exported as finished products.

The problem of the marble sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily presents itself most clearly in the sculpture from Selinous (PLS. 58, 59). It can hardly escape the observant viewer that the limestone metopes of Temple E (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.) show, both in composition and in form, a typically West Greek character. This becomes still more apparent when they are compared with contemporaneous Greek sculpture: the movements in the Selinous works are rather awkward, sometimes peculiarly violent (Athena), and the drapery, notably in the metope of Athena and the Giant but also in the sculpture of Hera is rendered in a slightly archaizing style typical of the west. On the other hand, some of the marble heads — only the female ones are carved in this stone — are modeled in a pure Greek, indeed Parian, idiom. The marble female heads, particularly of Hera (PL. 59), of Artemis, and of the so-called "Graces," patently conflict in style with the limestone metopes. In these heads the formal differences between the Greek and Italic currents are especially evident. While the heads of Artemis, of Hera, of one of the "Graces," and of the two strongly agitated figures have a clearly Greek cast, there is in the head of the Amazon a certain realism, a tendency to characterization in formal terms. This is apparent in the pained lines around the mouth as well as the unusual motif of the clenched teeth, visible between half-open lips, and in the slightly contracted facial muscles. None of these occurs so forcefully or clearly in the art of the mother country at such an early date. It can be assumed that the atelier which produced this head, certainly the work of an artist who had assimilated the formal language of the Hellenic west and given it an Italic accent, also produced the Athena from Palestrina in New York (PL. 68; G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, Oxford, 1954, no. 79, pl. 28) and the larger than life-size head of a sphinx in the castle of Adolphseck, in Germany. Still more markedly Italic in character is the fragment of a face from Selinous (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.) that in its unsure proportions and sterile execution, especially in the carving of the eyes, betrays the hand of a sculptor in whom the Italic temperament, despite efforts to assimilate Greek stylistic elements (the connection with Aeginetan sculpture is apparent), prevails even more noticeably than in the Amazon master. That several artists should collaborate in the creation of one metope may seem improbable, but we know from ancient tradition that frequently two, and sometimes even more, artists worked together in the execution of a single group.

The implications of the gradation toward the Greek so evident in the metope heads from Selinous — and of the fact that some of them are pure Greek — have been unexpectedly confirmed by some similar heads from Cyrene (some still in Cyrene, some in Br. Mus.), certain of which could even have been sculptured by the same hand. They too are made of a granular insular marble. The atelier in question, which was probably Cycladic, also worked for the island of Thera. In

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regions poor in marble the production of such heads, in which insular marble was used only for the hairless parts of the face, can be followed from the 6th century to the Roman Imperial age. In the Hellenistic and Imperial periods Alexandria and Cyrene particularly seem to have favored this practice. When heads of this type are carved of Italic marble, as are some of those from Selinous, it is not always easy to establish if, or to what degree, the Italic concept of forms permeates the work; for in the development of the art of Magna Graecia the essential point is that artists coming to the west from Greece adjusted their artistic idiom to the new homeland with especial felicity when the polis, the urban community in which they found themselves, had achieved cultural and artistic individuality. This is particularly evident in 5th-century Taras, Kroton, Syracuse, and Akragas, which politically and culturally had acquired a physiognomy of their own and therefore could no longer be considered merely offshoots of the mother country.

There have come down to us a great many works in marble by sculptors who no longer had any close contact with the art of the Cyclades, and who had probably been living in the west for generations. The late archaic Nike of Sicilian marble in Syracuse (Mus. Arch. Naz.) is related to the korai of Paros but differs from them considerably. In like fashion, the figures on a marble pediment from Syracuse and the head of a youth from Leontinoi (PL. 67), which is related to the work of the Eretria master, may be considered typical West Greek works, and the same is true of two small marble heads from Paestum, by the same hand as the Leontinoi head, and the *Athena* (?) in the Museo Barracco (PL. 66). The head of Athena in Taranto (Mus. Naz.) is probably from the Niobid master's workshop, which seems to have executed many pediments with Niobids for buildings in Magna Graecia. In the early years of the Empire the most important of these was brought to the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, and later moved, in part to the Horti Sallustiani. Study of this master can throw light on the problem of Magna Graecian marble sculpture. For the figures in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, presumably executed by his pupils in Magna Graecia, clearly demonstrate the transformation that was taking place in local sculpture: perhaps the most striking example is the *Apollo* (Rome, Conserv.), which, in accordance with late-5th-century Tarentine taste, had been complemented by flowing hair in bronze. The Niobid master seems to have been connected with the workshop of Theodoros of Phokaia, who executed the sculpture of the tholos in Delphi and worked in Skillous. The results of the same process can be seen in the horse's head from Taranto in Zurich (Arch. Samml. der Univ.), the pediment figures executed in Lokroi about 430, the "Humphry Ward head" in the Louvre, a head from Cumae (*MPiot*, XXXIV, 1934, pl. 2), a head from Monte Porzio Catone (E. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture greche del V secolo*, Rome, 1953, no. 81), and several other pieces. The special charm of these lies in the less tectonic working of the head, the somewhat uncertain relation of the expressive parts of the face (mouth, nose, eyes), and some out-of-date stylistic elements — for example, the ringlets on a head in Como (Mus. Civ.) — which are slightly mannered.

The Italic component in West Greek art comes through much more strongly in some works undoubtedly of Magna Graecian authorship whose artistic vocabulary differs profoundly from that of the Greek motherland. This group is most strikingly represented by the head of Apollo from Cirò (P. Orsi, *Templum Apollonis Alaei*, Rome, 1933, pl. 19; the feet and one hand have also been recovered). In its general appearance and technique, the work is related to the heads found in great number in Sicily, but it differs in the far more summary handling of structure and in the soft fullness of the face (PL. 69). The taste for full, indeed too soft, faces is also encountered on Tarentine vases and Siculan coins of the late 5th century. No less evident is the taste for too realistic, overly florid, even ugly forms, such as the pudgy feet of this statue.

Nevertheless, on account of its great stylistic similarity to Tarentine terra cottas and limestone figures, the head of Apollo from Cirò must be classified as Tarentine, with the reservation that its style shows considerable Italic influence. Various sculptures found in the vicinity of Selinunte were probably also executed in western Sicily. The tendencies that mark all these works are seen even more clearly, at times together with a certain provincial charm, in the colossal head of the Ludovisi *Juno* (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.), in the head in Syracuse (Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 16968) whose hairdress follows Greek formulas, not altogether successfully, in the *Zeus Meilichios* from Selinunte (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.), and in the Cassandra relief in the Galleria Borghese, Rome. Against the background of these numerous works of middling quality, the magnificence of the best of Magna Graecian sculpture stands out sharply. One thinks of such works as the unique mid-4th-century head of a goddess from Taranto in Kansas City (Nelson Gall. of Art and Atkins Mus.) and the relief with maenads in Rome (Mus. Naz. Rom., no. 52059), with its bold back view of one of the maenads, the foreshortening of the head of the other (whose flowing hair is reminiscent of Tarentine vase scenes), and the slightly mannered drapery.

What distinguishes these sculptures from those of the mother country, in particular from the Ionian world, which had the strongest influence on western Greek art, is a difference not in quality, as is sometimes held, but in modeling and texture. The artist did not take the organic structure of a body or a head as his starting point: he strove to express in stone the softness of surfaces. This individuality is seen, particularly around the eyes, in the splendid head of a goddess in Kansas City, which also has the soft, full cheeks and the "collar of Venus" creases in the neck.

The art of Sicily and Magna Graecia also produced some kouros and kore types of its own; but we have a clear idea only of the latter. The earliest surviving kore is a bronze from Lokroi (*NSc*, 1913, suppl., p. 51, fig. 65). The type, in terra cotta, spread as far as central Italy, an example having been found in the Roman Forum; differing from the usual Ionian examples, this seems to be related to East Greek works such as a kore in the Berlin Museum (*Antike Denkmäler*, III, 1909–26, p. 52, fig. 9). The running Nike of Syracuse (Mus. Arch. Naz.), which may have been an acroterium for the Temple of the Deinomenids, is later, about 500 B.C. The goddess wears her oblique cloak differently from the Greek korai: the edge that crosses the breasts is smooth and has broad folds falling from it on the diagonal. In the hair streaming across the chest a Parian influence can perhaps be glimpsed. The uncompleted marble kore in Taranto found near Saturo seems — so far as it is possible to judge — to be related to this type. Whether the kore was roughed out from a block of marble (possibly Italic) that had been imported to Taras or whether the preliminary carving was done in Paros and then transported to Taras in its unfinished state cannot be established. In any case it is of interest that this figure has the same arrangement of drapery over the breast as the Nike of Syracuse. The shortness of the chiton, a feature found neither in Greece nor in the east, is typically Italic. It may be that this kore is an archaistic work from the age of Pasiteles, a sculptor of Magna Graecia in the 1st century B.C. The Guicciardini kore in Florence (Pal. Guicciardini) and the kore from Castel Porziano near Rome (Mus. Naz. Rom., no. 30067; E. Paribeni, op. cit., no. 76) have the same characteristics, even to the detail of the small *kolpos* (loose fold) under the left armpit. The Sicilian terra cottas from Grammichele (Pace, II, 1938, fig. 73), the bronze supports from Locri (*NSc*, 1913, suppl., p. 3 ff.), and the terra-cotta *arula* (small altar) in Naples with scene of Iris running afford evidence that this style of diagonal mantle was characteristic of Magna Graecia and Sicily. The arm support at the side of the figure does not necessarily exclude the possibility of a date of about 500. All these problems would vanish, however, if the hypothesis were accepted that these are works of the school of Pasiteles.

The continuity of development that marks the art of Greece proper is missing in the marble sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily. It seems more as if we were dealing with workshops that traveled from city to city, executing marble statues for the sanctuaries as they went along. Obviously this could

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have been the case only if continuous contact was maintained with sculpture workshops of the Cyclades, and if the marble ordered by western Greek artists was prepared and blocked out there.

For an idea of the sculptural achievement of the western Greeks, we need only consider the "Ludovisi Throne" in Rome (PL. 63; III, PL. 350) and its counterpart in Boston (Mus. of Fine Arts). The Rome relief, three-sided, representing on the front a goddess (Aphrodite?) emerging from the sea or from a ritual bath, is the work of a master of the northern Greek school. The Boston throne is so similar in its unusual structural form, its ornamentation, and also its style that it could only have been executed under the influence of this same master. Of particular relevance to our discussion is the fact that the front of the Boston relief is entirely different in composition from that of the Rome relief. Instead of figures unfolding shallowly against the background in large sweeping contours of low relief, the three figures on the front of the Boston work are carried out in accordance with the completely different concept of spatiality of the western Greek marble sculptors. This is evident not only in the figure of Eros, which, sculptured almost in the round, stands out in high relief, but also in the two goddesses, sketched not merely in outline but in terms of the spatial realities of bodily dimensions, with foreshortening and sharp intersection of forms. But, above all, the movement of the arms of the goddesses transcends the boundaries of the relief, belying the existence of the background and creating the effect of figures that seem to emerge like flowers from the volutes and palmettes. Thus the background of the relief, probably once painted blue, remains isolated, and the three figures must have created the illusion of freestanding forms, invisibly supported by the surface of the relief. Not only in the composition as a whole but also in the forms, most of all the faces, there is a delicate, slightly mannered echo of the late archaic style, especially in the head of Eros and the animated countenance of the smiling goddess. The extraordinary grace of these heads, allowing for certain differences in quality, recalls several terra-cotta heads from Medma (near mod. Rosarno) and Locri (Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz.). The sides of the Boston throne, quite otherwise, are pure Greek — in concept and in the modeling of the heads. Particularly in the treatment of hair they are artistically inseparable from the Cycladic funerary steles as well as the fragments in Frankfort on the Main (Liebighaus). A reasonable explanation of the discrepancy between the front and the sides of the Boston throne is that the Eros relief was executed by an artist who, though having many connections with the Aphrodite master, was drawn in a different direction by the West Greek temper and the western sculptural tendencies; the two sides could have been the work of a hand very close to, if not actually identical with, that of the Aphrodite master.

No satisfactory interpretation of these magnificent sculptures of Magna Graecia has yet been found: the difficulty arises from the fact that both reliefs obviously represent typical West Greek cult legends or myths. It seems to this writer that the interpretation of the "Ludovisi Throne" as showing the ritual bath of a goddess, be it Aphrodite, Hera, or Demeter, is preferable to the interpretation of the scene as Aphrodite rising from the sea. The two female figures on the sides should be interpreted not, in a modern abstract sense, as representations of earthly and heavenly love but as familiar mythological personages, handmaidens of the goddess — one bearing a sacrifice of incense, the other playing the flute — attending her as she emerges, reborn, from the fountain of youth. In the subject of the central Boston relief, Eros weighing the love fates of two goddesses, there is an interesting iconographical difference from the art of the Greek motherland, in that the heavy scale signifies a happy outcome and the light scale is a cause for dejection. Each of the figures on the sides is related in significance to the near goddess: the handsome lyre player must have a mythological connection with the mournful figure, while the old nurse near the fortunate one may have been holding the figure of a child, perhaps lost or removed during the transfer of the relief from the sanctuary in Magna Graecia to Rome. To the workshop of the Ludovisi master, whose later work it is possible to follow to some extent, can perhaps be attributed the head of Artemis in the Aktaion metope from Selinunte (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.). Stylistically related to the "Ludovisi Throne" is another relief in Rome, the so-called "Leukothea Relief" in the Villa Albani; this could have come from the same workshop, were it not that the gradation in depth of the three figures in front of the goddess indicates an attempt at perspective not met with in Greece proper. The influence of this master is also traceable in the votive reliefs of Lokroi, and it is probably not mere chance that their period of production is limited to the years in which he was active in Magna Graecia (460–450).

The master of the Eros relief also seems to have left traces in Magna Graecia: the three women — probably taking part in a mule race, a familiar activity in Sicily — on a relief fragment in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 31) have a marked similarity to the goddesses of the Boston work. A type of head frequently copied in Roman times, and often coupled with Dionysos on a herm, can perhaps be traced to the same workshop (F. Cumont, *Catalogues des sculptures et inscriptions antiques des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Brussels, 1913, no. 1).

[NOTE. It should be stated that questions have been raised regarding the authenticity of the Boston throne. See bibliog. of Möbius (1958); see also FALSIFICATION AND FORGERY.**]

*Pythagoras.* The art of Pythagoras is a story in itself. Born in Samos, he must have been forced by the disturbances in eastern Ionia in the years around 500 to emigrate to Rhegion. In an inscription that survives he declares himself to be a Samian, but ancient historians called him a native of Rhegion and related him to Klearchos of Rhegion, who has himself been connected with 6th-century sculptors of the northern Peloponnesos (Dipoinos and Skyllis). In the written tradition, Pythagoras appears as an innovator in the field of Greek sculpture: he was considered a precursor of Lysippos (q.v.). and hence placed at the end of the 5th century. But such a dating is not possible if he was a pupil of Klearchos. Like many other Greek sculptors, Pythagoras can be dated on the basis of the victories of the young athletes whose statues he made for the sanctuaries to which they brought their trophies; the earliest of these took place about 480, the latest about 448. A dating in the first half of the 5th century is supported by the fact that by tradition he is coupled with Myron: both sculptors were interested in the portrayal of violent movement. We can get an idea of Pythagoras' art from the ancient references which state that he was the first to distinguish himself primarily by the rhythm and symmetry of his sculpture. But the words conveyed a slightly different meaning: "rhythm" to the ancients denoted suddenness and regularity, as in the motion of a ship rising and falling on the waves, and "symmetry" was applied not to the equality of two halves but rather to the correspondence of the parts (ἁρμονία τῶν διαφερόντων). Ancient writers, moreover, credit Pythagoras with being the first to represent the sinews and veins and assert that he sculptured hair more faithfully than Myron. It can therefore perhaps be deduced that Pythagoras did not altogether adhere in his sculpture to the Greek ideal of the greatest possible harmony but put a higher value on the realistic representation of the figure.

There are suggestions from other quarters that may perhaps help us to visualize the art of Pythagoras. One such source is the late-5th-century coinage from Kroton. On some coins, a kneeling figure of Apollo killing the serpent Python is shown beside a tripod of a type in use since the 6th century. These coins are, of course, too small to give us an idea of the individuality of the style, but the vehemence of the movement, the sharp twist of the torso, and the crossing of the arms do give us an inkling of the liveliness of Pythagoras' figures, so praised by the ancients. A *claudicans* (limping figure) by him — which Lessing rather convincingly identified as the lame Philoktetes — was famous. There are a number of Roman gems representing a limping man, in a style that can hardly be earlier than 4th-century. A wall painting in Pompeii with Philoktetes leaning on a stick seems to be closer to the 5th-century style, but it is in too poor a state of preservation to serve as a reproduction in any real

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sense. Of more help, perhaps, is a statuette of an athlete from Adrano (PL. 70). Compared with the Greek figures of young champions, this excellent bronze is distinguished for its proportions — the length of the body, the smallness of the head, in other words, all that the ancients saw in the work of Pythagoras. Yet this statue falls short of a certain nobility of aspect. It differs from all the Greek examples, chiefly in the more sweeping arm movement and the alert pose of the whole figure, especially the head, which is closely related to the original head of an acrolith of Athena in Rome (Vat. Mus.). It cannot be asserted that these two works, the statuette from Adrano and the head of Athena, were creations of Pythagoras or his workshop; but they certainly originated in an artistic circle that differed not only from the Greek but also from what we know of the West Greek, and, in the striking features just pointed out, they stir remembrance of the traditional description of Pythagoras' art. The bronze figure of a young *adorans* in New York (Met. Mus.), probably acquired in Smyrna, a city opposite Pythagoras' native island, is, like the Adrano statuette, outstanding for its accentuated rhythm; it is probably some twenty to thirty years earlier. The two works are related to the figure of a man — Epimetheos or Hephaistos — brandishing an ax, in Washington, D.C. (PL. 70), a bearded head in the British Museum unquestionably from the same workshop, a lost bronze of the same size (*ÖJh*, XXXIX, 1952, p. 59), and a statue of Perseus (E. Langlotz, "Ein verkannter Perseus?" Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1953–54, part 2, pp. 20–23).

Among the representations of Perseus in Greek 5th-century art, two types — which continued in the illumination of medieval astronomy manuscripts — can be distinguished. One type, the Perseus triumphantly raising on high the head of the Gorgon, is represented on many Italic vases of the late 5th and early 4th centuries and on Etruscan bronzes and mirrors. It is no accident that Benvenuto Cellini's *Perseus* in the Loggia della Signoria, Florence, follows this Italic type, and from Roman copies we can form a fairly clear idea of it. As has long been noted, the *Huntsman* in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, which is a Roman portrait statue of the freedman Polytimos, is a good copy of an Ionian Greek work of the middle of the 5th century B.C., except for the head, which dates from the period of Gallienus. The hare that the hunter is holding up and the tree trunk are undoubtedly additions by the Roman copyist, but the raised right arm must have been in the Greek original. The fame of the prototype is indicated by the existence of two other copies, one in Naples (Mus. Naz.) and one in Florence (Mus. Arch.). The head of this Perseus type can be recognized again in the head erroneously placed on the *Athena* in the Villa Albani, Rome, in the 18th century, since the winged dogskin helmet and the short curly hair are attributes not of Athena but of Perseus. The reconstruction of the head and body, though in plaster, seems to fit into the stylistic picture that has been sketched of Pythagoras' art, but hardly any trace of his artistic idiom remains, for both fragments have been thoroughly reworked by an 18th-century classicistic restorer. The Ludovisi herm of a discus thrower (PL. 70), which is perhaps the clearest expression of the antinomy of movement and the general bearing of a professional athlete, could also be placed in the circle of this master. The Valentini torso (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.), which has not yet been adequately interpreted, is from a later period. Also of later date is the statue of a bearded man, preserved in two Roman bronze copies, whose prototype goes back to the late 5th century B.C., but whose form belongs to the artistic sphere of Pythagoras; this may have been a work by a student of his, perhaps Sostratos.

Some confirmation of these attributions may be afforded by Tarentine terra-cotta molds, which reproduce not only the triumphant Perseus (though without head and arms), but also the Valentini torso. It was evidently common in the Hellenistic period for Tarentine sculptors in clay to reproduce famous works of art for their city.

*Limestone sculpture.* With fine marble both rare and costly, it was only natural that sculptors in Magna Graecia and Sicily should have used limestone for their works more frequently than sculptors in the mother country; they may even have preferred it to marble, since the softer material made it possible to obtain great expressive force and a freer treatment of plastic volumes in the figures and favored the painterly enrichment of surfaces. Because of the relative softness of the limestone, the statues made of this material required the application, as in architecture, of a coat of stucco to prepare them for polychrome. Cult statues were also executed in limestone. In Taras, limestone funerary statues in small aediculae were common: those intended for the richer graves had marble heads. The use of limestone for decorative friezes and small reliefs was especially frequent.

The oldest surviving limestone head is one with the polos, from Laianello (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.); presumably part of a cult statue, it may have been produced by a Syracusan sculptor working in the Corinthian tradition. The developed modeling of the ears and the refined gradation of the beaded curls on the neck point to a date in the neighborhood of 600 B.C., the period of the late Daedalic bronze in Boston (II, PL. 33). The relief with two sphinxes from Caltagirone (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.) also seems to be Corinthian-Syracusan: in the frieze above the sphinxes are dancers recalling those on Middle Corinthian vases. To the same period belong the badly damaged torsos of female divinities, such as the Meter with a lion in her lap, from Akrai (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 14366), and similar statues from Grammichele. While these works follow the best Corinthian tradition, the xoanon from Megara Hyblaia, in Syracuse, seems, like all the sculptures from Megara Hyblaia and Gela in fact, distinctly provincial — generally inferior in quality to those from Syracuse. A kore in high relief from Monte Casale (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 47061), which is sculptured almost in the round, follows Ionian kore types; it is strongly Siculan in character (PL. 66). The head of a kore from Megara Hyblaia (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 7734), is Greek and, to judge from the polos, may have belonged to a cult image. The bearded head from Grammichele (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 23160) more closely approaches the Siculan manner; this is the work of a sculptor with a linear style, but it lacks the vigor of the master of the Selinous metopes.

Better known than the freestanding sculpture in limestone is the architectural sculpture. What remains of the temples of Selinous is chiefly the metopes. The metope with Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.) seems to be of an early period and, like the metope with a sphinx and the metope with the rape of Europa (PL. 58), could have been executed shortly before the middle of the 6th century. Selinous lay in the westernmost zone of the Greek world, and while economic development was rapid, owing to its closeness to the Punic trading area, culturally it lagged behind Syracuse and Akragas. The sculptural forms of these metopes show no refinement of detail, probably because they were meant to be seen from a distance and also because, it must be assumed, the finished effect was supplied by the painting. The same is true of a metope with the Gorgon, from Gela, in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 6*a*). More important, even if not so early as has often been maintained, are the metopes of Temple C in Selinunte. Their sculptor was still working in the Daedalic tradition of the years around 600 in his handling of body structure and gestures. The types, above all, Apollo's (?) quadriga, represented frontally (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.), Athena and Perseus and the Gorgon (PL. 58), and Herakles with the Kerkopes (Cercopes), are unthinkable before the middle of the century, despite the fact that the heads of the Kerkopes in the last-mentioned are still completely Daedalic (I, PL. 343). Other formal details — particularly the stylization of the short chiton, the exaggerated rendering of the inner corner of the eye, and the type of the head of Pegasos — preclude the possibility of a date earlier than 530 for the metopes. It is precisely the mingling of differing artistic and stylistic levels in these metopes that makes their appearance in this farthest outpost of the Greek world significant. They are the outstanding relief works of Greek art of the 6th century in Sicily. In comparison with metopes of the mother country, they show an accentuation of the spatial depth of the relief: the quadriga, for example, seems almost to be enclosed in a boxlike space, so deep do the figures reach.

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In the architectural sculpture of Magna Graecia the metopes of the two Doric buildings of the Heraion on the Sele near Paestum have a place of the greatest importance. They can be dated only approximately — about the middle of the 6th century. They are interesting in that they show a blending of Greek and West Greek elements different from that found in the metopes originating farther west, in Selinous. Illustrative of this blending is the architecture of the "Treasury," with its already outmoded hipped roof and admixture of Ionic elements; its close ties to the Temple of Athena (Ceres?) in Paestum are clear, although the latter is of a higher order. What has been said applies also to the rich decoration of the metopes. The meaning of the representations, which are taken from the myths of Herakles (I, PL. 343), of the Trojans, and of the gods, has not been established but must be related to the founding of the sanctuary. Probably because of interruptions caused by war, the metopes were not all completed; perhaps those in lower relief were finished with paint at a time when there were no longer the resources or the interest to continue the carving to completion. Decidedly Magna Graecian is the imaginative wealth of the representations and their exceptional graphicness. In Greece the scene of a hero fleeing from his pursuer would hardly include, on a metope, the detail of a column of the temple in which the fugitive seeks refuge (PL. 60). The thickset proportions of all the figures recall those of the Attic "little masters," without showing any relation in style. The running girls bring to mind Spartan-Tarentine figure types, particularly in the rendering of the drapery; the fragment of a centaur (PL. 60) shows the type of centaur and of Seilenos head known to us through Chalcidian vases. Thus several West Greek stylistic currents meet in the pages of this veritable picture book of Magna Graecian myths. Since Sybaris was the parent city of Poseidonia (Paestum), it can be supposed that the artists working at the sanctuary on the Sele went there from Sybaris to execute the metopes.

The metopes of the major temple of the sanctuary, probably late-6th-century, are more minutely executed, more elegant in the treatment of movement, especially that of the recurrent running maidens (PL. 60). The energy of their motion exceeds that usually seen in Greece proper, and the rather full forms, especially the breasts, and the shape of the heads, put one in mind of East Greek works such as the frieze with chariots of the Treasury of the Siphnians in Delphi.

Unfortunately, only two metopes of the other buildings have been found. These show yet another nuance of the style of Magna Graecia. Particularly interesting is the representation of a footsoldier in Chalcidian style, which resembles forms on a clay *arula* in Reggio Calabria. The chiseled metope of Herakles may date from the early 5th century.

A fragmentary bearded head from Sybaris (mod. Sibari; PL. 66; *NSc*, 1932, p. 132) perhaps also came from an architectural relief, either a metope or a small pediment. It is important as the only sculpture surviving from that city, which was destroyed in the year 510. Its vigorous execution, suggestive of woodcarving, is strongly reminiscent of the pediment of the Treasury of Megara in Olympia, but it could have been made by a sculptor of Magna Graecia trained in the Doric tradition. On the other hand, the small metope with Europa from Paestum (Naples, Mus. Naz.), in a limestone resembling sandstone, is obviously related to Ionian forms and is essentially more refined in workmanship.

Probably from the turn of the century are the metopes from Selinunte with two running figures. Part of a cycle, they seem to represent the rape of a woman, perhaps Persephone. A certain awkwardness of movement, the parallelism of the parts, and the late archaic grace of the features give this work its special character. The fragments that remain of the early-5th-century metopes of Temple F show not so much the grace as the sculptural vigor of the West Greek severe style, particularly in the expressive motif of the giant in defeat (PL. 59).

As in architecture, so in sculpture the Greek influence made itself felt more strongly in the decades of the Persian Wars. Thus a small metope from Selinunte (PL. 59) representing a goddess animatedly turning toward Hermes(?) epitomizes in the late archaic linearity of the drapery and the grace of the faces, the charm of Selinuntine sculpture of the early 5th century. This comes to its fullest expression in the large metopes from Temple E, the most magnificent representatives of the art of the western Greeks in Sicily (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.). The hand of the West Greek master is apparent in the characterization of the two divinities in the metope of Zeus and Hera — the dignity of the goddess as she stands before the amorous Zeus seated on his rock — and in the remarkable skill with which the Aktaion scene is depicted, with Artemis looking down at the leaping hounds. An almost brutal note is struck in the Amazon metope, with Herakles preventing the escape of the doomed Amazon — her face contracted in pain — by stamping on her foot. In the metope of Athena, conceived and executed by a less gifted artist, West Greek characteristics appear in their negative aspect: the schematism of the composition, which has led to a parallelism of parts, and the awkwardness of the collapsing giant cause us to wonder once more at the extraordinary unevenness of West Greek art. With these works the story of Selinuntine sculpture comes to a close.

Neither in Sicily nor in Magna Graecia have any important limestone sculptures dating after the middle of the 5th century been brought to light, except for a head in Sorrento (private coll.). It is not known whom this fascinating work represents. The fillets round the head suggest Dionysos; at any rate the features recall the Seilenos heads from Naxos, which would confirm the Dionysian connection. Presumably executed in the early 4th century, perhaps in an artistic circle originating in Naxos, this is the outstanding representation of the head of a divinity in Magna Graecian sculpture: in the pain-filled and despairing features, the typical West Greek transformation of the Greek concept of divinity through the religion and ethos of the western Greeks is seen at its clearest.

Nothing has been preserved of Syracusan 4th-century sculpture except a female torso (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.) based on Attic models. But from the age of Hieron II there are some important remains of sculpture, among them the caryatids from the large theater and some small tomb reliefs (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.). In addition, there are copies of an important group of Graces or Fates, now lost, in the votive reliefs from Camaro and Syracuse (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.); from these it can be deduced that the original work, which must have been well known, since it was still being reproduced in very late Hellenistic times, was made in the 3d century B.C. To this later period (presumably the years around 100 B.C., in which the city began to flourish again under Roman rule) belongs the relief of Artemis and Apollo from Akrai (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.), a most instructive work. Here the inherent tendency of West Greek art toward, as it were, baroque, overstated forms is particularly conspicuous. Apollo, his body strongly arched, is leaning on the omphalos; equally forceful is the stately stride of Artemis, her body crossed by intersecting groups of folds. The work is no longer a relief, strictly speaking, for these figures break away from the relief wall. The same period must have produced the Zeus from Solunto (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.), in which the forms are loosening up in a "rococo" manner. An important head from Megara Hyblaia (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz., no. 19049) illustrates the dissolution of late Hellenistic forms in Syracuse: the excessive slenderness, the strong development in depth, and the lack of coherence in the rendering of face and hair demonstrate the decline in the representation of form that took place in the 1st century B.C. As a portrait, this work shows the strained tenor of the time of Mithradates more strikingly than works produced in the mother country.

The Tarentine stone is much harder than the Sicilian and therefore particularly suitable for sculpture. From the fragments scattered in museums throughout the world we get an impressive picture of this highly individual art. Of temple sculpture there remains only one metope, with a warrior violently engaging the enemy (Brea, 1953, fig. 79), a masterly figure in which a magnified Scopasian influence is evident: the baroque strain in Skopas — the pathos — made him the favored artist in 4th-century Taras rather than the more restrained Praxiteles. The bulk of the Tarentine limestone figures come from the reliefs

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of funerary monuments. Many capitals and architraves from these have been preserved, but attempts at reconstruction have not yet been undertaken, and for information we must turn to the representations on Apulian amphoras. There seem to have been three main types of funerary structures: the first, a cube decorated on all four sides with reliefs and supporting a statue or a tropaion; the second (not earlier than the 2d century), a high, four-sided, pillar-shaped monument; the third, much more frequent, the aedicula, a type often represented in south Italian vase painting. These *naiskoi* in rare cases enclosed a figure in the round (none earlier than the 2d century have been preserved), and sometimes they seem to have borne a large relief, of the type of 4th-century Attic gravestones. One of the earliest of the reliefs, a work of modest size representing two female figures (Brea, 1953, fig. 14), is related to late-5th-century Attic votive reliefs; the figures are perhaps Demeter and Kore. The simple, artless, still classic treatment of the garments demonstrates how closely bound to Attic art were the forms of Tarentine art of this period. In a relief fragment from Taranto in New York (Met. Mus.; Brea, 1953, fig. 12), which, it has been suggested, shows Electra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon, the Magna Graecian idea of form is particularly well exemplified by the separation of the figures from the ground of the relief and the extreme flexibility that makes possible the S-shaped forms in which they are composed. Typically Tarentine as well are the effect of spatial depth in the relief, obtained in this case by the foreshortening of the altar and the strong contrasts of light and shade, and the emotion in the faces. The treatment of space is similar in one of the most beautiful Tarentine sepulchral reliefs (Brea, 1953, figs., 44, 45), a frieze with Herakles in Hades (Munich, Glyptothek, no 494) and Herakles and the Amazons (Taranto, Mus. Naz.). Marking this art as Tarentine is the framing — below, flowering springs; above, Ionic and Doric kymatia — as well as the delicate refinement and looser treatment of the figures. But the weakness of this sculpture is already apparent in the growing love for small, almost dancing, rococo-like figures. While the influence of Skopas' art is strong, especially in the representations of combatants (Brea, 1953, fig. 79), the influence of Lysippos, who worked in Taras, is also mirrored, in the later limestone reliefs; as in the Hellenistic art of Asia Minor, it led to the creation of more and more sentimental, baroque figures. The bold and exuberant imagination of these artists found magnificent expression in their battle scenes (Brea, 1953, figs. 90–98): it appears that, notwithstanding the severity of the Punic Wars, Tarentine art was in full flower up to the end of the 3d century; its decline, after the city lost its freedom in 208 B.C., is evident in the reliefs, with their slender figures clad in swirling masses of draperies. However, the flagging imagination still sometimes found expression, as in the reliefs with the motif of two figures rushing past each other toward the opposite side (Brea, 1953, figs. 116–18). Not until the 2d century did this art quite vanish, drying up as the artists monotonously repeated fleeing youths and women, with the figures becoming ever more brittle (Brea, 1953, fig. 120).

Limestone statues with marble heads must have been more common than is generally thought; for the most part, only the marble heads have survived the elements. It is the marble head and not the limestone body of the colossal Ludovisi *Juno* that remains, and there are numerous marble heads from Taranto that belonged to limestone statues. This is shown both by the unusual widening at the base of the neck, providing a larger surface for setting the head into the torso, and by the markedly erect stance, which probably lent security, since the heads were not mortised but merely glued in place. Only two female figures of this type have survived entire (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. VIII), and these are late-2d-century, probably from funerary aediculae.

Works of a very different type, showing a masterly skill in the perfecting of form, are the vine friezes from Taranto, notably the fragment in Boston with the figure of a youth (Brea, 1953, fig. 58) and the relief in Paestum, in which the artist has foreshortened the twisting vines. Both these superlative decorative works embody the strong pictorial tendencies of the western Greek artists.

In Lecce, limestone reliefs were also used to decorate burial hypogea. The one frieze that has been preserved, in the hypogeum of the Palmieri, shows warriors engaged in violent combat; this work could date from the 2d century, as does the fragment in Budapest (Brea, 1953, figs. 53, 86), in which the turning of the heads of the horses toward the interior of the scene provides a startling demonstration of the West Greek interest in pictorial effect. In the 2d century Tarentine artists seem to have emigrated to central and northern Italy. A late Hellenistic stele in Padua (*Boll. del Museo Civico di Padova*, N.S., IV, 1928, p. 119) and a vine frieze with heads in the Vatican Museums, executed in Etruria after a Tarentine model, are both related to these Tarentine works. The relation between the Cyrenaic limestone reliefs and the Tarentine ones has not yet been clarified. There seems to have existed an artistic association of sorts, which naturally had ties with Asia Minor.

*Terra-cotta sculpture.* The terra-cotta sculpture of the western Greeks may be called, along with the limestone sculpture, the purest and most characteristic expression of their art. The terra cottas from southern Italy and Sicily not only outnumber those of the homeland but surpass them in beauty of workmanship and variety of type. Some of the terra cottas, precisely defined with putty knife and modeling pencil, are of an exquisite exactitude of execution that places them alongside the best toreutic works. Further, the western artists, much more than those of the motherland, made use of clay for large figures, both for the ornamentation of pediments and metopes of temples and for setting up in sanctuaries (images of gods and votive offerings). It must have been not so much the lack of marble that impelled the western Greeks to work more frequently in clay, nor the fact that the divine service and the cult and ritual of the dead required a greater number of terra cottas than in the Greek motherland; rather it appears that the demand for terra-cotta sculpture provided a welcome opportunity for them to carry out their artistic intentions, as did limestone sculpture, in a much freer manner — with imagination and yet with technical security — than is possible in marble and bronze. In particular, violent movement is easier to represent in clay than in marble, whose static laws can never be transgressed. Moreover, clay makes possible a painterly relaxation of surface — a deep-going modeling that gives a pictorial effect — and, especially, a heightening of expressiveness in the heads. Terra-cotta heads of the late 5th century from Taranto (PL. 74), Locri, Medma, and Naxos have a strength of facial expression not encountered in Greece until the Hellenistic era.

The point of departure for this rich terra-cotta sculpture was again Greek art. Naturally, the colonists of the 7th and 6th centuries at first imported from the mother country the ex-votos and images required for the worship of their gods and for their funeral rites, to say nothing of the terra-cotta statuettes that served as unguentaria. All these were of course imitated, and consequently the same types are found repeated in different clays — particularly in the 7th century, when almost all votive images were in the form of the xoanon. But by the end of the century the major art centers of the west began to modify the traditional types, adapting them to their needs. It is interesting to note how the imitation of imported types such as the East Greek unguentaria in the shape of korai and the peplos figures of the 7th and 6th centuries contributed to the development of the artistic idiom. At the same time, the imitations reflect the local religious ideas and tastes of the makers, and they bear the imprint, to a greater or lesser degree, of the specific desires of the Siculan and Italic natives living near the Greek cities for whom the votive images were destined. Because of their portability, the terra-cotta figures spread throughout Italy, to the southern coast of France, and to Spain as well. Campania seems to have been one of the main centers of production. Undoubtedly these terra cottas contributed greatly to the Hellenization of central and northern Italy.

The oldest terra cottas that have been preserved are probably those found in Syracuse and Metaponto. The head of a warrior in Syracuse, which may have been made in the city immediately after its founding (ca. 733?) corresponds to the late Geometric phase. Of a higher quality are the terra cottas from Metaponto,

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whose execution, far surpassing that of contemporaneous Greek terra cottas, strikingly reflects the development of the Daedalic style. The models seem to have been mainly Corinthian; above all, the early Daedalic figures recall works from Perachora, while later ones, with curled wigs, recall those found in Rhodes. However, the finds are insufficient to establish a definite connection between the types from Metaponto and any of the centers of the so-called Daedalic sculpture of the 7th century. The 7th-century terra cottas from Locri and Selinunte are, on the other hand, surprisingly primitive. The Daedalic forms of the kore seem to have survived in the west much longer than in the motherland: in the 6th century they still inspired the important wooden figures from Palma di Montechiaro (near Agrigento).

The oldest Tarentine 6th-century sculpture is understandably related to Sparta, as is especially apparent in the Oxford kouros (Ashmolean Mus.). But it was in Taras itself that the tendency to realistic expression that was to be typical of late West Greek art seems to have appeared at an early date, as witness the Gorgon head in New York (Met. Mus.), whose grimace has an intensity lacking in the more restrained representations from Greece.

As might be expected, Syracuse, which, together with Taras, was already in the 7th century one of the most important artistic centers of the west, closely followed Corinth in forms and types. But the greater liveliness and the intensification of fantasy as compared with the Greek prototypes are unmistakable. Especially fine examples are the reclining lion and the female centaur with the head of a Gorgon (both, Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.), the latter unquestionably a typical western variation, scarcely to be seen in the mother country, of the hybrid creature.

Toward the middle of the 6th century a strong Ionian influence is everywhere discernible. This is, no doubt, due to the influx of the eastern Greek colonists who, harassed by the Persians, were abandoning Anatolia. The eastern component is evident in the large number and variety of unguentaria modeled in the shape of korai. The possibilities for duplication inherent in the terra-cotta technique doubtless contributed to the rapid diffusion of fashionable types. The wide distribution, particularly in Sicily, of the terra-cotta busts that in Greece proper were found in any quantity only in Boeotia and the Dodecanese may be due to a connection with funeral rites. Outstanding in workmanship are the busts from Grammichele (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.) in which an unbroken series from the late archaic period to the middle of the 5th century B.C. can be traced. In these the Doric, or perhaps the Corinthian, influence is stronger — in the structural clarity of the face and the accentuation of the eyebrows by means of a ridge and in the use of color. But side by side with these busts occur others that have a strongly Ionian cast. A head of Athena in Agrigento (PL. 66) is an especially lovely example. This is most probably not one of the mass-produced pieces cast from a mold; it is a work modeled by hand to the last detail and probably belonged to a larger group of works, unfortunately lost. Its terse, precise style is strongly reminiscent of the sculpture of Aegina, whose influence was felt throughout the Greek west. Likewise out of the ordinary, indeed worthy of comparison with the best archaic korai from the Acropolis of Athens, is another head from Agrigento. The delicate beauty of the slender face, the mouth curving in a half-smile and the pointed chin, is characteristic of the West Greek masters. There are, however, cruder works as well, such as the head of a kouros in Agrigento, which is obviously related to the Greek kouroi of about 520, for example, in its imitation of the large ringlets over the forehead. More masklike, and in this comparable to the earliest Selinuntine metopes, is a head from Selinunte (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.). On the whole, it seems as if the large terra-cotta figures and heads, for which there were evidently no imported Greek prototypes, represent the indigenous western Greek style most forcefully. This native impulse finds expression above all in the heads from Selinunte, Agrigento, Megara, and Locri.

The kore type naturally played an important role in the terra-cotta sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily. The East Greek type of unguentarium underwent in Gela an interesting change owing to a style of drapery — a gathering up of the garment — that became fashionable about 550, and owing also to the circumstance that the korai bore on their heads a round container, probably for the oil that was to be poured on the grave. About 520 the East Greek type of kore was supplanted by another, basically related to the type common in Chios. The kore was particularly susceptible of variation, and it was modified in the individual cities in accordance with the predominance of Ionians or Dorians. In Syracuse and its environs more linear, pillar-shaped types appeared. In Gela and Akragas the figures were fuller, modeled with greater softness; there was an interesting tendency to render the folds of the skirt as an ornamental pattern. The terra cottas of Lokroi, Kaulonia, and Medma took a direction of their own, seen in the vigorous linearity of their forms and the preservation, well into the 5th century, of these archaic types. In the period of the severe style, the Ionian element seems everywhere to dominate terra-cotta sculpture. This is shown not only by the mass importation into Gela and areas under her influence of peplos figures, such as those made chiefly in Rhodes, but also by the appearance in the neighborhood of Syracuse (Grammichele) of peplos figures that follow the eastern type, with the peplos softly billowing around the body.

Among the most important of the West Greek reliefs is the one from Gela with the bust of a youth, the oval edge of which indicates that it rested on a funerary stele; this relief, in Syracuse, represents a West Greek type nonexistent in Greece, which reappears in the late Hellenistic clay steles from Calvi (A. Levi, *Le terracotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Florence, 1926, pl. 8). The features have a certain affinity with the heads in the "Ludovisi Throne" but, as is often the case in Italiote faces, the lips are more accentuated. The stylization of the curling locks of hair, spread fanwise on the nape, conforms fully to the stylistic taste of the Hellenic west.

After the middle of the 5th century, terra-cotta sculpture undoubtedly made the greatest contribution to the formation of a western Greek style. It even seems as if in this sculpture, which was manufactured in such large quantity, local styles can be distinguished, particularly for the large centers such as Taras, Lokroi, Syracuse, Gela-Akragas, and Selinous. While the statuettes of enthroned goddesses (PL. 74), like the religious images, adhered to a tectonic-hieratic style, the heads of heroes and heroines, especially the bearded and beardless heroes from Taras, show a full measure of the West Greek interest in movement and change. The finest of these heads seem to have been modeled by hand. In any case the curls of the beard and hair were loosely applied in clay, and the modeling marks in hair and eyes reveal the meticulousness of the carving of the faces. These splendid heads from Taras, with the curve of the neck suggesting the forceful motion of the body, are further differentiated from contemporary Greek works by the realism of the features — the forehead furrowed with lines and the eyes thoughtful. A still more definite imprint is in the faces of terra cottas from Medma and Naxos (Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz.), some of which are suffused with melancholy; these heads display the tendency, peculiar to West Greek art, toward individual characterization and the expression of a particular mood. In another large group of heads in the same museum, chiefly of goddesses, the artist's efforts were directed toward endowing the subject with a supernatural beauty. Two heads in Taranto, unquestionably images of goddesses, indicate the intensity of movement that must have animated the bodies. The careful rendering of the diadems, which are similar to one found in Cipriano, leads us to think that we are dealing here with terra-cotta copies of a famous Tarentine cult image. Presumably the votive busts of goddesses wearing the polos (PL. 74) are related to these heads of divinities; they, too, probably reproduce some famous cult image representing the great earth and fertility goddess Persephone. The bloom of the features and the wavy hair make these heads comparable to the most beautiful Syracusan coins of the last decades before the fall of Akragas. Here, too, Greek and Siculan elements are present in varying degrees.

The lavishness of the way in which funerary ritual was developing, known to us mainly through the finds in Taranto,

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led to the formation of completely new types, mostly works executed in relief and without a background, the sharp outlines giving the illusion of three dimensions. The basis for these was the fertile imagination of the western Greeks, which, making full use of the wealth of eschatological concepts, arrived at fantastic motifs and combinations. Thus we see the deceased riding to the next world mounted on a sea horse, on a centaur, on a hybrid monster, or on some fabulous beast. In addition to the type showing the journey to the next world, there is a type incorporating the Ionian idea of the funeral banquet; this had an especially wide circulation in Taras, beginning late in the 6th century but not reaching its peak till the end of the 5th century. The heroized dead rests on a couch (*kline*), before him a table bearing food and drink; sometimes a female figure playing a harp sits at the foot of the couch. It is not yet clear whether these reliefs were votive offerings to heroes or to the dead. Many of them, made from molds, were carefully retouched, and all were once brightly polychromed. What is characteristically West Greek is the overrefinement of the forms, particularly the profiles, and the rather abrupt twist of the torsos of the youths. But it is precisely in this conscious deviation from anatomical accuracy that the delicate charm of these images lies. After these almost budlike creations of the late 5th century, the forms of the later reliefs grow more sumptuous: they are, so to speak, in full bloom. But all are characterized — at least so far as the artistic intention is concerned — by a heightening of the "beauty" of the human face.

The votive pinakes from Locri (PL. 75) illustrate myths that, although clearly woven round the great goddesses Demeter and Kore, remain obscure as to their details, in the absence of a written tradition. But here again it is the poetic invention that makes many of these reliefs unique, for example, the scene of Persephone's companions gathering pomegranates (Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz.). Like all the works executed in the Locri area, these are remarkable for the linearity of the forms. For some unknown reason the custom of dedicating such pinakes was limited to the period 470–450. Whether the relief pinakes were a passing fashion or were produced by specific workshops that then went out of existence, or whether it is simply that finds from later per ods have not yet been made, has not been established.

As in Greece proper, there was a change in the funeral rites near the middle of the 4th century, in southern Italy as well as in Sicily. Instead of the usual terra-cotta images of the great goddesses, graceful figures of maidens were placed beside the deceased. It does not explain this to say that the magnificent tectonic austerity of the earlier figures of enthroned goddesses — known chiefly through examples from Locri, Taranto, and Agrigento — was supplanted by a somewhat too exuberant fashion of modeling, with an occasional appearance of the pathetic, for the later goddesses are marked by the expression of the pathetic and show the full-blown forms of the 4th century. One is reminded of tomb figurines of the Muses accompanying the dead to the afterworld. Sometimes these figures carry a kidskin or a tympanon, in which case it seems more likely that they represent maenads of the Dionysian thiasos; at other times, when they are veiled and dance the *baukismos*, they may be related to the cult of Adonis and Aphrodite. The significance of these beautiful, if overelegant, female figurines was probably no longer known by the end of the 3d century; the earliest are clearly related to the Tanagra figurines. The type spread to Alexandria and northern Greece and, especially in the west, was eagerly taken up and widely circulated. The figurines were continually recast and adapted to local taste through slight variations in pose, attributes, and hair style; the most graceful belong to the 3d century (PL. 78). The vogue reached a peak with the figures in truly rococo attitudes, holding high the *lampadion*, of the period about 200 — as is shown chiefly by the examples from Taranto. With the Roman occupation (209 B.C.), the imagination and refinement of this terra-cotta sculpture seem gradually to have died out; as in the Greek east, in the early 2d century the size of the figures increased, and the poverty of imagination was compensated for by a wealth of movement, of gesture, and of pathos. Comparison with the 3d-century terra cottas shows an unmistakable falling off. At the beginning of the 2d century, more and more figures of winged youths, presumably Erotes, appear. There also appear small gladiators and grotesque figures with wreaths of flowers round their necks, plainly meant to amuse the deceased in the afterworld. This profanation of the afterworld bears testimony to the rapid cultural decline of Taras in the 2d century. Along with these developments there was a clear classicistic trend, a return to earlier types, and an attempt to give terra cottas once more a greater coherence of expression.

The types created in Taras were widely distributed, to some extent in Sicily but mainly in Apulia; indeed, it seems that after the Roman occupation there was a marked Hellenization of Apulia. The influx of Tarentine terra cottas is shown by the finds in Egnazia (anc. Gnathia), Lecce, Canosa, and even in the provincial Campanian cities. If the simple fact of exportation does not account for the appearance of these types resembling the Tanagra figurines, a northward emigration of Tarentine artists is conceivable. It must be remembered that, especially in Etruria, the terra-cotta figures of earlier periods, particularly the heads, in many cases recall the terra cottas of Magna Graecia — most of all, of Taras. Without the influence of Tarentine terra cottas, the early-5th- and 3d-century statuettes from Falerii (mod. Civita Castellana) are unthinkable. The intensification of trade in southern Italy and Sicily as a result of the Roman occupation could also have accelerated an artistic and cultural exchange, whether through traveling artists or through the exportation of matrices and copies of terra cottas. The antefixes found at Fratte, near Salerno, are interesting in this connection; they bear the Tarentine stamp, if in a slightly Italic reworking.

The Tarentine female figurines in clay appear in an entirely new application as decoration on the large terra-cotta askoi that were produced chiefly in Canosa (PL. 78) and Ruvo. The expressiveness of the Canosan terra-cotta sculpture is heightened by the lengthening of the figures, the pathos of the features, and, above all, by the red and blue coloring of individual parts, following the late-2d-century fashion in Sicily, Italy, and Greece.

The terra-cotta busts found in large numbers in Lucera (PL. 78) probably also originated in Taras. Some of these probably belonged to statues. The beginning of this local production can be placed in the early 4th century, but not until the 2d, perhaps even the 1st, did this art develop its own individuality. In some of these busts, there is a blending of the late Hellenistic character of Tarentine models with elements associated with republican Rome. In others occurs a loosening, almost a dissolution, of forms that recalls the Celtic-Italic terra cottas of the Po Valley.

Unfortunately, it is not so easy to form a picture of the no less important terra-cotta sculpture of Sicily. Most of the terra cottas seem to have been destroyed in antiquity as the large cities, particularly Syracuse and Katana, grew up. It is also possible that the burial rites in Sicily in this epoch did not require so great a number of terra-cotta figures. The few brought to light in Syracuse and Agrigento are related to the types already known from Taranto, although with less of the baroque. Only in Centuripe (anc. Kentoripa) have any considerable number been preserved. During the late Hellenistic period the development of this city was marked by an unexpected upswing, but it declined just as rapidly; hence its burials have been preserved till the 20th century. The earliest of the terra cottas that they have yielded are related to the 4th-century busts from Agrigento; most of them, however, can be no earlier than the 2d or 1st century. Generally they are late Tanagraean types. As in Taras, so in Kentoripa the figures increased in size during the 2d century. Particularly favored was the Seilenos with hide kilts, not found, it seems, in contemporary Tarentine sculpture. Soloeis (mod. Solunto) was also an important center of production; this city seems to have had its first period of prosperity in the second half of the 2d century B.C. Most of the terra cottas found here show elongated figures in violent motion, but not outright baroque forms; the impression of powerful movement is obtained chiefly through the stance, in which the free leg of the *contrapposto* is far to the side. Many

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charming figures have survived from the period at the end of the 2d century during which the western Greek cities developed rapidly under Roman rule. In their classicism, however, they go back to types of the 4th and the early 3d centuries.

Highly characteristic of West Greek art are the clay altars that have been found in graves, mainly of Lokroi, Kaulonia, Taras, Kentoripa, and Selinous. Most of them seem to date from the second half of the 6th century. They should probably be understood as connected with ritual practices peculiar to the western Greeks: the type did not exist in the motherland in the 6th century, though it will be recalled that in the 4th and 3d centuries in central Greece, especially Boeotia, Locris, and Thessaly, small and modest altars were put into the graves with the deceased. This custom was very widespread in Magna Graecia and Sicily. Some of the West Greek altars were as much as $15\,^3/_4$ in. wide. It is not known whether they were always put into the grave or whether in some cases they were placed on top of the grave.

For the most part from $3\,^7/_8$ to $7\,^7/_8$ in. wide, the clay altars are virtually always decorated, on the front only, with relief figures. The earliest one that has been preserved has a frontal representation of a quadriga comparable in some respects to those on the Selinuntine metopes. They are decorated primarily with the fighting animals that were part of the symbolism for the great divinities of the underworld, and sometimes with heraldic sphinxes alongside double volutes. One of the most beautiful of the altars, found in Centuripe, has fighting animals in the mature style of the late 6th century. Mythical scenes, such as Herakles fighting with the Old Man of the Sea, are also numerous, as are bacchic scenes with maenads and Seilenoi.

While clay altars seem generally to have gone out of use in the early 5th century, they continued to be popular in the Taras of the early 4th century. Among the most frequently represented themes is a bride sitting on a bed, probably to be understood not as a bride in life but as a bride of death. Other subjects include Aphrodite in a little skiff pulled over the waves by Eros and Psyche. The number of clay altars increased again in the late 3d and the 2d century, but the decorative motifs were limited to playing Erotes and heads of gods emerging from vines.

The Tarentine terra cottas with openwork reliefs that were once brightly gilded constitute a special group (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. LX, 5, 6). Like the Melian reliefs, they probably served to decorate wooden sarcophagi. These too were in vogue for only a short time. It is indicative of the influence of Tarentine art, however, that related types, though in gesso and of poorer quality, were found as far away as the Crimea. Again, these south Russian reliefs seem to have been in use only in the short period from 320 to 280. Since it is to chance or to grave robbing that we owe most of the Tarentine gold reliefs, no remains of the wood of the sarcophagi have ever been discovered. But there can be no doubt that the friezes on the sarcophagi were composed of these reliefs. Nereids on dolphins are favorite themes. Other mythological subjects are represented that probably had an eschatological significance which is not yet understood. A greater number of these reliefs will have to be accumulated before the many problems concerning them can be solved.

*Bronze sculpture.* Not much has been preserved of the bronze sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily which figures so largely in the written tradition. For this reason, and because the trade in bronzes must have been as intense as that in terra cottas, it is difficult to identify the various schools and workshops. Bronzes may have been imported in very early times. Late Geometric bronze horses have been found in Taranto and Syracuse, in tombs dated about 700. Without question the late Daedalic kore in Boston (Mus. of Fine Arts), which is closely related to the head from Laianello in Syracuse and, like it, probably from the late 7th century, is a Syracusan work. There are a greater number of 6th-century works; in fact, many of the really ancient-looking images are actually not so early as they seem. Definitely from the middle of the 6th century is the running winged figure in the British Museum (Jantzen, 1937, pl. 12, no. 46), the head of which is strongly linked to Spartan works; this must be a Tarentine product. The horseman from Grumentum (Br. Mus., 1904, 7–3.1), whose head is reminiscent of Chalcidian vase figures, may also belong to the middle of the century. The sphinxes and Gorgons (Jantzen, 1937, pls. 32, 33), found chiefly in the Syracusan trading area, are later and are related to Corinthian figures. They were probably part of a larger complex, perhaps a tripod similar to those found in Metaponto. The important bronze mask from Taranto probably belongs to the same period (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. xv, 4); the features unfortunately have been too much "beautified" by a restorer. The fine solid-cast figure found in Locri, and evidently made there, is related to Ionian bronzes, perhaps from Samos; special interest attaches to it because a similar terra-cotta figure has been found in the Forum in Rome. This type continued to exist in Etruria as well.

The most significant of the early 5th-century Sicilian bronzes is the *Ephebus* of Selinunte (PL. 71; stolen, 1962), certainly a locally worked piece. Whether this represents a god or is a votive statue of a youth is still to be resolved; the outstretched right hand may have held a bowl, the left a branch or bow. The figure is of a rather high artistic level and thus exemplifies the West Greek style with particular clarity. The bearing differs from that of Greek figures of the mother country, in that it shows more of a turn toward the right and a less organic realization of the body. The asymmetry of the head is so pronounced that its beauty is fully revealed only if it is seen from the proper point of view; its proportions, with the powerful chin and short nose, mark this as a creation of the severe style. The eye inlay, still in place, lends an intensity to the expression that was further enhanced by the eyebrows, once inlaid with copper. The forehead is accentuated by the strands of hair curled round a bronze headband.

A specialty of the bronze workshops of the western Greeks were the figures of youths that served to support circular mirrors; in Greece proper the figures of maidens were generally used for this purpose. It is surely not by chance that these stands are in the form of male figures: the mirrors may not have been destined for daily use by beautiful women but may have had, as has already been conjectured, an eschatalogical significance. Here, as frequently in West Greek art, we may be dealing with a survival of primordial custom. The nude youth in New York (Met. Mus.) with two horses rearing from his shoulders and a female torso emerging from his head is certainly not just a play of fancy: the goddess emerging from the head of a youth is a type known from a related bronze, probably also from south Italy, in Vienna (Kunsthist. Mus.), and from the Cycladic idols of the 2d millennium B.C. Whether this particular bronze was also a mirror stand has not yet been established; several other figures apparently stemming from various workshops definitely were. The youth in Boston (Mus. of Fine Arts) with his hand on his hip bears a strong resemblance in facial features to certain small heads from Medma. The boxers in the British Museum and in Vibo Valentia (Coll. Capialbi) show the influence of the workshop of Pythagoras. Chronologically the last of this kind is the somewhat soft youth with elaborate hair style and an Ionic capital on his head, also in Vibo. One could interpret him as Adonis and thus supply a presumptive explanation of all these mirror stands in the form of male figures. Female figures serving this function are far less numerous: the one in the British Museum, wearing an Ionic chiton, can, because of its linearity, be considered Locrian, as can also the young woman with the ball in Reggio Calabria (PL. 73) and another in Copenhagen (Nationalmuseet). The one in the Kaufmann Collection (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet), which is very close to Argive figures, is perhaps Tarentine. Both the form of the head and the flower blossoming out of the skull to support the mirror are characteristic of Magna Graecia; an additional indication is the triangular base, a feature not usual in the mother country.

Mirrors with a round handle of wood or ivory in place of the human-figure stand were often developed into works of great beauty in Lokroi; related to early-5th-century Ionic examples, these did not appear until the middle of the century.

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The earliest, with a heraldic siren, shows the Locrian stamp with especial distinctness in the calligraphic treatment of the volutes and palmettes unfolding from the haft and in the heraldic aspect of the great wings of the sphinx. Openwork mirrors are common, at times flanked by Ionic columns, representing Aphrodite and Eros (PL. 79) or other divinities.

A type particularly widespread in south Italy is the figure of a youth holding in his hands a shallow bowl, probably for libations. The figure was designed not to stand but to be held horizontally: the offerer grasped the youth's body and poured out the libation. The particular ritual for which these were used, unknown to us, was also widely practiced in Greece proper. This type, whose earliest examples may go back to the last years of the 6th century, very soon assumed rigidly hieratic forms, apparently for ritual reasons. Still, the pose both of the human figures and of the animals held in their arms leads one to conclude that the greater part of them belong to the severe style and that they did not succumb to this rigidity until the late 5th century. Likewise a creation of the south Italian imagination are the figures of youths placed symmetrically at either side of a bronze bowl, bending forward to support the large handles with their hands. The type, which could be Tarentine, includes some of the most perfect examples of nude figures of youths surviving from mid-5th-century Magna Graecia. To this group belong the nude figures, such as the early-4th-century Herakles in London (Br. Mus.), which served as handles for large vases. From Magna Graecia this type no doubt passed to the Etruscans.

The number of votive figures that survived to modern times is not large. One of the most important is the bronze of a youth (whereabouts unknown) whose head reminds one of the kithara player of Pompeii. Two peplos figures, a warlike *Athena* in Naples (Mus. Naz.) and a standing one in London (Br. Mus.), could be Tarentine works in the severe style, as is the magnificent *Orpheus* in The Hermitage, Leningrad. In the last work, the West Greek artist's sense of space is apparent in the way in which Orpheus, playing his lyre, sits on the rock with one knee drawn up high, as well as in the movement of the deep and soft-falling folds of his garment. The same stylistic tendencies, somewhat coarsened, are met with in the weary *Odysseus* in Minorca, unquestionably West Greek, even if executed in Iberian territory. The reclining youth of Este (Mus. Naz. Atestino), which is related to the best of the early Tarentine limestone reliefs, marks the passing of this fine sculpture. Mention has already been made of the workshop that produced the athlete from Adrano (PL. 70), which suggests the influence of Pythagoras, as does the ax-brandishing figure in Washington, D.C. (PL. 70). The transition to the bronze sculpture of central Italy is represented by the bow-stretching *Apollo* from Bari, which is probably early-5th-century (*Iapigia*, I, 1930, p. 366, pl. 1). The *Dioskouroi* in Naples (Mus. Naz.), Lysippian in style, could belong to the artistic circle of Taras; a West Greek origin is suggested by the massiveness of the torsos. The *Hermes* from Lucania (formerly called Basilicata) in the British Museum (*RM*, XLVI, 1931, p. 130 ff.) could also have belonged to the Taras circle. The last important bronze work of which we have even a vague idea is a Nike of Taras, transported to Rome in 209 and reproduced there in terra cottas and in numerous coins of the Imperial age.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. (*Sculptors*). Daidalos (Δαίδαλος; see GREEK ART, AEGEAN). – Klearchos (Κλέαρχος) of Rhegion, by some said to be a follower of Dipoinos and Skyllis or of Daidalos, by others mentioned as a pupil of Eucheiros of Corinth and as master of Pythagoras, unless merely a similarity of names is involved: bronze statue of Zeus Hypatos in Temple of Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, pp. 33, 92). – Perillos (Πέριλλος), or Perilaos (Περίλαος), bronzeworker, perhaps from Akragas: bronze bull for the tyrant Phalaris (570–555 B.C.), an instrument of torture (ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 49). – Simmias (Σιμμίας), son of Eupalamos of Athens, archaic period: statue of Dionysos Morychos in Athens or Sicily (Lippold, GP, p. 91). – Krates (Κράτης), 6th cent., named in a boustrophedon inscription from the tomb of a certain Pasiades, near Terranova in Sicily (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.). – Polystratos (Πολύστρατος) of Ambrakia, active ca. mid-6th cent.: perhaps statue of Phalaris in Akragas (lost; G. Lippold, RE, s.v.). – Patrokles (Πατροκλῆς), son of Katillos of Kroton, perhaps archaic period: statue of Apollo in Olympia (where it still existed at the time of Pausanias), in wood with gilded head, gift of the inhabitants of Lokroi hoi Epizephyrioi (G. Lippold, RE, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 92). – Damemeas (Δαμέας), bronzeworker of Kroton, second half of 6th cent.: statue of the wrestler Milon in Olympia, after 532 (L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v., I). – Damophilos (Δαμόφιλος) and Gorgasos (Τοργασος), terra-cotta sculptors and painters, Sicilian or from Magna Graecia, active in Rome: terra-cotta statues and paintings in Temple of Ceres in Rome, consecrated 490 B.C. (Lippold, GP, p. 91; B. Pace, L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας), bronzeworker of Rhegion or (according to an inscription) of Samos, considered the follower of Klearchos of Rhegion, active 480–448 B.C.: (1) in Olympia: Astylos of Kroton; Euthymos of Lokroi, Mnaseas of Cyrene; Leontiskos of Messana; Kratisthenes, son of Mnaseas; runner; boxer; statue of a "nude with apples"; (2) in Syracuse: *Claudicans*, perhaps Philoktetes; (3) probably in Kroton: Apollo transfixing the serpent with his arrows, reproduced on coins of the city; (4) in Thebes: Eteokles and Polyneikes slaying each other; statue of the lyre player Cleone; seven nude statues and an old man (defenders of Thebes, Tiresias); (5) in Taras: Europa on the Bull; (6) in Delphi: pancratian Perseus (E. Langlotz, Die Antike, VI, 1930, p. 1 ff.; Picard, II, 2, pp. 111–24, 663–64; M. Bieber, ThB, s.v.; Lippold, GP, p. 124 ff.; S. Stucchi, BCom, LXXV, 1956, pp. 3–47; A. de Franciscis, Klearchos, 5–6, 1960, pp. 5–56). – Sostratos (Σώστρατος) of Rhegion, nephew and assistant of Pythagoras (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v., II; Lippold, GP, p. 176). – Akron (Ἄκρων) of Selinous, son of Praton, active at end of 5th cent.: in Delphi, signed base with mutilated inscription for two statues (lost), perhaps Asklepios and Hygieia (L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). – Silanion (Σιλανίων), bronzeworker, placed by Pliny in the Olympiad 113 (328–325) but perhaps active 370–320 B.C.: statue of Sappho in the Prytaneion at Syracuse (see ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN ART). – Lysippos (q.v.).

METALWORK. The production of bronze vessels seems to have been greater in Magna Graecia than in Greece proper, perhaps because of the comparative abundance of minerals in Italy and Sardinia. The influence of metalwork of Magna Graecia on the production of Etruria may also be due to the fact that finished vessels were exchanged for the ore of Etruscan mines. Only two centers of production are known with any certainty: Taras and Rhegion or its surroundings.

No particularly important bronze vessels of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. from Taras have been found; however, it is very likely that the so-called "Laconian" hydrias, which unquestionably originated in Sparta, were also made here. As with the marble and clay sculpture, it is not always easy to separate the Greek from the Magna Graecian elements; still, a hydria from Randazzo similar to the Laconian type, for example, is distinguished from true Laconian work by the softened decoration of the handles. The same distinction is true of the lion hydria from Paestum, not only in the lion bodies that serve as handles but also in the two horse protomas replacing the usual handle mounts on the horizontal handles. Both the use of these animal ornaments and their style is without precedent in Greece proper. These hydrias were very likely made in Magna Graecia, perhaps in Taras. Furthermore, the use of the lion bodies suggests that the magnificent bronze crater from Vix (I, PL. 354) was made in Taras rather than in Sparta. Its exceptional height of 5 ft., 4 1/2 in. and weight of nearly 460 lb. might alone qualify this as the most impressive bronze vase of antiquity. This sturdy container rises from a wide gadrooned foot, with a frieze of applied relief on the neck, showing warriors on foot and in four-horse chariots, and volute handles ornamented with a serpent-tailed Gorgon. Under the volutes stand lions with heads turned menacingly, which recall those on the Paestum hydria. The delicate modeling and broad surfaces of the female figure standing on the sieve also suggest that this crater originated in Taras. While her features are pure Spartan, her soft and elegant figure differs markedly from the statuettes found in Sparta. The mere finding of such bronze craters, called "Laconian" in antiquity, in northern Greece and even in Russia does not constitute an argument against Tarentine origin, since in other works the influence of Magna Graecian art, probably by way of the great ancient trade routes, such as the Egnatian Way, has been ascertained

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in the north Balkan area and south Russia. The Laconian crater was the preferred form in Apulia, both in bronze and the more frequently used terra cotta. Although the form is also found in the mother country, the fact that the best Attic terra-cotta vases of this kind were found in Italy cannot fail to be remarked; and they were certainly made in this style in accordance with the prevailing Italic taste. One particularly elaborate vase (ca. 400 B.C.) in Boston has preserved the rich bronze pedestal that all the vases, both clay and bronze, very likely had. Strangely enough, similar vases — though less fine — were found in Pompeii; perhaps during the early 1st century B.C., in the retrospective atmosphere of the Pasitelean age, vases of this type were simply reproduced in great numbers.

The preeminent bronze workshops of Taras seem to have had somewhat provincial successors. The hydria typical of Nîmes can be explained in type and style only as a derivation from Tarentine work, and the same interpretation holds for a class of hydrias in which the junctures of the side handles had the shape of hands, as in finds from Naples and Paestum. More characteristic of the Italic taste, probably Campanian, is a splendid hydria with a gorgoneion in Naples (PL. 73). The Gorgon, her hair flying, has arms that emerge in nonorganic fashion from her head. The protomas of two horses galloping over her head and the nude youths sitting on the side handles, decorated with palmettes, testify to the rich invention of the West Greek metalworkers. Bronze amphoras from Gela and Monte Casale, works now in Syracuse, are perhaps attributable to the sphere of influence of one of the colonies along the Messana route. Their type does not seem to have existed in Greece but does recall the Northampton amphoras. To the same school, perhaps located in Rhegion, can probably be assigned the magnificent bronze paterae decorated with small buttons, whose handles are sometimes very imaginatively treated, such as those with youths supporting the haft. This form of patera remained common until Roman times in Pompeii, with some even displaying suggestions of earlier types, particularly in the hafts with sirens. These works may have been created by the circle of Pasiteles, which executed works of this kind early in the 1st century B.C. and took inspiration from the best older models. Unfortunately, there are no detailed descriptions of the Tarentine candelabra, which according to literary traditions cost as much as 50,000 sesterces. A tripod (Berlin) found at Metaponto, like one from Speyer and another from La Garenne, could be a product of central Italy, although it is strongly influenced by typical Magna Graecian forms.

The bond between these bronze vessels and those of northern Greece and southern Russia is obvious. Nevertheless, the hypothesis of Züchner (*Wpr*, 98, 1938) — that these fine works all come from East Greek regions — is probably just as erroneous as the supposition that all vases of this type found in the Balkans and southern Russia are Tarentine, for it is impossible to establish from which side the greater contribution came. But it should be pointed out that, notwithstanding clear relationships, the examples found in northern Greece and southern Russia are somewhat different stylistically from those found in Taranto. No Greek city or workshop had a monopoly, and imitations adapted to local taste were produced everywhere. Later, most bronze pails of the Tarentine type were apparently made in Campania as well and even in the Celtic sections of northern Italy and Gaul. The barbarizing of the typical Tarentine decoration is particularly evident in a pail from Waldalgesheim.

The precious vases from Taras give us an idea of the luxury and wealth of the city. Livy (xxvii, 16, 7) relates that the Romans, when they occupied Taras in 209 B.C., seized 3,080 pounds of gold. Although there must also have been substantial gold- and silverwork in Sicilian cities, above all in Syracuse and Katana, very little has come to light beyond the Taras site. Some objects have been found in Himera and Catania, but all these are strongly redolent of Tarentine work. The fine pieces found in Italy, for example, at Ancona and Civita Castellana, all seem to be Tarentine in origin. The upswing in this metal production does not seem to have taken place until the 4th century, when prosperity and luxury were widespread, particularly in Taras. In the Greek world, silver objects from that century are found only in Thrace, around the Propontis, and in the Crimea, while the economic expansion associated with early Hellenism seems to have stimulated the rapid development of metalwork, especially in Alexandria. It might be maintained that the period between 320 and 230 B.C. was the classic period of metalwork. The extensive economic and commercial contacts between Taras and other important metalworking centers, along with the fact that the clay or stucco models used by metalworkers could be transported readily, produced close stylistic ties in 4th-century metalwork between that city and northern Greece and the Pontic littoral. From the 3d century B.C. on, this economic and stylistic interplay included Alexandria and perhaps Syria.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the silverwork found in southern Italy originated in Magna Graecia or was imported from northern Greece; a combination of both sources is most probable. But, in view of its poverty, the Greek homeland of the 4th century B.C. could hardly have been an important center. Northern Greece and the territories along the Pontos, which — like the Orient with which they were continually in touch — preferred votive offerings in precious metals, were given strong artistic impetus by the economic expansion during Alexander's reign. Unquestionably, the toreutic work of southern Italy evidences marked stylistic similarity to that of Thrace; however, more thorough study of the forms reveals the Thracian gold and silver objects as usually inferior to those of Taras and the territories along the Pontos that were under the influence of East Greek centers. The origin of a silver rhyton bearing a "hieros gamos" scene (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. XVIII, 2) found at Taranto remains uncertain. In addition to its similarities to Tarentine works, other qualities relate it to Thrace, so that it may very well be the work of a Thracian artist who emigrated to Taras about 400 B.C. A silver bowl formerly in Bari, and since unfortunately lost, was undoubtedly Tarentine work and must have been created in the first half of the 3d century. One of the most elegant toreutic works of antiquity, it was unquestionably from the hand of a great master. In the middle of the bowl were two lovers, the hero turning to speak with a heroine who irresolutely looked off into space and gracefully gathered up her garment. The attitude of the two figures leaning toward each other, the way in which different states of mind, bearing, and gestures were presented, and the great harmony of the whole have been equaled only in the finest Attic cups from about 500 B.C. Surrounding this scene the artist placed masks, mainly of the New Comedy; in low relief on the outside were heads of griffins and Persian lions, and at the bottom was a finely drawn, star-shaped design of palmettes and acanthus that revealed a decorative sense unrecognized in the art of the mother country but destined to exert great influence in Roman sculpture. The purely ornamental forms of a thurible in the Rothschild Collection are stronger: its frieze of bucrania and the pine-cone form of the cover herald tendencies of Roman art. One of the finest of the Rothschild treasures is a kantharos whose extremely slender and elegant form excludes the early-3d-century date generally assigned but indicates a period of about 200 B.C. instead (*B. van de Vereeniging*, XXXIII, 1958, p. 51, fig. 14). Applied under its handles are putti supporting slender vases on their shoulders, figures that represent a type well known in the terra-cotta sculpture of Myrina about 200 B.C. Of particular beauty is the high-relief garland encircling the neck of the vessel, another ornament that did not develop fully until the onset of Italic Hellenism and in the art of the Imperial Roman epoch.

Belonging to the early 2d century B.C. is a silver pyxis that departs noticeably from the customary Greek form (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. XX). In Greece proper there is no parallel for the squat, rather unharmonious form resting on three lion feet ornamented with sirens. The walls of the vessel are strongly curved outward; the bottom is decorated with a leaf rosette which may be related to Syrian models and which strongly influenced late Hellenistic Megarian and Calene cups. Figures in high relief adorn nearly the entire cover: in the middle a strongly foreshortened Zeus, scepter in hand, turns to Apollo; at the right, Artemis crowns Zeus with a wreath. This pyxis

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is signed by Nikon. The flat dishes with Dionysian couples kissing may also be early 2d century; they recall some of the Gnathia plates. This type survived in Pompeian silver dishes into the Imperial age. A silver hoard from Canosa could perhaps have been executed under Tarentine influence, if not in Taras itself (Wuilleumier, 1939, pl. XXV). These finds stem from the city's golden age, about the middle of the 2d century. Undoubtedly Tarentine is a mirror with a seated half-nude girl, holding in her left hand a comic mask that seems to arouse the curiosity of a small Eros. Next to her is a stele, bound with taeniae, that may have supported the image of a god, while before her on the ground is a second small Eros blowing the syrinx. Nothing but the wings and the bottom half of the body remain of another Eros, dancing on an outcrop above. Delicate leaves and palmettes are scattered over the free surface. The spatial freedom evident in the relationship of the figures to their surrounding area and in the placement and arrangement of the three Erotes is quite characteristic of the late phase of Tarentine Hellenism (ca. 150 B.C.). An interesting fusion of Greek and Italic components is found in a pyxis decorated on both sides with reliefs and bearing the name of the owner or possibly of the creator: "Opakas Sabaleida." The name is that of a Hellenized Iapygian, and the forms also testify to Iapygian influence. One relief tondo shows a Nereid riding on a sea lion; the other, a back view of a Nereid on a sea monster. Both animals, in whose eyes small rubies are set, and the Nereids reveal numerous traces of gilding. Besides these treasures, the Canosa burial held a scepter with a spun-gold staff and two small Nike figures, as well as a gold necklace and an earring in the form of a grape leaf with a bunch of grapes.

Of the same origin as the masterly Tarentine bowl formerly in Bari are two slender oval plates, each with a dancing Nike. These are among the finest examples of early-3d-century metalwork extant, and a comparison with plaster models from Memphis demonstrates the superiority of this work. The use of these plates is not clear; they may have decorated a large cuirass, or perhaps a tropaion, for the dancing Nike gracefully bears the replica of a tropaion on her shoulders. A representation such as this was very likely possible only about the time of the short-lived triumph of the Tarentines before 275 B.C.

The Tarentine silverwork found in Ancona and Civita Castellana may have served to some extent as models for the late Hellenistic silver services in Pompeii and for works of the Imperial era. A silver bowl in Berthouville (Normandy), with the representation of a sleeping nude maenad, recalls a 2d-century terra cotta in Taranto so strongly that more than the simple relationship of motifs seems likely (E. Babelon, *Le Trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville*, Paris, 1916, pl. 15). Toreutic work was easier to copy in metal, for it could be molded and cast. This facility probably explains the pure Hellenistic quality of many drinking vessels from Pompeii, whose relief decoration must still be investigated to verify the sources. Nonetheless, many of the large late Hellenistic basins, volutes, and calyx-craters might well be marble copies made during the Imperial age from famous Tarentine or Alexandrian toreutic works.

CERAMICS. Examination of the vase finds from individual western cities discloses a surprising multiplicity of types and indicates an absolute freedom of trade throughout Magna Graecia and Sicily, above all during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. As early as the 7th century, terra-cotta vessels, differing from other ceramic ware in that their decoration consists primarily of relief work, were apparently being imported and copied in the west. This type was apparently greatly favored at this early date, particularly in Akragas, Gela, and Syracuse, and gradually developed local variations. Most of the well-preserved relief pithoi probably are not prior to the late 6th century. Generally chariot races are represented, but there are also mythical scenes such as Aktaion with the stag. Production of these relief vessels, with their extremely delicate decoration and yellowish slip, seems to have halted in the late 5th century.

A second class of relief-decorated vessels were the so-called "gutti." Their precise use remains a mystery, although they may represent a continuation of the Mycenaean *Bügelkanne* type and thus might have been used to pour oil into lamps. Such gutti, which were distributed throughout the Greek world, commonly display reliefs that mirror important works of art of the late 5th and 4th centuries. This type was also popular in Italic centers, particularly in Apulia and Campania; but only the workshop of Cales has been thoroughly studied as yet. Calene relief vessels, for the most part gutti and omphalos bowls largely of the 4th and 3d centuries, provide a wealth of important sources that were conserved by the handiwork of these classicizing potters (R. Pagenstecher, "Die Calenische Reliefkeramik," *JdI*, VIII, 1909, nos. 112–13, 163–281).

These vessels are interesting as a group in that they illustrate the continuance of forms brought from the Greek mainland and decoration enriched in accordance with Magna Graecian tastes. Truly new and significant achievements occurred at the end of the 5th century and were particularly noteworthy in the rhytons (Naples, Mus. Naz., Cat. Terr., p. 79, figs. 65, 67). Some are so finely executed that they may have been taken directly from silver and bronze models or may even have been the clay models for metalworkers. Their reliefs show the sensitive figures in motion that are found on the best early Tarentine limestone reliefs. A relief crater from Ruvo (Naples, Mus. Naz., no. 21666) and a relief skyphos from Egnazia (Naples, Mus. Naz., no. 16183) are as fine in workmanship as the rhytons; these also seem to indicate a copying of Tarentine bronze or silver vessels.

In the 4th century, higher standards of living and a demand for luxury ware must have increased the production of such relief-ornamented vessels, for vase painting was then in decline. Particularly around Taranto and in Apulia, many vessels with round relief emblems have been found, and the best of them appear to have been gilded in imitation of more costly material. "Eggshell" was widely copied in clay in Apulia; fragments of one particularly fine example are preserved in Taranto. Found in Bitonto, these might be from a copy of another work by the master of the Tarentine bowl, although somewhat diluted in quality through multiple recopying. The round emblems, which favor erotic subjects, were used mostly on clay pyxides (examples in Naples, Lyons, Marseilles, Lecce, Bari). These tondo reliefs also adapt well to use on mirrors, as evidenced by an Etruscan mirror from Tarquinia (Corneto). Round relief emblems were sometimes applied under the vertical handles of hydrias and occasionally were also set on the vessel walls. The wide diffusion and popularity of these exquisite relief emblems, whose matrices were exported, is evident in their somewhat incongruous appearance on locally produced vessels of crude form.

There is a somewhat plump variety of amphoras that form an interesting group among relief vessels (examples in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmus., and Paris, Cab. Méd.; see also *Gaz. Archéol.*, 1881–82, pl. 26, right). These apparently belong to the early 2d century and, like the vases from Alexandria, Canosa, and Centuripe, are covered with a white slip in the fashion of the times. On the belly of the amphoras are Dionysian figures (*Hesperia*, 1947, pl. 67). This type of relief vessel also appeared in Etruria, at times in a somewhat barbarized form.

A group of large bowls from Centuripe are of still another, completely different kind. Their exteriors are most often decorated with built-up wreaths and garlands of clay and at times with relief heads. These works are also probably of the 2d century, like the Canosan askoi, with Medusa heads and Erotes figures applied in relief. The decline in quality of these relief vessels is evident in a fragment depicting a battle on horseback (Met. Mus.).

Like the relief vessels, other ceramic works were imported and copied in Magna Graecia and Sicily, especially during the 7th and 6th centuries. Since even in remote Ischia Geometric vases were produced in the early 7th century, it is reasonable to suppose that they originated in Sicily and Taras as well. It has been shown that as early as the late 8th century a pottery imitating late Geometric vases, especially in the so-called *Flimmerstil* (see GEOMETRIC ART), existed in Syracuse. A similar phenomenon is evident in finds from Megara Hyblaia, Leontinoi, Lokroi, Rhegion, and Ischia. It is clear that this older pottery is related to that imported from the mother country,

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but from its first appearance in the 7th century the qualities typical of West Greek taste began to emerge. The volume of the vases increased, their ornamentation became looser and their decoration richer. These characteristics are particularly apparent in a crater from Syracuse, of Chalcidian form and decorated with a horse. When this Syracusan imitation of Corinthian pottery is compared with that from Etruria, the richer forms and the livelier imagination of the former strike the eye. The Siculan imprint is very strongly present in the vases found in Gela. In this vicinity, Rhodian vases were imported and imitated, and the forms introduced from the mother country were further developed. As far as is known, the production of Leontinoi, Kaulonia, and Lokroi was more meager, and it seems almost as if the imitacions made there were not the work of Greek colonists but of natives who tried to work in the Greek style. Definitely Italiote are the Caeretan hydrias (I, PL. 362), apparently painted by Phokaians, whose forms and decorative scenes became widely influential in Etruria. It is not so easy to define the part played by Taras, perhaps because the city was closer than the others to the mother country, especially with Sparta in the 7th and 6th centuries, and consequently imported goods from all parts of the Greek world.

A great number of Attic black-figured vases have come to light in the west, where they may have been made largely by Attic potters. There is also a possibility that potters and painters made occasional trips to Italy, where they copied favorite vase forms for their Italic and West Greek clients, such as Apulian *trozzelle* (VI, PL. 105), amphoras with ribbon handles, and cups and bowls of bucchero. Understandably, they also adapted the decoration to West Greek taste. Representations such as the Danaïdes on a black-figured lekythos in Palermo are never found in the Greek homeland (C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, pl. 19, 5). The large number of black-figured Corinthian column craters found in south Italy and Sicily, especially within the circle of Corinthian colonization and trade, leads to the assumption that they were made by Attic potters at the request of their West Greek clients, since in the black-figured pottery of Attica their incidence was limited.

Most of the "Chalcidian" vases might have been executed in southern Italy, or they may also have been made in the Chalkis of Euboea, although thus far not a single certain fragment with a Chalcidian design or painting has come to light among the numerous finds in Greece. The hypothesis that their main center of production was situated on the Messana route is supported by the fact that most of the more than 100 fragments known — and among these the finest, such as an unpublished one from Lokroi with a four-winged goddess — were found in the area encompassed by Lokroi, Rhegion, and Syracuse. This production center was probably situated in one of the cities where East Greek and Chalcidian elements mingled, such as the Chalcidian Zankle (later called Messana), colonized by the Samians. In addition to the Chalcidian type of miniature column crater, small pitchers are also numerous. Very likely in order to speed up production and lower the cost, the vessels were only halfway immersed in the slip. Occasionally the representations also differ from those predominant in the mother country: for example, a *paidotribes* with a whip before athletes would be unthinkable in Greece (A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928, pl. 11).

At the beginning of the 5th century this Chalcidian manufactory succumbed to Attic competition. Black-figured vases of typical Chalcidian form continued to be made in Chalcidian workshops, for instance, a Nolan amphora in the Petit Palais (*CVA*, Paris, Petit Palais, pl. 2). It may be, however, that these workshops also made red-figured vases in competition with the Attic ones. The Argos pitcher from Cumae (Naples, Mus. Naz.) differs appreciably, both in the form of the foot and the drawing of the figures, from the Attic style (*JdI*, XVIII, 1903, pl. 2). In vase painting, as in other artistic media, the typical West Greek taste did not crystallize until the mid-5th century. Studies by Beazley, Moone, and Trendall have resulted in identification of the most important red-figured ceramists of this period. These were Attic painters, whose early works were with good reason once considered Attic creations and who may have moved to southern Italy about 450 B.C., on the occasion of the founding of Thourioi, a period in which both coins and terra-cotta sculpture reveal strong Attic influence. The earliest West Greek vases hardly differ from Attic products in form, technique, painting, and the external aspect of the clay.

The Pisticci Painter (PL. 76) and the Dancing Girl Painter initially continued to work in a genuine Attic style. Modern critics have charged them with a lack of imagination, since they always represented scenes of pursuit of youths and young girls, Erotes and maidens — an appraisal that does not concede the fact that they naturally had to adapt themselves to the wishes of their Tarentine and Lucanian clients. These vases are all from tombs and consequently mirror the eschatological concepts of southern Italy. The general provenance of the vases of the Pisticci Painter leads to the belief that this prolific painter settled in Taras or in the vicinity. His preference for the bell crater can probably be attributed to the taste of his clients. The delicate S-shaped line of the soft contours he favored was evidently popular in Magna Graecia until well into the 4th century. An examination of the development of this painter between 450 and 430 shows that both the form of his vases and his designs gradually lost their Attic harmony. A calyx-crater of his late period (Taranto, Mus. Naz.) clearly demonstrates this change in structure and softening of outline. This latter tendency, characteristically Magna Graecian, is even more clearly noted in the works of the Amykos Painter and the Sisyphos Painter, particularly in the realistic reproductions of flaccid male nudes and in the small, realistic features of the female nudes. Above all, the melancholy and at times absurdly ugly faces of the seilenoi differ totally from the Greek models. A gloomy, diabolical expression, present also in the seilenos terra cottas from Sicilian Naxos, emphasizes the peculiarity of the drawing in the Greek west.

During the Peloponnesian War (431–404) western commercial relations with Athens weakened; consequently, the influx of Attic painters to south Italy also seems to have diminished. It was assuredly this circumstance which contributed to the development of local qualities in the painting of Magna Graecia. The cities between Taras and Rhegion that remained on the margin of the conflict developed economically as a result of the war, their progress mirrored in the rapid rise of craftsmanship. Subject matter changed profoundly in this period: Greek myth began to be represented and conceived in a new way by the Italiote artists, and the mythical scene became populated with figures of Pan and seilenoi, whose introduction is probably due to religious or eschatological concepts. The more magnificent figural decorations of the Tarentine vases fall into this period. From this time on, the Laconian volute crater became the favorite form of the Tarentines and the Apulians (PL. 77). In the first decades of the 4th century a highly idealistic, classicizing tendency coexisted with a strongly realistic one, exemplified in the works of the Dionysian Painter.

The Karneia Painter (III, PL. 376) combines formal splendor with an exuberance that at times verges on realism. The coloring is often too unvaried, the bearing at times a bit awkward or stiff. The profiles, with the straight nose nearly continuing the line of the forehead, are a characteristic south Italian element. The gently rounded chin and the overly large eyes differentiate his work from that of his Attic contemporaries. Comparison of his Dionysos crater with a certainly coeval Attic one of the Pronomos Painter underscores the slackened outline and absence of tectonic structure in the former. Still, these qualities do not in the least diminish the magnificence of the composition and the singularity of motifs such as that of the maenad falling prey to Dionysian ecstasy. Moreover, completely new motifs were introduced into ceramics by Tarentine vase painters, in particular the architectural motifs. A representation of Apollo becoming visible in the temple is unique (Wuilleumier, pl. XLVII, 1). Notable spatial effects are achieved by strong foreshortening that is almost in correct perspective. The Dolon Painter developed a style bordering on realistic parody, a vein that had been pursued in Greece from the late 5th century on. His masterwork, a crater depicting the capture of Dolon by

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Diomedes and Odysseus (PL. 76), presents a lively scene, set amid woods represented by means of tree trunks. This device, perhaps inspired by scenic design, could have been adopted only by a Magna Graecian artist. On this crater the taste for the grotesque is not limited to the faces but includes the bodies as well. Since in his second important work — Odysseus offering sacrifices at the entrance to Hades — the painter abstained from such crass characterization and sought to increase the pathetic quality both in the drawing and in the gestures, it is likely that the marked exaggeration of the Dolon scene reflects the *phlyax* farces.

The Sisyphos and Sarpedon Painters evidence another tendency. In their enrichment of the vase form through decoration and in the spatiality and opulence of their figures, they are precursors of the Apulian vase painting that flourished about the mid-4th century. Although interesting artistic personalities can also be discerned among these Apulian painters of the second half of the 4th century, the personal note in their draftsmanship is not so sharp as in the Tarentine painting of the first half of the century. Exaggerating the prevailing artistic taste, they developed the gigantic vases of Ruvo (almost 6 ft. high), which present a pictorial catalogue, yet to be read or interpreted, of mythological and historical themes. A prime example is a representation of the Persian court (III, PL. 381; A. Alföldi, *Late Classical Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, Princeton, 1955, p. 15). This tendency seems to have declined about 300 B.C., and thereafter the representations become conventional. Dissolution of this vase style and production was especially apparent in the occasional replacement of the drawing on the neck by a baroque relief. These so-called "Apulian" vases were produced not only in Ruvo and Apulia but were also imitated in Sicily, at Syracuse. Smaller related vases, chiefly amphoras and Corinthian column craters, also seem to have been made in provincial workshops of Salento or northern Apulia (*CVA*, Lecce, Group IV Dr, pl. 29).

The decline of vase painting in Magna Graecia continued, despite the production of the Apulian painters, which finally came to an end in the early 3d century. The crisis had led some artists to pursue new directions even before the middle of the 4th century. The interest in space, the taste for polychromy, and above all the search for interesting physiognomies led this group of painters more or less to abandon the red-figured style in favor of white or polychrome figures; the first artist to do so was the Konnakis Painter (Rumpf, *MZ*, pl. 45, 1). The nude old woman dancing that is represented on a Tarentine fragment is a masterwork of this painting style and provides an interesting glimpse of the cultural life of this wealthy city already in decline. In the figure of an actor who has just laid aside his tragic mask and stands at the edge of the stage while the public applauds, there is fully revealed the great art of the Konnakis Painter, a master who enlivens his work with highlights and models pictorially through color shading. More naturalistic is a surprising representation of the palace of a king as a setting for the reception of a foreign dignitary, where the similiarity to a theatrical scene is again evident (Rumpf, *MZ*, pl. 44, 1).

While these vase painters abandoned the older outline drawing and moved toward tonal painting, another group renounced figural representations. The emergence of the rich and beautiful production of Gnathia (PL. 76) is attributable to this renewed preference for pure ornament. Rejecting excessive elaboration of vase forms and figural representation, these artists were content with the simple shapes, chiefly pitchers, unguentaria, and bowls. The main ornamentation consisted of tendrils, in white and golden yellow, while figures (e.g., jugglers and Erotes) became rare and were apparently used in localities where taste was more provincial. This type of ceramic work, whose origins date from the early 4th century, is a Magna Graecian creation which has counterparts both in Campania and Sicily. It even seems to have stimulated an analogous production in the Greek mother country in the late 4th and 3d centuries, evidenced by the so-called "West Slope" ceramics found near the Acropolis in Athens and also by objects found in several burials in Anatolia.

The pottery of Lucania and Campania has not been sufficiently studied, and the mere sorting of the various hands distinguishable, artistically rather mediocre, does not lead to any systematic knowledge of characteristic differences among these regional workshops. From an over-all view, it seems that the exchange with the mother country was less fertile here than in Taras. The birth of Campanian painting was perhaps related to the arrival of Attic painters, who set up workshops and eventually fostered the productive Campanian and Lucanian schools of vase painting. The Saticula Painter, most likely an Attic artist who emigrated early in the 4th century, readily adapted himself to the wishes and taste of the Campanians (A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ser. III, Munich, 1910–32, pl. 146).

The vases definitely inspired by the *phlyax* plays, the popular comic spectacles of southern Italy, are among the most important products of Magna Graecian vase art. In antiquity the phlyax vases were so admired that some artists, among them Assteas (PL. 76; III, PL. 417) and Lasimos, signed them. The burlesque costumes, with padded buttocks and exaggerated phalli that at times had to be knotted to keep the actors from treading on them, and the absurd masks, ugly yet full of character, occasionally inspired truly brilliant works. The phlyax vases, probably widespread in the 4th century, particularly in the vicinity of Paestum, unquestionably were also made in Taras, where they reached a high level of artistry. It may even be that the Dolon Painter was one of the originators of this vase type. Phlyax vases different from those of Paestum have been found in Lipari, Cefalù, and Gela; these finds suggest the existence of an independent Sicilian production of this kind (Rumpf, *MZ*, pl. 45, 2, 5).

The rich production of vases in the 7th and 6th centuries must surely have been succeeded by some autonomous vase painting in Sicily during the 5th century, but this has not yet been so thoroughly investigated as the south Italian. Undoubtedly, many vases at present considered Attic could be the work of Attic painters who emigrated to Sicily, such as the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (or Silens). The scene on the vase from which his name is derived, a work from Gela, already differed from the Attic thiasos of the mid-5th century in the obscene and comic aspect of his seilenos figures. The representation on the other side, drawn by another hand, might well remove all doubt, for the assistant — certainly a pupil — who painted the cloaked youths was not Attic but Sicilian. Another figural crater (Palermo, Mus. Naz. Arch.), whose theme is a tired and mournful Herakles next to the dead lion, differs from Attic compositions in the head type, the modeling of the hair, and the over-all composition and could also be a Sicilian work of the mid-5th century (*JdI*, XLIX, 1934, p. 42, fig. 17). A pitcher in Randazzo (Coll. Vagliasindi), with the killing of the Harpies by the Boreades, dates from the end of the 5th century. The artist must have belonged to the circle of the Meidias Painter (q.v.), but the dramatic quality of the motifs is foreign to Greek taste, as are the strong foreshortening, the animation of the faces, and the curly hair. The details of a bell crater from Leontinoi, now in Syracuse, are different; to judge from the characteristic foot, present on black-ground vases as well, it might belong to an eastern Sicilian workshop. The crater is characteristic of the south Italian style in its softly rounded outlines, and the border around the mouth, decorated with a thick olive branch, purposely contrasts with the slender handles. The wavy decoration under the figures, used so extensively in later south Italian vase painting, probably appears here for the first time. The scene with Hermes Psychopompos and a small dancing Eros who leads a girl into Elysium has particular charm. A crater from Canicattini (PL. 76; *NSc*, 1920, p. 25, fig. 2) corresponds approximately to the period of the early Attic Kerch craters in style. The work of a Sicilian painter of about 350 B.C., the scene it presents is of interest technically for the attempt at a perspective rendering of the ceiling of the room in which the rites take place, as well as from the point of view of religious history in depicting the preparation of the initiates on the altar, the blood baptism of a nude girl, and the seated figures near the image of a divinity.

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The drawing of the heads differs from the style of known south Italian painters and recalls the drawings on the Praenestine mirrors and cists, executed by engravers who had studied in this Siculan workshop.

The white vases found in Canosa and in other cities of Apulia, generally pitchers and askoi, have not yet been adequately studied. They were covered with a chalky slip and at times decorated with terra-cotta figures of the Tanagraean type, winged or wingless, and enriched with Gorgons and protomas. Their painting is in delicate pinks and light blues. Apparently this workshop was located in the area around Canosa and probably developed in the 3d century B.C., although most of the surviving vases seem to belong to the 2d century. In general, they are misinterpreted as the baroque degeneration of a provincial artistic strain. More thorough examination of the traditional figure types that recur might help to disclose the relationship between this representational world and eschatological concepts known to have been strongly rooted in southern Italy and Apulia. In the eastern Mediterranean area, vases with white engobe applied were also fashionable in the late 3d and the 2d centuries. In Alexandria, hydrias were the preferred form for such decorative treatment, while in the mother country and Asia Minor strangely squat lagynoi were customarily selected (Rumpf, *MZ*, pl. 54, 7). The latter type of pitcher also appears sporadically in Campania, but it was only in Kentoripa that it had wide diffusion and a particular vogue in the 2d and 1st centuries. More exhaustive study of these late Hellenistic vases in particular might indicate the extent to which Magna Graecian ceramics of this period depended on the lively cultural and artistic exchanges with the east. White-ground vases were also made in Taras and Boeotia.

The most important products of the late flowering of vase painting in Sicily are the funerary vases of Kentoripa, in some degree related to the ceramics of Canosa, though they nonetheless differ fundamentally in form and figure types. The scenes on these vessels, found in and made for tombs, express the wealth and complexity of the eschatological concepts of their milieu. The Kentoripa workshop probably began its activity in the late 3d century and continued until the 1st century, producing mostly calyx-craters that most likely served as cinerary urns, as well as some flat bowls with flattened conical covers. Usually they were decorated with superposed clay ornaments, and at times with relief heads and flowers (PL. 78; III, PL. 138, Centuripe). In the end such pottery degenerated into senseless ostentation. Still, vases of the early 3d century have a ceremonial beauty of their own, and the representations on calyx-craters and bowl covers give an idea of the importance of 2d-century painting. Apparently these scenes, or their models, influenced the Pompeian wall painting of the so-called "Style II." The most impressive of the vases represents Dionysos and Angelos. Others have female musicians, or are decorated only with painted heads, which perhaps represent the features of the deceased. Roundels with similar portraits have also been preserved, interesting in that they herald the *imago clipeato*. Unfortunately, modern restorers have so reworked them that their documentary value is very limited; they may even be modern forgeries (V, PL. 233), since all the examples apparently came from a single excavation (G. E. Rizzo, *MPA*, Centuripe, 1940).

ARTISTS (*Vase painters*). *Apulia*. Pisticci Painter, second half of 5th cent. B.C.: attributed 68 vases. – Amykos Painter, 430–400 B.C., active in workshop of Pisticci Painter: attributed 118 vases. – Dancing Girl Painter, 425–400 B.C.: attributed 13 vases, 1 fragment. – Sisyphos Painter, 425–400 B.C., active probably in Taras: attributed 21 vases. – Karneia Painter, belonging to group of Sisyphos Painter: attributed 1 vase. – Hearst Painter, circle of Dancing Girl Painter and Sisyphos Painter, early 4th cent.: attributed 12 vases, 3 fragments. – Sarpedon Painter, from workshop of Sisyphos Painter, 410–380 B.C.: attributed 5 vases, 1 fragment. – Dionysian Painter, known also as Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, direct successor to Sisyphos Painter, 410–380 B.C.: attributed 8 vases, 1 fragment. – Ilioupersis Painter, follower of Dionysian Painter, first half of 4th cent.: attributed 7 vases. – Lykourgos (Lycurgus) Painter, follower of Dionysian Painter, 350–225 B.C.: attributed mainly 7 vases, 1 situla. – Darius Painter, or Painter of the Persians, under the influence of Lykourgos Painter, last third of 4th cent.: attributed 6 vases. – Mythological Group, late 5th–early 4th cent.: Painter of Ruvo 1091; Painter of the Statue; Bendis Painter; Perseus Painter; Painter of the Theatrical Rehearsals; Painter of London F181–2; Judgment Painter; Amymone Painter; Ariadne Painter. – Tarporley Painter, early 5th–first two decades of 4th cent., derives from Sisyphos Painter: attributed 26 vases. – Group of the Tarporley Painter, ca. mid-4th cent.: Painter of Lecce 686; Painter of Bologna 497; Copenhagen Cork Group; Painter of Karlsruhe 39; Group of Madrid 11085; Painter of the Fat Duck; Eton-Nike Painter; York Painter; Painter of Bologna 428; Painter of the Long Skirts; Painter of Bari 1364; Painter of Athens 1714; Painter of Athens 1680; Painter of Bologna 589; Painter of Copenhagen 335; Painter of Vatican V5; Painter of the Musée Rodin; Skiron Painter. – Hoppin Painter, late follower of Tarporley Painter, 380–370 B.C.: attributed 7 vases. – Lecce Painter, late follower of Tarporley Painter, first quarter of 4th cent.: attributed 14 vases. – Hoppin-Lecce Group, 4th cent.: Eumenides Painter (?); Marburg Painter; Valletta Painter (?); Bucranium Group; Painter of Munich 3269; Painter of Sydney 46–48; Painter of Sydney 64; Lecce Group; Truro Group (derived from the Truro Painter); Thyrsos Painter; Berkeley Painter; Lampas Painter. – Truro Painter, late follower of the Tarporley Painter, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Konnakis Painter, before the middle of the 4th cent.: attributed 2 fragments. – Stoke-on-Trent Group, late 4th cent.: attributed 19 vases, 3 covers. – Group of London F339, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 6 vases. – Kantharos Group, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 35 vases, 2 covers, 3 plates. – Group of Bologna 1366, related to Kantharos Group, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 3 vases. – Brunswick Group, dependent on Kantharos Group, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Group of Reading 51.7.13, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Toronto Group, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases, 1 cover.– Group of Taranto 2996, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 8 vases. – Amphorae Group, close to the contemporary Group of Taranto 2996: attributed 8 vases. – Copenhagen Group, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 8 vases. – Group of Lecce 866, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Painter A of the Heroa Group, 340–330 B.C.: attributed 5 vases. – Painter of the Flat Noses, 330–320 B.C.: attributed 6 vases. – Gnathian pottery: Xenon Group, late 5th cent.: attributed 59 vases; Red Swan Group, 4th cent.: attributed 19 vases, 3 plates.

*Lucania*. Dolon Painter, successor of Pisticci and Amykos Painters, 5th–4th cent.: attributed 25 vases. – Creusa Painter, successor of Pisticci and Amykos Painters, late 5th cent.–ca. 360 B.C.: attributed 43 vases. – Choephori Painter, student of Creusa Painter, perhaps active in Armento, 360–330 B.C.: attributed 32 vases, 1 fragment. – Primato Painter, second half of 4th cent., perhaps student of Lykourgos Painter and active in Armento: attributed 48 vases. – Painter of Naples 1959, influenced by the contemporary Primato Painter: attributed about 50 vases. – Roccanova Painter, second half of 4th cent.: attributed about 50 vases.

*Campania*. Atticizing Group, early 4th cent. B.C.: attributed 9 vases. – Painter of Vatican U51, early 4th cent.: attributed 9 vases. – Group of London F525, 4th cent.: attributed 5 vases. – Owl-Pillar Group, 4th cent.: attributed 62 vases. – Possibly Capuan workshops: Cassandra Painter, second quarter of 4th cent.: attributed 5 vases; Capua Painter, first half of 4th cent.: attributed 9 vases; Parrish Painter, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 8 vases; Group of London F500, very close to the Parrish Painter, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 6 vases; Earring Painter, companion of Cassandra and Parrish Painters, first half of 4th cent.: attributed 10 vases; Ixion Painter, late 4th cent.: attributed 18 vases. – Archer Group, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 6 vases. – Workshop of Avella: Avella Group, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 30 vases; Danaïd Painter, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 18 vases; Frignano Painter, companion of Danaïd Painter: attributed 6 vases; Painter of London F196, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 3 vases; Manchester Painter, 330–320 B.C., influenced also by Cumae Group: attributed 17 vases. – Group of Capua Boreas, last quarter of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Painter of Catania 737, last quarter of 4th cent.: attributed 3 vases. – Plouton Painter, late 4th cent., attributed 2 vases. – Ghost Painter, late 4th cent.: attributed 9 vases. – Workshops of Cumae: Cumae A Painter, or Group, 350–325 B.C.: attributed 49 vases; Painter of New York 1000, companion of Cumae A Painter and Ready Painter: attributed 13 vases; Ready Painter, very close to Cumae A Painter, 350–325 B.C.: attributed 9 vases; A.P.Z. (Apulianizing) Painter, active particularly in last quarter of 4th cent., worked in shop of Cumae A Painter: attributed 26 vases; Nicholson Painter, last quarter of 4th cent., companion of A.P.Z. Painter: attributed 4 vases; Rhomboid Group, including Branicki Painter (4th–3d cent.: attributed 9 vases) and Painter of London F229 (4th–3d cent.: attributed 4 vases). – Barbarized Vases, late 4th cent.; Siamese Painter, attributed 7 vases; Majewski Painter, attributed 3 vases; Vitulazio Painter, attributed 3 vases; Riccardi

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Painter, attributed 6 vases. – Head-Cruet Class, early 3d cent.: attributed 14 vases. – T.T. (Teano-Tübingen) Group, first quarter of 3d cent.: attributed 8 vases. – Kemai Group, first quarter of 3d cent.: attributed at least 36 vases. – Possible Siceliote workshops: Leontinoi Group, related to Cumae A Group, last third of 4th cent.: attributed 19 vases; Lipari Group, related to the contemporary Leontinoi Group: attributed 5 vases.

*Campanian or Paestan.* Caivano Painter, ca. 330–300 B.C.: attributed 19 vases, 2 fragments. – Painters close to the Caivano Painter: Errera Painter, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 8 vases; Group of London F223, ca. mid-4th cent.: attributed 2 vases; Group of Oxford 459, shortly after middle of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Lloyd Painter, third quarter of 4th cent.: attributed 2 vases. – Paestanizing Group, 4th cent.: attributed 10 vases.

*Paestum.* Revel Painter, first half of 4th cent. B.C.: attributed 6 vases, and perhaps another from Lipari. – Dirce Painter, first half of 4th cent.: attributed 8 vases. – Sikon Painter, of Dirce Painter Group, early 4th cent.: attributed 6 vases. – Lasimos (Λάσιμος), ca. mid-4th cent.: 1 signed amphora. – Assteas ('Ασστέας), active probably in Paestum ca. mid-4th cent.; created "Paestum style." Signed works: 1 lekythos (ca. 350 B.C.); 1 bell crater; 3 calyx-craters; fragments of a calyx-crater. Attributed: 22 vases (4 vases doubtful). – Altavilla Painter, appertaining to group of Assteas, 360–320 B.C.: attributed 28 vases. – Python (Πύθων), Assteas group, 350–320 B.C. Signed works: 1 bell crater. Attributed: 64 vases, 1 fragment. – Boston Orestes Painter, student of Python, 330–310 B.C.: attributed 33 vases. – Painter of Naples 1778, of the group of Python and Boston Orestes Painter, last quarter of 4th cent.–early 3d cent.: attributed 57 vases, 1 cover. – Painter of Naples 2585, late 4th–early 3d cent.: attributed 43 vases. – A.P.Z. Group (Apulianizing), late 4th–early 3d cent.: attributed 2 vases, several bottles, 2 fragments. – Painter of the Folded Cloak, second half of 4th cent.: attributed 9 bottles.

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PAINTING. Painting in the west, widely employed but unfortunately now scantily represented, was especially fine in quality. By the end of the 5th century, Magna Graecian vase painting was clearly distinguishable from that of the mother country. In general, the West Greek paintings show more interest in space and foreshortening and often convey relationships of architecture, figures, and landscape. Among the more accomplished painters were Demophilos of Himera, who was probably active in the mid-5th century, since literary sources mention him as the master of Zeuxis (q.v.). He is perhaps to be identified with the Damophilos who worked with Gorgasos on the Temple of Athena (Ceres?), thereby carrying the influence of Sicilian and Magna Graecian art to Rome. More is known about Zeuxis of Herakleia, though with which Herakleia he is to be associated remains a mystery. In any case, it is certain that the high point of his work was reached at the end of the 5th century, when he painted in the palace of King Archelaos of Macedonia (413–390 B.C.). Since he is mentioned in conjunction with Parrhasios, he must have been one of the greatest painters of antiquity. It is difficult to form any idea of most of his works, among which have been listed a Zeus, an Eros, a bound Marsyas, Penelope, an athlete, and an old man. Some idea of his portrayal of Herakles strangling the serpents can perhaps be gathered from representations on Theban coins. Particularly famous was a painting of Helen in Kroton, preserved in the Temple of Hera Lacinia. Lucian also gives us a description of a family of centaurs by Zeuxis, of which he had seen only a copy, however. If his description is to be acknowledged as something more than a literary invention, the centauress must have been lying in a field, suckling her infants, while a centaur with a lion cub in his hand leaped down from a hill behind her. Here, too, as in south Italian vase painting, landscape elements were probably indicated. The description of the old centaur, wild and hairy, laughing and leering in an animal-like way, recalls the heads of the seilenoi and centaurs on Tarentine vases of about 400 B.C., and the exaggerated size of the heads referred to in his paintings also agrees with these Tarentine vase paintings. Zeuxis was famous especially for his use of chiaroscuro, a natural consequence of the special interest of West Greek artists in foreshortening and pictorial effects, and in which he was apparently preceded by Apollodoros of Athens.

It can be assumed that the burial chambers, particularly in Taras, in Apulia, and around Syracuse and Naples, were decorated with wall paintings as in Etruria, even if little has survived. A tomb with wall paintings was reputed to have been found at Taranto in 1916; however, this was destroyed before it could be salvaged. According to the verbal description of Paolo Orsi, its paintings were Polygnotan in type. Modest sarcophagus paintings, such as one from Vassalaggi (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.; Pace, II, 1938, p. 156), and those on the funerary cippi yield little information. A battle scene mentioned in the sources, which was in the Temple of Athena in Syracuse, may perhaps have resembled the painting of a battle of Amazons on an Etruscan sarcophagus in Florence (*JHS*, IV, 1883, pls. 36, 37). Stylistically, this seems so un-Etruscan and so close instead to Tarentine vase painting that it can perhaps supply some idea of Tarentine wall painting of about 400 B.C. Still unpublished are wall paintings that formerly decorated the chamber tombs of Taras, dating from the 3d and 2d centuries. Although no longer available for study, these works are documented by water colors executed at the time of their discovery and by the excavation journals. There is information that painted portraits of the Sicilian tyrants existed in Syracuse earlier than elsewhere, and this seems plausible, since the painters of Magna Graecia and Sicily showed a marked tendency to individualize faces as early as the late 5th century. A representation of an actor, a work now in Würzburg, might well be considered a portrait. The frescoes in Naples, no doubt from a 3d-century Gnathian tomb and preserved only in fragments, must have been paintings of fine quality (*RM*, XXVII, 1912, pl. 4). A hypogeum in Naples is decorated with excellent paintings that correspond to the Pompeian Style I and presumably belong to the 2d century B.C. The wall paintings of the burials of Ruvo (III, PL. 299; V, PL. 45), Canosa, and Paestum (PL. 72) are provincial by comparison and belong to the Apulian or Lucanian school. The same provincial taste is found in small *naiskoi* in Palermo, from tombs in Lilybaion, representing the deceased at the funeral banquet and having Greek and Punic inscriptions. They were inspired by the fashion of the tomb naiskoi documented in Greece, particularly in Pagasai, in the 2d century.

Only the Odyssey landscapes from the Esquiline (PL. 180; *RM*, LII, 1937, p. 38) can be considered to exemplify pure West Greek painting. Their Greek inscriptions testify that they were painted by Greek artists. The themes — the wanderings of Odysseus — fall within the province of West Greek mythology, but the specific characteristics that mark them as West Greek are the spatial conception of the scenes, the importance of landscape in relation to the human figures, the taste for perspective foreshortening, and figures painted almost in grisaille. In contrast to Alexandrian and East Greek landscape painting, in which landscape and architectural elements function only as a scenic backdrop, those of the Odyssey paintings constitute the first examples of western heroic landscape.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. (*Painters*). Damophilos (Δαμόφιλος) and Gorgasos (Γόργασος), also coroplasts, Sicilian or Magna Graecian, active in Rome: paintings in the Temple of Ceres, consecrated 490 B.C. (Pfuhl, I, nos. 538, 542; Lippold, GP, p. 91; B. Pace, L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v. Damophilos). – Sillax (Σίλλαξ) of Rhegion, active probably at beginning of 5th cent. in Phlious (Room of the Polemarchs) and perhaps also in Sicily (G. Lippold, RE, s.v.). – Demophilos (Δημόφιλος) of Himera, according to some, the master of Zeuxis, perhaps to be identified with architectural theoretician of the same name, active ca. mid-5th cent. (ThB, s.v.; Pfuhl, II, nos. 741, 747; L. Forti, EAA, s.v.). – Zeuxis of Herakleia (q.v.). – Polyeidos (Πολύειδος), or Polyeides, active in Sicily ca. 400 B.C. (G. Lippold, RE, s.v., no. 13).

MOSAICS. For a long time it had been accepted that the mosaic technique known in Mesopotamia (see MOSAICS)



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first appeared in the Greek world in Sicily, where it was subsequently developed. Other discoveries have modified this opinion, however, for it seems that Magna Graecian mosaic artists worked in Thessaly and northern Greece. A mosaic from Epidamnos seems to be of certain Magna Graecian origin, since it has a female head that closely approximates 4th-century Apulian motifs. Similar mosaics have been found in Motye. From Soloeis, at its zenith in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C., there are a number of surviving mosaics and wall decorations; just how typically Sicilian these are cannot be determined. A mosaic in Palermo from Palaiopolis (Pace, II, 1938, p. 180, fig. 167), commonly thought to be typically Magna Graecian, does not appear so to this writer. In general, with the officially sanctioned Romanization under Augustus, the taste for the Greek was in decline. There still must have been Magna Graecian artists, but probably not with styles distinct from the prevailing Roman. Thereafter, in the 2d and 3d centuries of our era, Sicily seems to have been strongly influenced by the flourishing North African provinces, particularly Mauretania. The degree to which the late-4th-century mosaics in Piazza Armerina are Sicilian or Magna Graecian has yet to be determined. Perhaps they are even Byzantine or Alexandrian, since the architecture found there seems neither Italic nor Roman.

COINS. The coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia are among the most beautiful of the ancient world. In the west, copper coinage was introduced much earlier than in Greece proper, as early as the mid-6th century B.C. The oldest West Greek coins are the oblong bronzes with the eagle head from Akragas, found together with small pieces of copper that did not have the customary round form of the coin but rather that of Oriental cylinder seals. Gold coinage, still rare at the beginning of the 5th century, was also introduced earlier in the west than in the mother country: only the gold messenion in the Pennisi Collection in Acireale and coins from Cumae and Syracuse can be cited. Incuse coins are characteristic of the Achaian colonies of southern Italy, particularly Sybaris, Metapontion, Poseidonia, and Kaulonia. Their form — a thin disk, on one side concave and on the other convex, and all bearing the same image — can be explained only by the likelihood that the places issuing them did not find it desirable to give small-value coins the tiny size sometimes used in Greece for the drachma and the obol.

Unlike the mother country, the cities of the west placed particular value on more elaborate and distinctive coins. The beauty of Sicilian and Magna Graecian coins gave them a propaganda function as well, and cities that had a stable economy and solid financial standing varied their coin type very little. The most beautiful Siculan coins were struck after the victory of the Syracusans at Himera in 479 and on the Asinaros in 413, and by the Akragantines after their victory over the Carthaginians in 410. Early in the 3d century B.C. the coins of southern Italy already mirrored historical events. Thus, about 270, Lokroi issued coins displaying the Fides (Pistis) to commemorate a pact with Rome. Designations of value, found first on the copper coins of Syracuse, Akragas, and Gela, must have been required in the west for trade with the Italic peoples.

It has not yet been possible to ascertain whether the artists who created coin types were natives or wandering artists, or if the various types were imported from the mother country. The close artistic and cultural ties of Syracuse and Taras with their respective metropolises in the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. suggest the possibility that both coins and dies were imported from the mother country. In this event, the similarity of the coins of Velia (Elea) to those of Pherai, and the ones of Medma to those of Iolkos (near mod. Volos), should not be overlooked. Numerous stylistic affinities between coins of the eastern and western Greek territories can be discerned elsewhere; hence it is probably not merely coincidental that, after the occupation of Zankle-Messana by the Samians, the head of the bull on the coins of the Sicilian port became similar to the bull heads on Samian coins. The earliest coin types were probably created in the cities that excelled in metalwork and glyptics, such as Corinth. Attic artists may also have produced some prototypes, for example, the oldest and most beautiful coins with Apollo, from Leontinoi.

Artistic stimuli from Greece proper were swiftly and effectively developed in the west: the magnificent Syracusan coins form the most revealing series created in Sicily and Magna Graecia. The carefully controlled issue and great variety of types indicate how much in demand Syracusan coins must have been. It is still not clear why the oldest Syracusan coins bore a small head inserted in the middle of the incuse square, following a practice no longer current in the Greek coins of the period (ca. 530; Boehringer, 1929, pl. I). The oldest of these coins recall East Greek models, both in their heads (I, PL. 375) and in the representation of the Nike's chariot, while those of a slightly later date, with the inscription "Syrakosio" instead of "Syra," are of a more modest, probably Corinthian, type. Because of its thriving economy, Syracuse long retained on her coins the head of Arethusa and the quadriga (III, PLS. 384, 394, 397), but the stylistic variety in the heads is nonetheless extremely interesting. The Syracusans seem to have sought engravers from the most diverse cities. The similarity of the heads of Arethusa (Boehringer, 1929, pl. III, 50) to those of the Euphronios bowl by the Panaitios Painter (Louvre; A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ser. I, Munich, 1900–04, pl. 5) is so strong that it implies some bond with Attic art, unless an Attic vase painter had simply created the sketches for these West Greek coins. In some coins the facial characteristics are decidedly Doric (Boehringer, 1929, pl. VIII, 209), whereas other heads have a clear East Greek profile, and the beaded treatment of the hair testifies in favor of a bond with Ionian art (Boehringer, 1929, pl. III, 65, 66, 70). Besides these masterworks, quite ordinary types (Boehringer, 1929, pl. VII, 163) are found, with varied stylistic elements poorly integrated, for example, a coin with a head surrounded by dolphins, disproportionately short legs on the horses, and sloping profiles.

The coins of Katana evidence a similar variety of facial types. Here, too, it is amazing to see, side by side with the magnificent head of Apollo, issues in which the head of the god exhibits qualities provincial and un-Greek in the accentuated slant of his profile as well as in his expression. In Syracuse, particularly, there were extraordinarily flat and unusually linear coin types, which recall heads on the reliefs of Lokroi and which might mean that the engravers came from the area colonized by the Achaians. After the Persian Wars, the style of the Arethusa heads no longer varied so greatly, and from then until the end of the 5th century an unrivaled series of coins was developed.

The Syracusan artists playfully adapted the customary insertion of a head or a figure in the circle of the coin by the balancing effect of dolphins encircling it. The coins of Syracuse in particular afford a comprehensive view of artistic development from the archaic through the severe and classical styles up to the Grecian "baroque." As so often occurred in Greek art, when an artistic type achieved its finest expression, the pride of the artist was expressed in a signature. Especially in the late-5th-century coins, either the names of masters (e.g., Euainetos, Kimon, Phrygillos, Eumenes, Herakleidas) are set down or a definite artistic personality is recognizable in the individual coins. This is particularly true of the decadrachmas. Occasionally the engravers used only their initials or a symbol: Phrygillos, for example, incised a finch. The signatures of some artists on Syracusan coins also clearly indicate that they worked for several cities: Phrygillos, for instance, also engraved coins for Terina, Metapontion, and Thourioi. Next to the restrained, mature classic facial features of Euainetos (III, PL. 384) and Eumenes, the heads of Kimon, with their billowing hair, are exaggeratedly expressive and almost baroque. The beauty of the heads of Arethusa fired the enthusiasm of the engravers of Greece itself to such a degree that, transformed into Demeter, the type was copied on coins of Locris Opuntia and Pheneos. Larisan coins were designed to emulate the beauty of the Syracusan models. The sense of space in West Greek art resulted in more frequent use of the three-quarter view than prevailed in the Greek motherland. A splendid head of the early

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classical period is represented on a coin of Gela; similar heads are often found on coins of the years 413–410 by Kimon. The late head of Apollo by Herakleidas, with the god represented almost full face, seems to have been similarly inspired, but Herakleidas lost himself in the details of the hair and never attained the magnificent effects of Kimon. This novel presentation, contrary to the usual artistic types of coin decoration that reproduced a frontal god's head, was then taken up in the motherland on the coins of Ainos. The splendid Syracusan coinage of this period was considered the "classic" standard even in antiquity, that is, from shortly after 400. Carthaginian engravers imitated these coins, but in the Punic examples a certain coldness and hardness is evident.

The influence of the Syracusan coins is also illustrated by the fact that casts of these coins were frequently used to decorate bowls, especially in Teanum Sidicinum and Cales and in other cities of central Italy. Indications of this high standard can be found in 4th-century Neapolis (PL. 80), and from Campania the influence spread throughout central Italy. On the tetradrachmas of Eumenes (425–413), the characteristic feature of rearing or galloping horses is first encountered; later this motif appears frequently on coins of the Roman Republic (Rizzo, 1946, pl. 42). In the 4th and also in the 3d century, Syracusan coins became increasingly simple and modest, losing some of their former exuberance and elaboration.

The period of greatest refinement in the coinage of the other cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily was not the outcome of political circumstance, nor did it have a duration equal to that of Syracuse, even though coins of great beauty were produced everywhere between 450 and 350. Some late-5th-century coins from Akragas compare with the Syracusan ones: the eagles tearing a hare to pieces (III, PL. 397), with an energy almost overflowing the limits of the coin itself, are the expression of a brief, heady victory of the city. The coins of Metapontion, much more restrained in both form and expression, are ornamented with delicate heads of Demeter, evidently created by an Ionian artist, who also cut the models of many coins for Terina. The coins of Kroton (III, PL. 396) with the three-quarter head of Hera, inspired by a painting of Zeuxis or perhaps by the coinage of Pandosia, are more closely related to the Syracusan art of the late 5th century. The coins of Thourioi and Herakleia preserved some of the restraint and force inherent in those of the motherland.

A certain formal austerity, analogous to that of the coins of Metapontion, is also dominant in Catanian coins, distinguished for linear terseness and an almost classic execution of profile. Coins of other localities are more ordinary and provincial, since many cities do not seem to have cared whether their coins were in great demand. The coins of Gela (PL. 80) can be identified by their flat relief and accentuated linear stylization. In the coinage of cities less Greek in cast, such as Enna, Segesta, Himera (III, PL. 395), and Cumae, the strongly slanting Italic profile reappeared. Of additional interest is the fact that typically Punic cities such as Motye (*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, II, parts I–II: The Lloyd Collection, London, 1953, pl. I, 11, 39) seem to have taken the coins of Kolophon as models.

The coinage of Sicily and Magna Graecia reached a classic peak at the end of the 5th century, with perfect correspondence between the representation and the round form of the coin. One of the most successful subjects is that of Herakles fighting the lion (III, PL. 384), found on the coins of both Syracuse and Herakleia. The figures, placed in the tondo with ease and naturalness, have such beautiful modeling that it may be assumed that the sketch was the work of a great toreutic artist, perhaps even a sculptor. This Herakles type was thereafter adapted in the decorative arts and survived in more modest form in the terra cottas of central Italy (*AAnz*, LXXI, 1956, col. 447, fig. 159). The coin types of the 4th century continued to be inspired by the 5th-century elaboration, with only slight modification. After their occupation of the Greek cities, the Romans generally preserved the existent designs, but their versions do not seem to have retained the vitality, forcefulness, and beauty of the originals. As with the other arts, coinage also entered a period of decline.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. (*Coin engravers*). *Akragas*. Myr[. . .] (Μυρ[. . .]), active ca. 413–411 B.C. (Regling, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 89, pl. II, 5–6). – Polykr[. . ] (Πολυκρ[. . ]), integrated into Polykr[ates] or Polyk[leitos], perhaps native of Elis, active 412–406 (Rizzo, 1946, p. 88, pl. II, 2–2a). – *Kamarina*. Eche[. . .] (Ἐχε[. . .]), active 420–405, identified by Forrer with Exakestidas (Rizzo, 1946, p. 49, pl. V, 10). – Eukleidas (see below under *Syracuse*). – Euainetos (Εὐαίνετος), active in last quarter of 5th cent. in both Syracuse and Katana, probably pupil of Eumenes (A. Gallatin, Syracusan Dekadrachms of the Euainetos Type, Cambridge, 1930; Rizzo, 1946, pp. 98, 199 ff., pls. VII, XIV, XLII; L. Breglia, EAA, s.v.). – Exakestidas (Ἐξακεστίδας), active 420–405 (Weil, ThB, s. v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 94 ff., pl. V, 11–13, 16; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v.). – Yl[. . .] (Ὑλ[. . .]), uncertain name, active 420–405 (Rizzo, 1946, p. 97, pl. VII, 3–4). – *Katana*. Kra[. . .] (Κρα[. . .]), active ca. 430 (Rizzo, 1946, p. 105, pl. X, 9). – Choirion (Χοιρίων), active 413–403 (Weil, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 111 ff., pl. XIV, 13 ff.; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v.). – Euainetos (see above under *Kamarina*). – Herakleidas (Ἡρακλείδας), active 413–403 (Regling, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 210 ff., pl. XIV, 1–3, 10–11; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v., no. 1). – Prokles (Προκλῆς), active in Naxos also, late 5th cent. (Rizzo, 1946, p. 112, pl. XIV, 16; p. 156, pl. XXVIII, 25). – *Himera*. Kimon the Elder (Κίμων), active perhaps in Himera ca. 440–430; by some held to be the grandfather of Kimon of Syracuse (see below under *Syracuse*); by others, identified with him (Regling, RE, s.v., no. 12; Rizzo, 1946, p. 126, pl. XXI, 12). – Mai[. . .] (Μαι[. . .]), perhaps active in Himera 413–409 and in Syracuse after the destruction of Himera (Rizzo, 1946, p. 127, pl. XXI, 23). – *Messana*. Ana[n?] (Ἀνα[ν?]), active 425–415 (Rizzo, 1946, pl. XXVII, 6). – *Metapontion*. Aristippos (Ἀρίστιππος), active first half of 4th cent. (S. P. Neo, The Coinage of Metapontum, New York, 1931, p. 48, 122, no. 503). – Poly[. . .] (Πολυ[. . .]), active ca. mid-4th cent. (Regling, ThB, s.v.). – *Naxos*. Prokles (see above under *Katana*). – *Rhegion*. Kratesippos (Κρατήσιππος), active late 5th–early 4th cent. (H. Herzfelder, Les monnaies d'argent de Rhegium, RN, 1955, p. 52 ff.). – *Syracuse*. Sosion (Σωσίων), active ca. 440 (Regling, RE, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 200, pl. XLIII, 2). – Eumenes (Εὐμένης), or Eumenos, active between 440 and 420–415, probably master of Eukleidas and Euainetos (Weil, ThB, s.v. Eumenos; Rizzo, 1946, p. 200 ff., pls. XLII–XLV; L. Breglia, EAA, s.v.). – Eukleidas (Εὐκλείδας), active late 5th cent., perhaps also in Kamarina, probably pupil of Eumenes (Weil, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 202 ff., pl. XLII ff.; L. Breglia, EAA, s.v.). – Euainetos (see above under *Kamarina*). – Euarchidas (Εὐαρχίδας), active 420–410 (Weil, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 207 ff., pl. XLIII, 13–14; A. Stazio, EAA, s.v.). – Euth[ymos] (Εὔθυ[μος]), active late 5th cent. (Weil, ThB, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 205, pl. XLIII, 10–12). – Im[. . .] (Ἰμ[. . .]), active late 5th cent. (Rizzo, 1946, p. 223, pl. XLVIII, 2, p. 226, pl. XLVIII, 19; Jongkees, 1941, p. 48 ff.). – Kimon (Κίμων), active ca. late 5th cent. (Jongkees, 1941; Rizzo, 1946, p. 222 ff., pl. XLVII ff.). – Mai[. . .] (see above under *Himera*). – Parme[. . .] (Παρμε[. . .]), active in last decade of 5th cent. (Seltmann, RE, s.v., Rizzo, 1946, p. 220 ff., pl. XLVII, 16 ff.). – Phrygillos (Φρύγιλλος), active ca. 420–410, possibly also in Terina and Thourioi, perhaps also a gem engraver (J. Sieveking, RE, s.v.; Rizzo, 1946, p. 205 ff., pl. XLIII, 2). – *Terina*. Phrygillos (see above under *Syracuse*). – *Thermai*. Kle[. . .] (Κλη[. . .]), active ca. mid-4th cent. (Rizzo, 1946, p. 128). – *Thourioi*. Phrygillos (see above). – Molossos (Μολοσσός), active late 5th–early 4th cent. (Regling, ThB, s.v.). – Historos (Ἱστορος), active first half of 4th cent. (S. P. Noe, The Thurian Di-staters, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 71, New York, 1935, p. 12, p. 40, no. B6). – *Velia*. Hera[kleidas] (Ἡρα[κλείδας]), active early 4th cent. (J. Babelon, Catalogue de la Collection De Luynes, I, Paris, 1922, no. 647). – Kleudoros (Κληύδωρος), active first half of 4th cent. (Regling, ThB, s.v.). – *Gem engravers*. Phrygillos (Φρύγιλλος), late 5th cent., perhaps to be identified with the coin engraver (see above): signed cornelian scaraboid, formerly Coll. Blacas, subsequently lost; a glass impression (J. Sieveking, RE, s.v.).

ART OF WEST GREEK COLONIES OUTSIDE ITALY. *Gaul*. Apparently the colonization of the southern coast of Gaul did not begin until about 600 B.C. At the mouth of the Rhone, Phokaian colonists founded Massilia (Marseilles), whose settlers then founded Tarente, Olbia near Hyères, Antipolis (Antibes), Nikaia (Nice), Agathe (Agde), and Foce (Phokaia?). These cities in turn colonized the Spanish east coast. Excavations in Mont-Lassois, Glanum, Entremont, and Enserune reveal the Hellenization of the Celtic *oppida* in the late 6th and 5th centuries. Unfortunately, very little has survived in Marseilles, which by the end of the 6th century B.C. had become one of the richest cities of the Greek west and had even built a treasury in Delphi. The railroad station now covers the ancient acropolis. In the

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Rue Négrel there must have been a sanctuary of Meter, as indicated by the small, mainly 6th-century naiskoi found there, which often have Greek stylistic features. A head of a youth in Auxerre (Espér, 2929) could be 5th-century subarchaic, and so could the Nîmes head found near Sommières (Espér, 2694). Both these sculptures, as well as the Arles lion (Espér, 2520), are considerably barbarized in form, and they cannot be dated with precision. On the whole, it is not improbable that these pieces belong to a much later period. The enthroned Meter (Espér, 8323) reveals a Greek influence in dress and coiffure, but here again the date is controversial. The large Ionic capital brought to light in the port of Marseilles could belong to the late 5th century. Unquestionably of West Greek origin is the head that juts from a volute bracket in Toulouse, which recalls some of the Selinous heads (*FA*, I, p. 301, fig. 99).

Close artistic bonds with Athens seem to have been established as early as the late 6th century, as indicated especially by the rich vase finds of Saint-Mauront and Ensérune. A stele (Espér, 3450), with a representation of Artemis (?), perhaps a votive relief, resembles 4th-century Attic sepulchral reliefs; but the Greek type has been transformed — particularly in the leaf capitals of the pilasters and the oversized bow — to satisfy provincial taste. This barbarization is still more marked in a relief with Eros in Nîmes (Espér, 831) and in one with Attis in Marseilles, which are probably late Hellenistic or even Roman. The Arles heads are much better preserved. Although they may be late Hellenistic, they reflect the baroque Pergamene style.

Of much higher quality is an altar in Paris, late Hellenistic in style but perhaps created after the Roman occupation of Gaul (Espér, 3147). The structure of the figures and their movement are late Hellenistic, resembling forms in the art of Asia Minor which survived into the Imperial age. The same trend, embodying the transition to Gallo-Roman sculpture, is evident in a fine relief in Reims (Espér, 3664) and a monument in Avignon (Espér, 271) commemorating a Gallic victory, on which the shields are of Hellenistic rather than Roman form. Roman armor does appear, however, on a similar monument from Vachères, now in Avignon. The reliefs on the Mausoleum of the Julii in Saint-Rémy (V, PL. 470) are also late Hellenistic. The influence of Magna Graecia and Sicily is particularly evident in the form of the pilaster sepulcher, which also predominates in numerous more modest examples from Glanum. The Corinthian capitals with their curled leaves strongly recall 3d- and 2d-century Syracusan capitals. The sense of space often present in the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily completely pervades the battle scenes, from the powerful foreshortening to the attempt of the artist to lead the eye into the depths of the tumult. Some reliefs on the early Imperial arch in Orange (V, PL. 470), equally untouched by Augustan classicism, reflect the same type of late Hellenistic West Greek relief sculpture, thus demonstrating the force with which the sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily survived in southern Gaul. Study of the different artistic and cultural currents in the rest of Gaul, which included Germany in the Imperial age (figured capitals in Metz; Espér, 4466), is not sufficiently advanced to provide a precise picture of the survival of Greek art in this region, but Merovingian and Carolingian church architecture suggests that artistic ties with the Greek east were quite strong in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (see CELTIC ART; GALLO-ROMAN ART).

*Spain.* The first colonies on the Spanish east coast — Rhoda (mod. Rosas) near the foothills of the Pyrenees, Ampurias farther south, Hemeroskopion at Cabo de la Nao, and Mainake (mod. Málaga) on the south coast — were founded by Phokaian settlers from Marseilles after the foundation of that city (ca. 600 B.C.). The finds leave little doubt that these widely separated cities were mainly responsible for the dissemination of Greek culture in Spain, even if they were not the only early colonies. Actual colonization was probably preceded, as in Italy, by the establishment of commercial relations — as early as the 7th century, Kolaios of Samos had sailed to Tartessos, and this was not necessarily the first such contact between east Greece and Spain. Archaeological finds, however, such as the fragments of Mycenaean vases found in southern Spain and the Cycladic pitcher of the late 2d millennium in Minorca, have been too meager to allow the identification of possible colonies.

The decoration of many Iberian vases was inspired largely by proto-Geometric models. Two favorite motifs, which survived until the 4th century, were concentric semi- and quarter-circles. Superposed rows of dots recalling the so-called *Flimmerstil* of the Geometric period might indicate a relationship with 8th-century Greek pottery. In both decoration and form the egg-shaped vase from Galera (Menéndez Pidal, I, 1947, 3, fig. 541) is in a provincial Greek Geometric tradition, perhaps Cretan. Greco-Iberian taste can be recognized in the linearity and unstructured ornament which characterized this art until late Hellenistic times.

In the 6th century the number both of imported Greek objects and of Iberian copies increased. It is curious that little East Greek pottery has been found in this area, while Corinthian and Attic black-figured and red-figured wares are plentiful in Iberian tombs. It is hard to imagine that these works, generally of little artistic value, were imported from Athens as finished products — they probably were manufactured by potters settled in Spain. The early 4th-century bell crater with the Judgment of Paris from Galera (García y Bellido, 1948, pl. 135, 2) is unquestionably a Greco-Iberian work by a draftsman who transformed his Attic models rather freely. The head of a bull coming out of the ground in front of the almost floating, seated figure of Paris is surely an invention of this painter. The absence of Aphrodite can probably also be attributed to provincial simplification. The Iberian origin of the vase is suggested chiefly by the appearance of the concentric semicircle motif, edging the hems of Athena's and Hera's skirts. In the 5th and 4th centuries there seems to have been no importation from Magna Graecia and Sicily, while in the 3d century black-finished, fluted vases were imported from Campania and Sicily and were copied locally.

The number of terra cottas preserved is much larger. Some are imported products of Greece, Sicily, or Italy (*ibid.*, pl. 146, 2), and some are Iberian copies. The copies often incorporate Magna Graecian and Sicilian motifs modified to some extent to conform to the ritual and cult needs of Spain (*ibid.*, 17). The most noteworthy example is the Demeter from Ampurias (*ibid.*, pl. 157), whose physiognomy has an undefinable Spanish quality, although the piece is of a type related to the best Siculan terra cottas. The form of a terra-cotta bust from Ibiza (*ibid.*, pl. 147) and the coiffure represented recall types frequent in southern Italy. The Iberian character of another Demeter from Ibiza (*ibid.*, pl. 149) is even stronger, with an overladen headdress and a soft dissolution of the plastic form.

Here too, as in southern Italy and Sicily, Greek and indigenous elements are mixed to different degrees, though in Spain a strong Punic component is generally present as well. In the terra cottas from Cerro de los Santos, for instance, the Greek tradition accounts for only the basic types and the handling of drapery, while the dominant Punic element is seen in the solidity and stylization of the figures, especially the heads. Other terra cottas, no matter how strongly they may be influenced by Greek taste, still show the Iberian disregard of plastic form. An example is the enthroned goddess from Ibiza (*ibid.*, pl. 148) whose breast is decorated with fruit. Still another aspect of the Iberian artistic language is found in a head from Ibiza (*ibid.*, pl. 150, 8), whose slender, elongated head and severe modeling of features, especially the incised eyebrows, reveal a Laconian influence. The stylistic affinity of many terra-cotta busts with Akragas works of the late 5th and 4th centuries is particularly interesting. The latter probably reached southern Spain by way of Carthage. A bust from Puig d'es Molins (Menéndez Pidal, I, 1947, 2, p. 427) has hair across the forehead stylized in wavy lines just like some terra cottas of Akragas. In this and similar busts, the Punic-Iberian element is recognizable in the extension into depth of the bust and chiefly in the non-organic quality of the anatomy. The Seilenos mask from Ibiza (García y Bellido, 1948, pl. 150, 9) could have been inspired by those found in Gela, but if so, it has undergone a considerable transformation, without doubt corresponding to Punic taste. On the other hand, the male and female heads from Ampurias,

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Benidorm, and Albufeira belong to a group of works purely Greco-Iberian, uninfluenced by Carthage, examples of which are found as far away as southern France (Ensérune). A head decorated with bunches of grapes, perhaps a Dionysos (*ibid.*, pl. 160, 29), has the characteristically thin Iberian lips.

The particularly large-grained Spanish marble does not seem to have been used for sculpture until the period of the Roman occupation. Previously, the usual carving material had been limestone, probably stuccoed and painted. The most interesting of these early limestone works is the bull-god from Albacete, which follows the Greek type of Acheloos and Gela. The body of the seated Sphinx from Agost (*ibid.*, pl. 63), whose head is unfortunately very mutilated, is closer to Greek forms in its structure, strongly resembling the Naxian sphinx. This figure is certainly from the late or even early 5th century. An example of a more distinctly Punic motif is the enthroned goddess flanked by two sphinxes, from Galera (Menéndez Pidal, I, 1947, 2, fig. 384). Many of the limestone figures which have been found seem earlier than they are proved to be by excavation data or certain stylistic details. The finds of Osuna (anc. Urso) assume particular interest from this point of view. The reliefs with battling warriors recall in many respects Greek severe-style figures, but the elongated oval shields the warriors bear are definitely a Hellenistic motif. The heads of Cerro de los Santos (*ibid.*, 3, p. 483 ff.), despite severe and late archaic touches in the execution of the eyes and hair, nonetheless cannot be dated earlier than the late 5th or 4th century.

The works considered so far represent a modest provincial art of hybrid character. In limestone heads of finer quality, however, typically Spanish features can be recognized as early as the 5th century. The fine, narrow kore heads from Barcelona, which evidently are related to East Greek heads, are given a Greco-Spanish quality by the slightly mannered, stylized accentuation of the individual parts and the strong linearity of the hair. The most important monument of this kind is the "Lady of Elche," the fragmentary upper part of a statue of a goddess (IX, PL. 409). The complicated wheel-shaped hairdo that covers her ears and her pointed cap are still found in Spain. A full cloak falls symmetrically from her shoulders in careful zigzag folds, after the Greek preference. The forehead is decorated by many circles, to be visualized in gold, as are the large hair-wheel decorations over the ears, from which long golden earrings hung. The breast is decorated with a rich pectoral. The form of the head recalls that of many Selinuntine marble heads, but the fold of the eyelids is much closer to some East Greek heads. The "Lady of Elche" is the first Iberian sculpture of really high quality. In her proud and serious features there can be glimpsed something of the distinctive Spanish countenance that only later fully revealed itself.

The oldest marble sculpture found in Spain is the cover of an anthropoid sarcophagus from Cadiz, which may be a Greco-Syrian import and which can be dated to the early 4th century by the shape of the head. It is uncertain whether other marble finds, such as the female head from Ampurias (García y Bellido, 1948, pl. 61), were produced locally or imported from the east. This is also the case with the *Asklepios* from Ampurias (*ibid.*, pls. 57–60), which because of its similarity to the *Poseidon* from Melos can be dated to the Hellenistic period. The oldest Greco-Iberian marble figures are the two reclining women from Bornos, now in the Parco Medinaceli in Madrid. The date of these figures, whose iconographical meaning is unknown, is not established, but the similarity of their complicated headdress to that of some heads in Seville suggests a date in the late 4th century.

The particularly large number of bronze works brought to light in Spain reflects the local abundance of ore, which was partly worked in Spain and partly exported in exchange for finished products. Finds of bronzes imported from Greece include a magnificent Corinthian helmet from Ría de Huelva (*ibid.*, pl. 22), a Spartan peplos figure (*ibid.*, pl. 25), a running Seilenos (*ibid.*, pl. 26), and a winged sow (*ibid.*, pl. 28), probably a fragment of a large bronze vessel cast in Spain of Anatolian components. The provenance of a helmet found at Jerez has not been established, but the work is of a 7th-century Corinthian type and may have belonged to a Greek mariner who sailed to Spain. Among the Greco-Iberian bronzes discovered is an interesting female figure (*ibid.*, pl. 44) modeled on Locrian bronzes, which was found in Mallorca. Other finds that are probably Greco-Iberian are a bronze Herakles with quiver (*ibid.*, pl. 23) from Mallorca, a bronze from Avignon, and a youth with arms akimbo, now in Boston. The Despuig head, from Mallorca (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 29), shows a decided Etruscan influence, though it may be an Iberian work. The grimacing, helmeted, nude warrior from Mallorca (García y Bellido, 1948, pl. 36), whose disproportionately large head contrasts with the rest of his body, is probably Spanish.

It is easier to identify provincial Spanish bronzes, such as the warriors with the Boeotian helmets (*ibid.*, pls. 46–47) and the warriors from Capdepera and Lluchmayor (*ibid.*, pls. 48–51). These probably belong to the late Hellenistic period, despite the antiquated form of their helmets and their severe expressions. The flute-blowing satyr from Jaén (*ibid.*, pl. 55, 38) is of another local type; he wears a non-Greek type of garment, and the fluid form of his long body has an unmistakably Iberian quality. As in the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily, so in that of Iberia the progressive degeneration of forms may be traced, especially in the bronzes from Despeñaperros (IX, PL., 410) and Jaén (Menéndez Pidal, I, 1935, p. 403), in which the artist concentrated more on the forms of the head than on the organic structure of the body.

The gold diadems and pectorals of Spain, particularly those from Aliseda (*ibid.*, pp. 479 ff.), are among the most significant goldsmiths' works of antiquity. They are made of extremely thin granulated gold, which gives them almost the character of crocheted lace. The Punic influence on Spanish goldwork is very strong, but many works, particularly the small gold leaves from Braganza (García y Bellido, 1948, pl. 167, 7), show the influence of Greek ornament. These leaves evidently imitate Syracusan tetradrachmas of the late 5th century, just as numerous Spanish coins reproduce Sicilian and particularly Syracusan designs (*ibid.*, pl. 168; see HISPANO-ROMAN ART; SPAIN).

GRECO-PUNIC ART. No Greek colonization was possible in the coastal areas of North Africa, around Carthage, that were dominated by the Punic peoples. Only east of the Carthaginian sphere of influence could Greek colonies be founded: in 630 B.C. the Therans settled Cyrene, a city which remained powerful until late antiquity; from this base, Teucheira and Euhesperides were established. Under the Ptolemies (300 B.C. onward) Cyrene became a cultural center of great importance, broadcasting currents of art and civilization to southern Italy and, when Punic power declined, even to Carthage. On the North African coast, near Sicily, was found a small funerary monument (Picard, 1956, p. 24, pl. 9) containing, remarkably, late 8th-century Geometric vases. The monument has been connected, with some likelihood, with Dido, founder of Carthage. The grave is purely Phoenician, like those of Ugarit (mod. Ras-Shamra), but the vases are Greco-Cycladic, imported rather than locally produced. Everywhere on the Mediterranean coast Greek vases have been found: in the 6th century Corinthian, then Attic, products predominated; in the 4th century, Campanian. The Punic peoples, like the Phoenicians, were admirers of Greek art and in the 4th century imported terra cottas that reproduced archaic Greek types of enthroned goddesses and busts. Etruscan ivory works with Etruscan inscriptions have also been found in Carthage (A. L. Delattre, *La Necropole punique à Carthage*, Paris, 1898, figs., 12–14). As in Phoenicia, Cyprus, Gaul, and Spain, so in Carthage Greek terra-cotta types were reworked to satisfy local preferences.

More interesting are the so-called "razors," which are probably ax amulets, a typically Punic form. Shaped like the blade of an ax, they end in a bird's head, with a suspension loop at its neck. Most of these objects are decorated in Phoenician style, with flowers, fish, and birds, though Egyptianizing gods and demons appear as well. Some, however, seem to have been decorated by Magna Graecian engravers in the late 5th century. One interesting example, in Punic style, shows Isis on one face, Hermes on the other; another, apparently by a

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Magna Graecian master, depicts Scylla as well as Herakles wrestling with the lion.

In the 4th and 3d centuries B.C., the Semitic Carthaginians overcame their religious aversion to figural representation, evidently under the influence of Greek culture. Virtually pure Greek forms appear on incised grave steles with Punic inscriptions (Picard, 1956, pl. 60) and on a Punic grave or votive stele in Tunis, which has a female figure recalling the style of the "Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women," from Sidon (III, PL. 379). Greek artists working in Carthage invented a form of great subsequent importance: the reclining figure on the lids of sarcophagi. Examples of this motif, which first appeared in the 4th century, are in the Louvre and in Tunis. Figures carved in the round are understandably rare. Apparently, marble and terra-cotta figures were produced only after the fall of Carthage, perhaps by the Alexandrian artists who later settled in Mauretania (Picard, 1956, pls. 66, 67).

The influence of Greco-Siculan art on 5th-century Mauretania is evident in the Medracen, a colossal sepulcher near Algiers, which consists of a cylinder 193 ft. in diameter, decorated with 60 Doric engaged columns and topped by a 24-stepped cone. In date and style the capitals are close to those of the temple at Segesta, while the crowning of the monumental gateway has vaguely Egyptianizing profiles, such as are found on the Temple of Demeter Malophoros near Selinous. In structure the sepulcher can be compared with Phrygian and Etruscan funerary buildings. The wide diffusion in Mauretania of this type of building, on a smaller scale, supports the hypothesis that the Medracen is the sepulcher of a Mauretanian king of about 400 B.C. Another monument of this type is the so-called "tomb of the Christian woman" (I, PL. 18), which may be the royal sepulcher near Caesarea mentioned by Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographis*, I, 26, 30). This structure consists of a low cylinder 203 ft. in diameter, ringed by engaged Ionian columns. Particularly interesting is the vaulted corridor leading to the burial chamber. The slenderness of the doors and the proportions of the building suggest a date in the late Hellenistic period. The round capitals with palmettes between the volutes are so close to 4th-century Ionic capitals of Taras that a bond with Tarentine architecture is assured, even though the forms of the Mauretanian monument are more rigid.

The strong Alexandrian influence on Mauretanian art until the Arab conquest is best seen in mosaics. The giants represented on a mosaic from the grave of Cornelia Urbanilla recall similar depictions in Alexandria and Piazza Armerina. Until the beginning of the Christian era, Greco-Oriental influence is evident mainly in the basilicas, both forensic and Christian, which through Early Christian times follow the three-aisled East Greek type (see AFRICA, NORTH; AFRICAN-ROMAN ART; PHOENICIAN-PUNIC ART).

CONCLUSION: DIFFUSION OF MAGNA GRAECIAN AND SICILIAN ART. In the middle of the 5th century B.C. the newly mature art of Magna Graecia and Sicily gradually penetrated the Italian peninsula. In Rome and in northern Italy the strong influence of Etruscan art was a force antagonistic to this development, even though Etruscan iconographical forms are unthinkable without Greek art. The exact role of Spina and Pyrgoi, the two northernmost Greek colonies, has not yet been established. The spreading of West Greek art became more pronounced when Rome gained dominion over all Italy, in the 3d century. One of the main centers for the diffusion of West Greek art was Campania, where developments essential to later, Hellenized, Roman art occurred: for example, in coinage (which provides a particularly clear illustration of this process), in the spread of the cult of Dionysos, and in the architecture of bath buildings. The Hellenizing current that was so productive in Rome seems to have reached there via Naples, the Via Labicana, and Praeneste (mod. Palestrina). Praenestine mirrors and cists (V, PL. 50) are particularly close to West Greek forms, although it is still impossible to demonstrate on which school they were dependent. Praenestine drawings seems closer to Sicily, as does its terra-cotta sculpture: 5th-, 4th-, and 3d-century examples from Falerii (V, PLS. 47, 54), which are Latian rather than Etruscan, show close bonds with Syracusan terra-cotta sculpture. Understandably, when Rome occupied Campania, Lucania, and Apulia during the 4th and 3d centuries, artists and artisans of Magna Graecia left their native land to seek the greater opportunities for work in the new Roman provinces. The migration of artistic types, a process that can best be traced in the architectural terra-cottas, was of greater immediate effect, however, since an indefinite number of casts can be made from a single imported mold. An obvious example is the dissemination of the fanciful antefixes of Taras in Apulia and Campania.

The influence of Magna Graecia and Sicily also penetrated southern Gaul and Spain, especially after the ties of these regions with Phokaia, the parent city, deteriorated. This influence is particularly marked in architecture: the forms of sepulchral pilasters typical in Gaul through the Imperial age, Corinthian capitals that are related to Syracusan examples, and the unclassic, un-Roman execution of the reliefs of Saint-Rémy and Orange are all in a West Greek tradition. In the Tiberius cameo in Vienna, the spatial quality is so pronounced that the gem might safely be considered a Magna Graecian or Sicilian product.

It has already been seen that Magna Graecian — above all, Tarentine — influence spread to Kerkyra, and from there, along the Egnatian Way, reached the Balkans and southern Russia. Artistic relations with northern Africa flourished, mainly with Cyrene, and from the 3d century on, with Alexandria.

In general, the influence of West Greek art was stronger in central Italy and Rome than in Greece. The social, ethnic, religious, and spiritual factors which contributed to the formation of this art can all be accounted for, ultimately, by the differences between the Greek colonies in the west and their mother country: their different political and economic structure, the fertility of the land, the high standard of living reached in a short time, and the resulting feeling of exuberant pride, all contributed significantly to the creation of the art of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Because West Greek artists attached little importance to plasticity in sculpture, relief was favored over sculpture in the round, a situation the reverse of that in Greece. The characteristic features of the relief sculpture of Magna Graecia and Sicily are perspective foreshortening and spatial depth, and the consequent pictorial illusion. Extension into depth was also stressed in architecture, thereby developing a characteristic that was to play a decisive part in Roman art. No less important is the preference for typical features, above all in the human face, which undoubtedly gave West Greek art, especially in its Samnite and Campanian variations, a determining role in the development of portrait sculpture. In conclusion, it can be said without exaggeration that only through the mediation of the cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily did Greek art take root in the west.

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Ernst LANGLOTZ

The following have contributed material on individual artists: Vera Bianco, Mariano Cajano, Giovanna Quattrocchi, Ambretta Mattei, Franco and Maria Panvini Rosati, Giovanni Colonna, Annamaria Tamassia.

Illustrations: PLS. 53–80; 5 figs. in text.

**GREEK REVIVAL.** See AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS; ANTIQUE REVIVAL; NEOCLASSIC STYLES.

**GREENLAND.** See DENMARK.

**GREUZE, JEAN B.** French genre and portrait painter (b. Tournus, Aug. 21, 1725; d. Paris, Mar. 21, 1805). Little is known of Greuze's early career. Between 1745 and 1750 he was in Lyons studying with the painter Grandon. About 1750 Greuze went to Paris, where he studied under Natoire at the Royal Academy. At the *Salon* of 1755 his picture of a father explaining the Bible to his children (Leningrad, The Hermitage) was an immediate success, and he continued to exhibit at the *Salons* until 1769. In that year, his *Septimius Severus Reproaching Caracalla*, painted in the hope that it would win him admission to the Academy as a history painter, was unfavorably received, and Greuze was accepted only as a painter of genre. After this disappointment, Greuze no longer exhibited at the *Salons*, but the popularity of his pictures, which he showed only at his studio, continued until the French Revolution. At the height of his *Salon* career, Greuze enjoyed the enthusiastic support of Diderot, who, in his *Salon* criticisms, extolled the painter's moralizing scenes. In such pictures as *Village Betrothal* (1761; Paris, Louvre) and *The Paralytic Cared for by His Children* (1763; Leningrad, The Hermitage), Diderot felt that painting had returned to its proper moral and didactic role. Greuze also produced many pictures of adolescent girls: *Young Girl Weeping over Her Dead Bird* (1765; Edinburgh, Nat. Gall. of Scotland); *Offering to Love* (1769; London, Wallace Coll.); *The Broken Pitcher* (engraved 1773; Paris, Louvre; V, PL. 415). The delicate flesh tones and soft coloring of these pictures reveal a more sensuous aspect of his art. The innocence of these young ladies often appears false or, at best, dubious, and the symbolism of the pictures is frequently suggestive.

Greuze was also a successful portraitist, at his best in the forceful portraits *Etienne Jeaurat* (1769; Paris, Louvre) and *The Engraver Wille* (1763; Paris, Mus. Jacquemart-André). Greuze's pictures entered the most prominent collections of Europe and were bought by Catherine II of Russia and by Mesdames de Pompadour and Du Barry. Engravings of his pictures, from which Greuze earned considerable sums, were much in vogue in bourgeois as well as in aristocratic circles. Greuze's popularity, however, failed to survive the severe neoclassicism introduced by J. L. David (q.v.). During the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, Greuze was virtually forgotten; he died penniless. Although Greuze's young ladies may be frivolous, his genre subjects (VI, PL. 77) portray the virtues of Rousseau's natural man and reflect the growing importance of middle-class morality in prerevolutionary France. This is especially true of the related *Father's Curse* and *Prodigal Son* (both ca. 1765; Paris, Louvre), compositions that, with their indebtedness to Poussin, foreshadowed the neoclassicism of David.

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John W. McCOUBREY

**GRIS, JUAN.** Spanish-born painter of the cubist movement. Born José Victoriano González in Madrid, Mar. 23, 1887, Gris turned to painting in 1904 after two years as an engineering student. In 1906 he went to Paris, settling in the famous Bateau Lavoir, where he met Picasso, Braque, Apollinaire, and others later attached to cubism. Until 1911 the graphic arts were his major preoccupation, and Gris published numerous drawings in various satirical journals, in a style akin to the waning Art Nouveau. He produced his first important oil paintings in 1911 and exhibited regularly with cubists from 1912 on. In the mutual interchanges natural to a group of artists, the major contribution of Gris was his early statement of the "synthetic" or later type of cubism in 1913. That same year he began annual summer trips to southern France, sometimes going to Beaulieu instead. Because of his Spanish citizenship, he was exempt from war service, but the disruptions of World War I kept him in poverty and necessitated the aid of his friends, including Gertrude Stein. His fortunes improved slightly after the war, though he never enjoyed financial ease. His first one-man show took place in 1919 in Paris, but the

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next year he suffered a long illness which cost him several months' work. From 1922 to 1924 he designed several ballet sets for Diaghilev, his only venture outside easel painting except for the occasional illustration of his friends' writings. His health deteriorated steadily after 1922 until he died of uremia at the age of forty, on May 11, 1927.

Chief among his many paintings are *Violin and Guitar* (1913; New York, Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Ralph F. Colin); *Fruit Bowl and Carafe* (1914; Otterlo, Netherlands, Rijksmus. Kröller-Müller); *The Violin* (1916; Basel, Kunstmus.); *The Sideboard* (1917; New York, Coll. Nelson A. Rockefeller); *Harlequin* (1919; Chicago, Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Morton G. Neumann); and *Canigou* (1921; Buffalo, N.Y., Albright-Knox Art Gall.). Although he frequently followed the lead of Picasso and Braque, especially in the early years of cubism, Gris was a seminal force in modern art. His penchant for crisply defined forms and exquisite geometry placed him in the tradition of Ingres and Seurat and, with his highly personal sense of color, led him toward a structure of architectonic clarity whose impress was widely felt, even by Braque and Picasso. His calculated approach to painting has denied Gris the popular fame of Picasso, but save for a rare canvas too coldly decorative, his painting is the epitome of that art which finds a union between the plastically sensual and the conceptual (IV, PLS. 78, 80; V, PL. 130).

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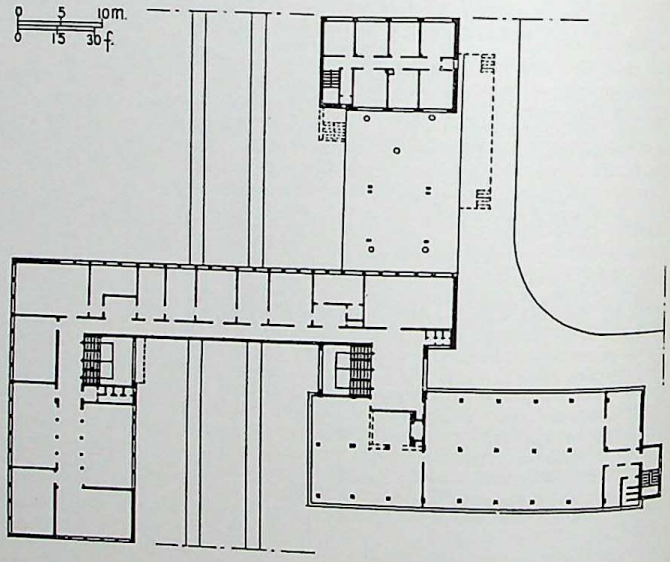
Robert L. HERBERT

**GROPIUS, WALTER.** Architect (b. Berlin, May 18, 1883). Descendant of an old family originally from Brunswick which in the immediately preceding generations had produced painters and architects, Gropius studied architecture in Berlin and Munich from 1903 to 1907 without, however, obtaining his degree. From 1907 to 1910 he was chief assistant to the highly successful Peter Behrens (q.v.). This association encouraged his development as an innovator, a course that began in earnest when he entered practice for himself in Berlin in 1910. More than any other master, Gropius may be regarded as the unswerving protagonist of modern architectural concepts, which are based on affirmation of these original and basic principles: rejection of any a priori solutions and the attainment of results through a strict method that offers the possibility of observing facts and attacking problems in order to give them coherent life through expressive form. As he himself has said, his approach has been through "a new set of values." No architect of our times has had wider influence than Gropius, inasmuch as he has been able to weld his theories, his works, and his teaching into a constructive synthesis; and it is especially as a teacher that he has surpassed all others.

His thought is essentially an outgrowth of the ideas of William Morris (q.v.). The romantic socialism of Morris stressed the necessity for endowing the useful object with a new dignity, with respect both to the method of production and to the esthetic qualities of the finished article. Henri Van de Velde (q.v.) was dialectically opposed to Morris, for though he shared the latter's preoccupation with the esthetics of the utilitarian, he realized what Morris denied — the importance of industrial manufacture for the mass production of useful objects of high quality. Peter Behrens was the first to give effective impetus to the immense possibilities of an art wedded to industry, and Gropius was to develop his ideas far more intensively, achieving from the interrelation of art and industry a cultural unity that must be regarded as an essential characteristic of our age. This aspiration has motivated Gropius throughout his life, whenever he has had the opportunity to fuse in practice his creativity as an artist and his activity as a teacher.

Upon being demobilized in 1918, Gropius became director of the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Kunstgewerbeschule (Grand Ducal Saxon School of Applied Arts) and the Sächsische Hochschule für Bildende Kunst (Saxon Academy of Fine Arts) at Weimar. This position gave him an opportunity to investigate the methods of the Werkbund, the German organization established in 1907 in an attempt to reconcile the influences derived from Morris's Arts and Crafts movement with the undeniable realities of industry. Undoubtedly Gropius also profited from the experience of Van de Velde, who was an important participant in the great cultural ferment fostered by the patronage of the German nobility at the beginning of the century and had brought about at Weimar (though not without many difficulties) a renaissance of applied arts and architecture. Before the war Gropius had in fact participated in the controversies centering around the Werkbund and had contributed both ideas and works to the movement. In 1911, in collaboration with Adolf Meyer, he built the Fagus Works, a shoe-last factory at Alfeld an der Leine (V, PL. 103); in this building, the system of supports found expression in a specific idiom completely independent of influences from any traditional style. The dynamic principle of spatial continuity between exterior and interior was established by using techniques derived from industrial processes: large transparent surfaces were formed by a sheathing of plate glass alternating with slender metal strips. Two years later, following the same strict principles of design that led to a plastic mode of expression which arose from functional considerations, yet was as independent esthetically as if it had been a work of sculpture, Gropius designed a diesel locomotive for the Koenigsberg railway factory. Once more in collaboration with Meyer, he participated in the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition at Cologne with a machine workshop and an administration building. Here also, along with certain features reminiscent of earlier styles, the glass motif of the Fagus factory recurred. The exceptional plastic strength of the forms accentuated the space-time factor, the simultaneity that was to




Plan of the Bauhaus, Dessau.

become the cardinal principle of this style of architecture and influence the historical development of the modern movement.

In the postwar period, when the two Weimar schools were united at Dessau to form the Bauhaus (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS) and housed in a great new complex of buildings that included the school itself, residences for the masters, and other quarters (PL. 81; FIG. 176), Gropius achieved his masterpiece — its purpose perfectly expressed by the form into which the content was translated. The educational idea was implemented by the functioning organism, which achieved significance through its esthetic expression. The message of the teacher and that of the artist were effectively conveyed in a single entity and reinforced each other. At the Bauhaus, which Gropius

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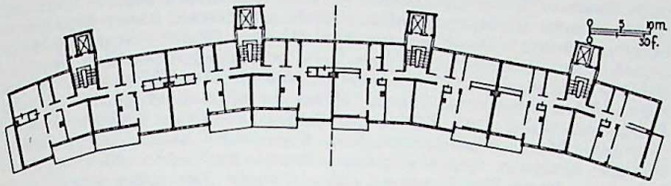
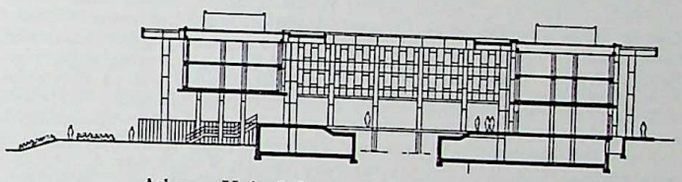
directed at Weimar from 1919 to 1925 and at Dessau from 1925 to 1928, could be found all the major themes of his work, embodying the most advanced ideas in German and European art during those years. In the words of Mies van der Rohe, "The Bauhaus . . . was an idea, and Gropius formulated this idea with great precision." As Giedion has stated, "the fundamental problem of the Bauhaus was to establish harmony between machine-made mass production and the eternal laws of materials." In this school the logical links of Gropius' reasoning formed a perfect chain; its object was to give validity to art within the context of modern economy and, correspondingly, to endow every facet of production with artistic value. Thus, the traditional class distinction between artisan and artist was dissolved in a unifying vision of "total art." Architects, technicians, painters, printmakers, and masters of very diverse temperaments sought under the guidance of Gropius to find a truer relationship between form and function, form and material, form and production methods. (The participation of Joseph Albers, László Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Lyonel Feininger, Oskar Schlemmer, Johannes Itten, Gerhard Marcks, Adolph Meyer, Georg Muche, and other notable artists and architects deserves particular mention.) In the atmosphere of the Bauhaus, it was because of Gropius' innate quality as a democratic man that work could be done in collaboration without relinquishing personal modes of expression. A typical example of Gropius' ability to translate every significant problem of cultural activity into architectonic terms was the *Totaltheater* conceived by the director Erwin Piscator, who at this time was contributing to the renaissance of the German theater. The aim of the *Totaltheater* was to fuse audience and actors, and thus to create a milieu in which the spectator would become a participant in the staged action.

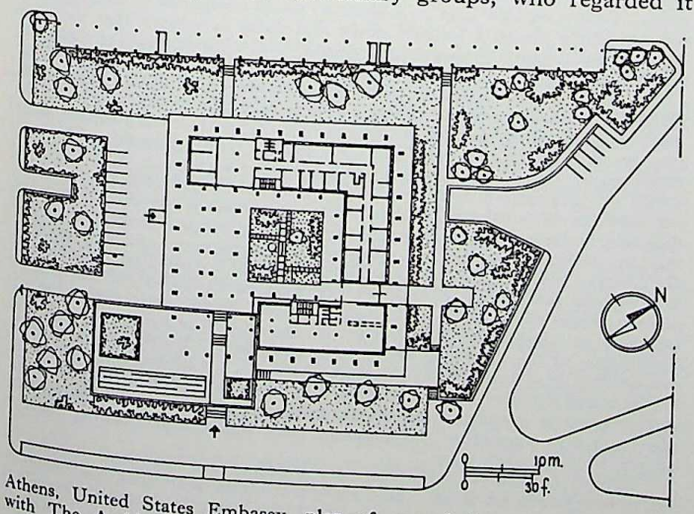


Berlin, Interbau apartment house, plan of two typical floors.

Meanwhile there was growing political agitation against the Bauhaus on the part of reactionary groups, who regarded it as the prime focus of avant-garde art, soon to be denounced as "degenerate." In 1928 Gropius resigned as director of the school and resumed professional practice in Berlin. In the same year he was active in the founding of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux de l'Architecture Moderne), an organization that was to give substantial support to the doctrines and wider implications of modern architecture as a cultural force, again largely due to the collaboration of Gropius himself. His interest in architectural problems became centered increasingly on the spatial and social implications of city planning, and this growing interest found expression both in his writing and in important projects. Among his completed structures, the Siemensstadt housing development in Berlin, built in 1929 (PL. 82), is outstanding for its stylistic precision and the equilibrium of its masses. In 1934, feeling Nazi oppression weighing ever more heavily upon him, Gropius was forced to emigrate, under the pretext of attending an international theater conference in Rome. His first sojourn was in England, where in only three years his work exerted a powerful transforming influence upon English architecture (PL. 82). In 1937 he moved to the United States, which may be regarded as his second homeland. It is characteristic of Gropius' openmindedness that he was able to adapt quickly and willingly to American life, despite the understandable differences between American society and his European cultural background. Harvard University offered him the chair of architecture in its Graduate School of Design, which he accepted and occupied from 1938 to 1952. In 1946, led by his convictions about the value of collaborative activity ("teamwork"), he joined with a group of young men, including several of his former students, to form "The Architects Collaborative" (TAC). With this group he undertook ambitious projects, and in 1949–50 they built the Harvard University Graduate Center (PL. 84). Here the original Bauhaus ideal of unity among the arts was again promulgated, though with somewhat less striking results. Until this time Gropius, in spite of almost universal repute, had actually built relatively few works; in later years, however, he has come to be involved in a number of major projects worthy of his mettle: the Interbau building in Berlin (PL. 83; FIG. 177); the United States Embassy in Athens (FIGS. 177, 178); Boston Back Bay Center; the University of Baghdad; the great Buckow-Rudow urban development in Berlin; and several others.



Athens, United States Embassy, elevation.



Athens, United States Embassy, plan of ground floor (in collaboration with The Architects Collaborative, TAC).

Having laid the foundations of a freely ranging method of research opposed to all a priori concepts either of traditional "styles" or even of a supposed "modern style," Gropius applied his critical faculties to a continuous effort of solving problems and to objective analysis of various themes. Nonetheless, his precepts are somewhat difficult to follow, since from the dialectical standpoint a lexicon based on the immediate reconciliation of disparate works continually being produced is somewhat indeterminate. There is also something indeterminate in trying to fit new works into previously established patterns. Bad architecture or the architectural failures of avowed followers should never be imputed to great masters, for every liberating message obligates those who avail themselves of it to use it with a sense of responsibility. Still, there remains the inescapable fact that to grasp such essential truths requires great individual capacity, and true disciples must evidence self-knowledge and exercise self-discipline in setting proper limits to their own activities. If Gropius has denied the possibility of a "modern style," regarded as a fixed canon of formal elements, it follows that his disciples should not ape his mannerisms; rather, they must confront the architectural problem afresh each time and achieve formal solutions by discerning the implications of the specific situation, thereby developing their perceptive powers. The relation between quality and quantity, in the sense of an endeavor to *multiply* quality — a constant preoccupation of Gropius' lofty social thinking — should be one favorable

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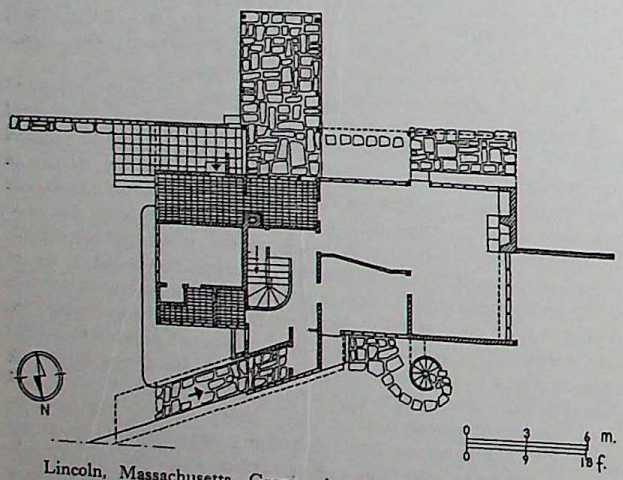
to resisting the pressures of cultural conditions within our society, a social body that (and not with respect to architecture alone) expends much of its energy in the effort to become a unified whole. The quantity–quality problem becomes increasingly difficult in proportion to the society's disinclination to submit to leveling processes based upon dogma, no matter how reasonable and well-intentioned.

PRINCIPAL WORKS. – 1906: Agricultural workers' houses, Janikow near Dramburg, Pomerania. – 1911: Fagus Works, Alfeld an der Leine (in collaboration with Adolf Meyer; V, PL. 103). – 1913–14: Housing development with 30 detached dwellings, Wittenberg (with A. Meyer); Semmering residence, near Vienna (project). – 1914: Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, office building, garage, and workshops, Pavilion for Deutz Machine Factory (with A. Meyer). – 1922: Memorial in concrete, Weimar; Competition design for Chicago Tribune Building (with A. Meyer). – 1923–24: City Theater, Jena. – 1924: Friedrich Froebel Institute, Bad Liebenstein, Thuringia (project, with A. Meyer). – 1925: Bauhaus faculty quarters and Gropius residence, Dessau. – 1925–26: Bauhaus buildings, Dessau. – 1926–27: Toerten housing development, Dessau (Sections I–III); Werkbund Exhibition, Stuttgart, two dwellings. – 1927: *Totaltheater* (project). – 1927–28: Municipal employment office, Dessau; Dammerstock housing development, Karlsruhe (competition, first prize). – 1928: Toerten housing, Dessau (Section IV). – 1929: Gagfah housing on Lindenbaum, Frankfurt am Main. – 1929–30: Siemensstadt housing development, Berlin (PL. 82). – 1929–31: Research for apartment blocks for Reichs Research Institute for Economy in Building. – 1929–33: Chassis for Adler automobiles (VIII, PL. 45). – 1930: German Werkbund Exposition, Paris; Project for Ukrainian State Theater, Kharkov. – 1931: Project for Palace of the Soviets, Moscow. – 1934: Non-Ferrous Metals Exhibition, Berlin (with Joost Schmidt). – 1935–36: Works in England in collaboration with Maxwell Fry: Apartment house in park, St. Leonhard's Hill near Windsor (project); Levy house, Chelsea, London; Laboratories for London Film Production, Denham; Donaldson residence, Sussex, England; Impington College, Cambridgeshire; Histon School, Cambridgeshire. – 1937: Project for nursery school, Cambridge, Mass. – 1937–39: Works in collaboration with Marcel Breuer: Gropius house, Lincoln, Mass. (FIG. 179); Project for Wheaton College Arts Center; Breuer House, Lincoln, Mass.; Ford house, Lincoln, Mass.; Hagerty house, Cohasset, Mass.; Chamberlain house, Sudbury, Mass.; Pennsylvania pavilion, New York World's Fair. – 1939: Frank house, Pittsburgh, Pa. (PL. 82). – 1941: Suburban housing development, New Kensington, near Pittsburgh, Pa. (250 detached houses and an apartment building; with Marcel Breuer). – 1943–45: Prefabricated houses for "Packaged Housing System" and General Panel Corporation (with Kurt Wachsmann). – 1946: Established The Architects Collaborative (all works thereafter in collaboration with TAC unless otherwise noted): Ryan house, Cambridge, Mass.; Poppleton house, Dayton, Ohio. – 1947: Brockelman house, Worcester, Mass.; Neill house, Andover, Mass.; Wolfers house, Maine; Peter house, Cape Cod, Mass.; Catheron house, Foxboro, Mass. – 1947–52: 30 residences for Six Moon Hill, Lexington, Mass. – 1948: Project for Hua Tung University, Shanghai; Junior high school, Attleboro, Mass.; Lawrence house, Lexington, Mass.; McMahon house, Lexington, Mass.; House in Providence, R.I.; England house, Pittsfield, Mass. – 1949: Pillsbury house, Rumford, R.I.; Field house, Cape Cod, Mass. – 1949–50: Harvard University Graduate Center, Cambridge, Mass. (PL. 84; Brown, Lawford and Forbes, Technical




Lincoln, Massachusetts, Gropius house, plan of ground floor.

Associates). – 1950: Chandler Street Junior High School, Worcester, Mass. (with G. Adolph Johnson); Apthorp house, Concord, Mass.; Hechinger house, Washington, D.C.; England house, Washington, D.C.; Napoli house, Concord, Mass. – 1951: Trade school, Attleboro, Mass.; Burncoat Junior and Senior High School, Worcester, Mass. (with G. Adolph Johnson); Elementary school, Worcester, Mass. (with Albert Roy); Pillsbury house, Milton, Mass.; Vannah house, Foxboro, Mass.; Stichweh house, Hanover, Germany. – 1951–52: Houses at Five Fields, Lexington, Mass.; Houses (3) at Lake Barcroft, Falls Church, Va. – 1952: West Side Elementary School, Taunton, Mass.; Elementary schools (2), Warwick, R.I. (with Harkness and Geddes, Providence); Senior high school, Concord, N.H.; Office building for American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C.; Hechinger Company stores, Alexandria and Falls Church, Va.; Cole house, Cambridge, Mass.; Baruch house, Newton, Mass.; Lang house, Newton, Mass.; Elementary school, Cambridge, Mass. (with Carl Koch); Elementary school, North Adams, Mass. – 1953: Wherry housing development, Quonset, R.I. (for the Navy); Project for Boston Back Bay Center (with Boston Center Architects). – 1954: Elementary school, Worcester, Mass. – 1955: Elementary school, Waltham, Mass.; Junior high school, South Attleboro, Mass.; Clinic for Chest Diseases, Boston. – 1956: Elementary school, West Bridgewater, Mass.; Defense housing, Otis Air Force Base, Falmouth, Mass. – 1957: High school, Littleton, Mass.; High school, Northfield, Mass.; Apartment house, Hansa housing development, Interbau Exhibition, Berlin (with TAC and Wils Ebert). – 1958: Junior high school, Needham, Mass.; Elementary school, Stoughton, Mass.; Dormitories (2), Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; Reyim Synagogue, Newton, Mass.; Murchison house, Provincetown, Mass. – 1959: Elementary school, Acton, Mass. – 1960: Buildings for Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.; High school, Wayland, Mass.; Elementary school Lincoln Mass.; Elementary school, Kingston, Mass.; Elementary school, Waltham, Mass.; United States Embassy, Athens, Greece; Gould Hospital, Presque Isle, Maine; Blood Donors' Center, Children's Hospital, Boston. – Projected or under construction, 1961: University of Baghdad, Iraq; Buckow-Rudow housing development, West Berlin (with TAC and Benjamin Thompson); Shops for Sears, Roebuck & Company, Saugus, Mass.; Oheb Shalom Synagogue, Baltimore.

Ernesto N. ROGERS

WRITINGS BY THE ARCHITECT. "Selected Bibliography of Books and Articles Written by Walter Gropius" is included in J. M. Fitch, Walter Gropius, New York, 1960, pp. 120–21. Among Gropius' most important writings are: The New Architecture and the Bauhaus (trans. from German by P. Morton Shand), London, 1935, New York, 1936 (new ed., Boston, 1955): Bauhaus 1919–1928, ed. by Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius, New York, 1938 (2d ed., Boston, 1952); Scope of Total Architecture, ed. by Ise Gropius, New York and London, 1955. Also see: In Search of Better Architectural Education (in S. Giedion, ed., A Decade of Contemporary Architecture, New York, 1954, pp. 47–52); Architecture in Japan, Perspecta, no. 3, 1955, pp. 8–21, 79–80 (reprinted in W. Gropius, K. Tange, and Y. Ishimoto, Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture, New Haven, 1960); Discourse at Inauguration of the School at Ulm, Domus, no. 315, 1956, pp. 1–4 (in Italian); Walter Gropius, Arch. Record, no. 232, March, 1956, pp. 190–96; The Architects Collaborative, Baukunst und Werkform, no. 12, 1957, pp. 683–702; Un opera di Gropius e TAC nelle preesistenze ambientali di Atene, Casabella Continuità, no. 220, 1958 (Speech delivered by Gropius at the Harvard Club of Boston on the occasion of his 75th birthday, May 24, 1958); Einheit in der Vielfalt — Ein Paradox der Kultur, Bauen und Wohnen, no. 12, 1959, pp. 409–17 (Eng. summary opposite p. 409).

In addition to these cited writings, there follows a statement written by Gropius specifically for the Encyclopedia of World Art:

Already as a schoolboy I was determined to become an architect. Creation and love of beauty appeared to me the basis of human happiness. Instinctively I revolted against the increasing ugliness of the modern urban environment, compared with the unity and beauty of old, preindustrial towns. Pondering how I, as an individual, could contribute to reharmonizing the prevailing chaos, I became more and more convinced that the usual practice of architects of relieving the dominant disjointed pattern by a beautiful building here and there is most inadequate, and that we must instead find a new set of values, based on those constituents which might engender an integrated expression of the thought and feeling of our time.

From this early, passionate concern grew the idea of the Bauhaus — my attempt at directing our creative efforts toward a new cultural unity as the visible expression of our modern, industrialized society, in which all parts would be interrelated within an organic whole. This idea of a cultural reintegration of our world became the obsession of my life. Spreading this idea by example and by word, finding new values of supraindividual validity, emphasizing the necessity of collaboration in order to broaden the effort — these became my intellectual tools of coordination. This meant first finding for myself an effective attitude to control the "you and I" relation, which is the basis of the social problem *in nucleo*; it meant, further attaining an identity of thinking by doing, by living what one preaches. Realization of the final goal of "total architecture," which would embrace our whole environment from a simple chair to a comprehensive city, called for incessant experimentation, seeking new truth in contact with like-minded artists; for it is a program of search, rather than research, that leads from observation to discovery, to invention, and finally to an intuitive shaping of our contemporary scene.

Such a conviction guided me into aspiring to a new space conception for my architectural work, away from the static wall enclosure toward a flowing spatial continuity in keeping with the dynamic trend of our period, which has introduced the dimension of time into works of art. I recognized that artistic creation draws its life from the mutual tension between the subconscious and the conscious faculties of human existence, that it fluctuates between reality and illusion, and that therefore the desirable correlation and interaction between various creative individuals can come only from within and cannot be imposed by precept or edict. A common visual language, as begun at the Bauhaus, influenced by both practical and psychological factors, provides a solid foundation for the spontaneous creation of art and architecture and establishes a common key for understanding their manifestations. It enables a collaborating team to synchronize individual efforts

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and to raise its integrated work to higher potential than is represented merely by the sum of the work of just so many individuals.

I believe that such an approach, built upon a conception of totality with man as the measure, will lead to the reconciliation of the artist — the prototype of whole man — with the machine; it will reinstate him within our world of production, side by side with the scientist and the economist, as the natural authority to give beautiful form and meaning to our environment. The artist, by creating an organic setting for life, must give life a chance and an incentive to "manifest itself beautifully." This means that he cannot dissociate himself from the struggles and efforts toward social improvement with the excuse that this would dissipate his artistic strength and interfere with his real task: the creation of beauty. Beauty is an integral part of the way of life and does not arise in isolation. It cannot be attained surreptitiously, for it must have a solid foundation in the very habits of the people; and the architect is called upon to help form these habits.

Such a broadening of the artist's sphere of influence will be slowly effected by an education that will rediscover that beauty is a basic requirement of life, and that this recognition is a precondition for a true culture.

This, my creed, exemplified by my own architectural work and by my writings, has also guided my educational activities. Convinced of the common citizenship of all forms of creative work and their interdependence, I recognized that design is neither an intellectual nor a material affair, but simply an integral part of the stuff of life, necessary for everyone in a civilized society. So I tried to make young people realize how inexhaustible are the means of creation and stimulated them to find their own solutions. Banishing preconceived ideas of a "modern style," of formulas and dogmas, I gave them rather a method of approach that would allow them to tackle each problem according to its own peculiar conditions. By encouraging them to supplement the Platonic experience at the drawing board with practical experiences in the field and the factory, I wanted them to bridge the prevalent fatal separation of the design of buildings from their execution, and to accept the machine as the modern vehicle of form to fulfill human and social requirements. The aim of such an architectural education is not the specialist but the man of vision who can humanize our life by integrating emotional demands with our new knowledge of man and our new scientific discoveries — he who would be able to achieve in his work a new unity of order and spirit, visibly expressed in space and volume.

Walter GROPIUS

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Illustrations: PLS. 81–84; 5 figs. in text.

**GROS,** BARON A. J. French painter (b. Paris, Mar. 16, 1771; d. Paris, June 26, 1835). The son of a painter, Antoine Jean Gros entered J. L. David's studio in 1785 and the Académie de Peinture in 1787. In 1792 he submitted his painting *Antiochus and Eleazar* for the Prix de Rome but failed to win. In 1793, with the dissolution of the Académie after the French Revolution, Gros left for Italy. At Genoa, in 1796, he met Josephine Bonaparte, who introduced him to Napoleonic society. Thereafter he was to be the chief painter of Napoleonic military history and actually accompanied the general during his north Italian campaigns (*Bonaparte at Arcola*, 1796, Versailles). In the decade following his return to Paris in 1800, Gros exhibited at the *Salon* his major records of Napoleonic events, dramatizing deeds of prowess and benevolence (*Pesthouse at Jaffa*, 1804, Louvre; *Battle of Aboukir*, 1806, Versailles; *Napoleon at Eylau*, 1808, Louvre). After the fall of Napoleon, Gros continued to paint for the restored monarchy, executing subjects sympathetic to the royalist viewpoint (*Louis XVIII Leaving the Tuileries*, 1817, Versailles; *Embarkation of the Duchess of Angoulême*, 1819, Bordeaux, Mus. B. A.). He took over David's studio after his master's exile in 1816. In 1814 he began to decorate the dome of the Panthéon with themes from French history, and upon its completion in 1824 he received a baronage from Charles X. After David's death in 1825, Gros felt increasingly obliged to uphold his teacher's classical heritage, although his own work had served to weaken that tradition. Accordingly, his later life was marked by artistic as well as personal conflicts; and in 1835, the year he was elected professor at the Académie, his body was found in the Seine, presumably a suicide.

Of David's many students, Gros was the most important in undermining the classical doctrine. As pictorial propaganda for Napoleon, his most powerful canvases depicted contemporary, not antique, actualities and, as such, promoted in France that documentary recording of modern history which in England had been initiated primarily by West and Copley. In describing with journalistic vividness and presumed accuracy the exotic locales, the emotional drama, and the often gruesome horrors of the Napoleonic campaigns, Gros helped to establish the tenets of French romantic painting; and in style, as well, his penchant for Rubens' fluid paint techniques, sensuous color, and dynamic structure foreshadowed Géricault and Delacroix. Gros also painted subjects from ancient, Biblical, and medieval history, generally choosing themes of a passionate nature, and he was a first-rate portraitist, especially gifted in seizing a mood of psychological intimacy.

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Robert ROSENBLUM

**GROTESQUE.** See MONSTROUS AND IMAGINARY SUBJECTS.

**GRÜNEWALD,** MATTHIAS. German painter, who died in Halle in 1528. He signed himself Mathis on a drawing of a woman in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and it is by this name alone, or by some variant of it (Mathes, Mathias, etc.), that he is referred to in most of the sources. Zülch (1938) discovered his birthplace, Würzburg, and the surnames Nithardt (Neithardt) and Gothardt — which second form, conceivably a transformation of the first, may have been adopted by the artist himself, as the rare signature MG N (Mathis Gothardt Nithardt) seems to indicate. As for the appellation "Grünewald," retained here for convenience, it was bestowed on him by Joachim von Sandrart (1675), on erroneous grounds apparently, for no source confirms it.

Opinions differ on the artist's date of birth. Naumann (1930), least plausibly, places it in 1455; Zülch, about 1460; Feurstein (1930), between 1475 and 1480; Weixlgärtner (1949), about 1480; Schmid, whose work of 1911 provides the foundation for all subsequent studies on Grünewald, about 1483. Zülch identifies the painter with a Mathis active in Aschaffenburg from about 1480 to 1490. Zülch's chronology as well as Fraundorfer's more recent one (1952) contain an unbridgeable gap extending beyond 1500.

In the various attempts to fix Grünewald's date of birth, the *Portrait of a Young Artist*, also known as the *Youthful Self-portrait* (Chicago, Art. Inst.), has generally been taken into consideration. It is a picture of a youth about fifteen years old, which Feurstein convincingly dates about 1495. It bears the initials MN (Mathis Nithardt). Buchner (1953), while conceding that the painting might be by Grünewald, does not believe that it is a self-portrait. Its place of origin, according to him, is Augsburg; according to others, a city of the middle Rhine. Indubitably the painting is close to the work of Master WB, probably resident in Mainz, especially that artist's *Portrait of a Man* of 1487. As Stange writes (1955), a direct path seems to lead from Master WB to Grünewald, linking these two figures strangely isolated in the scene of contemporary painting.

The latter part of Grünewald's life is somewhat better documented than his early years, even though few of the documents uncovered can be unequivocally construed as applying to him. The data gathered by Fraundorfer tend to support A. Schädler's view that the frequently mentioned "Master Mathis, the woodcarver of Seligenstadt" is not identifiable with the painter (*MJhb*, XIII, 1962). On the other hand, the Mathis mentioned Oct. 10, 1505, can with probability be identified with him. A comparatively rich source of information is the file on a long-drawn-out lawsuit containing many references

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to the artist; for example, one of June 9, 1511, describing him as "Master Mathes, painter and stonecutter of the castle of Aschaffenburg," and one of Oct. 4, 1514, pointing to his residence, presumably of some duration, in Aschaffenburg, the second city of the Electors after Mainz. The records of this file disclose that he was attached to the court of the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, Uriel of Gemmingen, not only as painter but as superintendent of works and architect. Later he was court painter of Uriel's successor, Archbishop (then Cardinal) Albrecht of Brandenburg. Grünewald's last years were shadowed by the Peasants' War and the Reformation, which strongly opposed church art. In all likelihood dismissed as court painter in 1526, he moved to Frankfurt am Main, where he was employed as a waterworks specialist (as early as 1510 and 1517 he is documented as an expert on fountains) and mill builder; he was similarly employed in Magdeburg and Halle. His death in Halle in the last days of August, 1528, is attested by a document of Sept. 1 of that year. In 1531 Melanchthon mentions him, together with Dürer and Cranach, as a well-known artist of this time; then his name falls into oblivion.

What schools and artists influenced Grünewald remains problematic. In the 1490s he may well have entered on the guild-prescribed period of wanderings, perhaps visiting Italy for the jubilee year of 1500. One of his chief goals, then, would have been Nürnberg, the home of Dürer, whose influence is especially apparent in the pleated garments of the Donaueschingen panels. Grünewald's works are testimony to a lasting fascination with the *Revelations* of St. Bridget of Sweden, printed in Nürnberg in 1502 by Dürer's godfather, Koberger (Feurstein).

WORKS. *a. Paintings*: *Portrait of a Young Artist*. See above. – *Triptych of Lindenhardt* (1503; on pine; parish church of Lindenhardt, near Bayreuth). This work, probably commissioned from Grünewald in Nürnberg, was donated by the community of Bindlach to neighboring Lindenhardt in 1685, after that town was devastated by fire. The panels were recognized as Grünewald's work by Sitzmann in 1915 (pub. 1919, 1924, 1926); the attribution, disputed by some scholars, was accepted by Dörnhöffer, Friedländer, Schmid, Feurstein, and others. In 1928 the panels were exhibited in Nürnberg as the artist's earliest work. They were sensitively restored in 1926 and again in 1955 (Zülch, 1938; Meier, 1957). The three panels back a carved triptych. The central one presents the Man of Sorrows with the instruments of the Passion. Christ's right arm recalls the sketch in the *Portrait of a Young Artist*. When the altarpiece is closed, the two wings appear as a single composition, with the 14 helpers in need (*Nothelfer*), led by St. George and Bishop Dionysius. Not aligned schematically, the 14 figures form a mass apparently confused but actually oriented by St. George's banner, which seems to point the way to suffering humanity. The relatively few and sober colors are employed in many gradations. The draperies have a certain Gothic quality; their chiaroscuro shading suggests a sojourn in Italy. – *Mocking of Christ* (on pine; Munich, Alte Pin.). This painting, a memorial to a person who died in December, 1503, can hardly be earlier than 1504. Its provenance, according to some, is the Carmelite church in Frankfurt; according to others, Aschaffenburg. Braune identified it in 1909 as Grünewald's work. The composition is more dramatic, the palette richer, than in the preceding work. Joseph of Arimathea (?) with a follower is shown interceding with one of a group of ruffians bent on belaboring the seated, blindfolded Saviour. – *Crucifixion* (ca. 1505; on linden; Basel, Öffentl. Kunstsammlung; PL. 94). This panel, mentioned in Basel since 1775, shows, at the left of the Cross, the Virgin wrapped in a dark-blue cloak, Martha, and the Magdalen; at the right, St. John the Evangelist in a waving brick-red garment and Longinus. Gethsemane and a receding crowd are barely distinguishable on the night-darkened horizon. – *Small Crucifixion* (ca. 1506–08; on linden; since 1940 in Washington, D.C., Nat. Gall.). It belonged to William V of Bavaria, who in 1605 had it engraved on copper by Raphael Sadeler. Sandrart identified it as Grünewald's work in the mid-17th century. It was widely imitated. In the possession of Schöne of Essen, it was rediscovered in 1922 and published by Friedländer and Schoenberger (both, 1922); it then passed to the Koenigs Collection of Haarlem. On the left of the crucified Christ, livid against the nocturnal darkness, are the Virgin, upright, and the kneeling Magdalen; St. John stands on the right, his hands clasped together. Zülch (1938), moved to the same analogy as Huysmans before the *Crucifixion* of Karlsruhe, compares to a drawn crossbow the cross with its horizontal beam strained downward by the outstretched arms of Christ. – *Portrait of a Clergyman* (on linden; initialed MG or GM; Munich, Alte Pin.). Attributed to Grünewald by Buchner (1957), who adduces its similarity to *The Meeting of St. Erasmus and St. Maurice* (PL. 90) in the psychologically revealing presentation and the asymmetry of the features. – *St. Lawrence* and *St. Cyriacus* (ca. 1510; grisaille on pine; Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut). These two panels, together with the two described below, constituted the fixed wings of an altarpiece donated by Jacob Heller to the Dominican church of Frankfurt. The central panel, painted by Dürer in 1509, was acquired by Maximilian of Bavaria in 1615 and was destroyed when the Munich Residenz burned in 1674. The monogram MG N at the bottom of the St. Lawrence panel is not original. St. Lawrence is shown with a folio volume in his left hand; in his right is the gridiron, over which the lower portion of the dalmatic falls with almost baroque fullness. Cyriacus, who according to legend healed the possessed daughter of Diocletian, Artemia, gently forces open her mouth, that the evil spirit may escape; in his left hand he holds a book of exorcisms. The tuliplike clasp on his breast recalls St. Barbara's crown in the Lindenhardt altarpiece. – *St. Elizabeth* and *St. Lucy* (?) (ca. 1510; grisaille on pine; Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Samml.; PL. 93). The two panels, together with those described above, were part of the Heller altarpiece. They were recognized by J. Wilhelm and I. Geissler as Grünewald's, and they became part of the Donaueschingen Collection in 1951 (Salm, 1951). Like the gentlewomen of Nürnberg in Dürer's drawing, the saints wear richly draped garments, whose swelling folds and silken pleats, though rendered in monochrome, have the highest painterly quality. The reverse sides show Jachin and Boaz, the pillars of the Temple of Solomon, a theme to which the artist was to return at Isenheim.

*Isenheim Altarpiece* (on linden; Colmar, Mus. d'Unterlinden; PLS. 85–89, 91, 92). Grünewald's masterpiece, executed for the church of the monastery belonging to the hospital order of St. Anthony at Isenheim, was probably painted between 1512 and 1515; the figure 1515 on the Magdalen's ointment jar must be the date of completion. The altarpiece measures about 10 ft. closed, about 21 ft. open. It consists of a carved wooden shrine with three pairs of wings (i.e., three wings, one behind the other, on each side); one pair is fixed, the other two are movable and capable of closing on the shrine like the leaves of a cupboard. Underneath is a carved predella, also closable by a pair of wings. Besides the carved work, there are nine painted scenes (numbered here for easier reference). The outer movable wings, when closed, present the Crucifixion (1; PL. 88). The closed wings of the predella present the Lamentation (2). The fixed wings, exposed when the movable wings are closed, show St. Anthony (3) on the left and St. Sebastian (4; PL. 87) on the right. When the outer movable wings are opened the Annunciation (5; PL. 89) appears on the left, "Christmas" (6) in the center, and the Resurrection (7; PL. 89) on the right. Once the inner movable wings are opened, the carved shrine (8) is revealed, with the Temptation of St. Anthony (9; IV, PL. 180) on the right and his meeting with St. Paul (10) on the left. (1) In the Crucifixion (PL. 88) the Cross is off center, just to the right of the line of juncture of the wings. Christ's over-life-size body is covered with wounds from his scourging; his head crowned with thorns sinks sideways on his breast, whose labored movement has but shortly ceased; his mouth is held open; a watery blood runs from the wound in his side (PL. 86). The crowd has withdrawn; a sense of solitude and desolation pervades the scene. The few figures, painted in light colors and on different scales, are projected against the murky landscape with an effect at once ghostly and strident. From the anguish-frozen group of Mary and John and the kneeling, hand-wringing Magdalen, there seems to issue but a single lament, directed to the martyred head of Christ (PL. 85). To the right stands the Baptist (PL. 86), his finger pointing at Christ, in allusion to the fulfillment of the prophecy: "He must increase, but I must decrease." (John 3:30). (2) In the scene of the Lamentation (PL. 92), frigid in coloring, a wide landscape spreads beyond the empty sarcophagus. (3–4) The fixed wings with the patron saints of the hospital — Anthony the Hermit and Sebastian, protector against the plague (PL. 87), posed on plinths ornamented with stone-gray foliage — may have been interchanged when they were joined to the central panel in the present century. According to Sarwey (1955), reversing their position would make for a more balanced ensemble, for the pathetic scene of Golgotha would then be framed by Jachin, luminous pillar of life, and Boaz, pillar of the shadow of death. Other considerations favor an originally reversed order: the Cross would occupy the exact center between the two pillars; the windows, shifted toward the exterior, would be less obtrusive; a better equilibrium of the masses would be obtained, as well as a more harmonious distribution of colors, with the reds of the wings gradually shaded down as the eye moves outward. A final point: the pillar of light, Jachin, is traditionally placed on the left. As early as the end of the 19th century the extraordinarily expressive head of St. Sebastian was taken to be a self-portrait (Rieffel, 1897). The age seems to fit, for the saint looks as old as the artist must have been when he painted the *Isenheim Altarpiece* — about

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forty. The striking resemblance between this head and the *Portrait of a Young Artist* contributed to the identification of that painting. (5) In the Annunciation (PL. 89) — a joyously colorful scene vibrant with light, suggestive of morning — the angel Gabriel, in fluttering red and gold garments, appears before the Virgin, who is overcome with astonishment and fright. (6) The Christmas panel, purely symbolic, even to the choice of colors, seems greatly indebted to the visions described by St. Bridget in the *Revelations* (Feurstein, 1930). The left half, with the Angel Concert, is nearly filled by what can be interpreted as a forehall to the Temple, a kind of late Gothic porch lavishly adorned with sculpture, which Sittler (1957) derives from the rood screen of the Cathedral of Breisach. It shelters music-making angels; on the tympanum, according to Sittler, God the Father hands Abraham the ring of the New Covenant. The Virgin in a glowing yellow and red aureole kneels on the threshold. The right half of the composition, with the Nativity, is dominated by the Virgin, dressed in carmine and blue-green, and the Child (PL. 91). Near them are the symbols of virginity — the walled garden, or *hortus conclusus*, the rosebush, the crystal decanter — as well as various appurtenances of infancy — the bathing tub, the cradle, linens. A radiant landscape of crystalline mountains rises in the background. From the throne of God, high in the heavens, there descend in beams of light diaphanous angels and the seraph bearing the diadem of immortality. (7) In the Resurrection (PL. 89) the Saviour rises into the starry firmament in a blinding rainbow-colored aureole, as the guards, bathed in bright light, tumble to the ground. By the boldest transitions the colors pass from ice green to violet, to dark red, to golden yellow. (8) The shrine, carved by Nikolaus of Hagenau, presents, in the middle, St. Anthony; above, the symbols of the Evangelists; to the left, St. Augustine with the donor Johannes de Orliaco (Jean d'Orliac); to the right, St. Jerome with the lion. The reliefs of the predella, representing Christ and the apostles, are by Desiderius Beichel (Beychel), whose signature is on the back of the group with St. Thomas. (9) The Temptation of St. Anthony (IV, PL. 180), most inventive in its ferocious swarm of demons, was intended to remind the patients of the hospital that even their mighty patron saint was not secure from the snares of the devil. A sign at the lower right bears the lament of the incurable· "Ubi eras Ihesu bone ubi eras quare non effuisti ut sanares vulnera mea" ("Where were you, good Jesus, where were you? Why did you not come to heal my wounds?"). (10) St. Anthony's visit to St. Paul takes place in a delightful landscape, almost romantic in feeling. St. Anthony wears the features of Guido Guersi, the preceptor of the monastery, whose coat of arms is propped against the rock on which the saint is sitting. Curious to note, the ground is strewn with 14 types of herbs for the cure of St. Anthony's fire (Kühn, 1948).

*Virgin of Stuppach* (on canvas, transferred to a new wooden panel; parish church of Stuppach, near Bad Mergentheim, Württemberg), central panel of an altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin of the Snow, originally in the Collegiate Church of Aschaffenburg. The frame of the altarpiece, still in that church, bears the artist's monogram, the date of completion, 1519, and the names of the donors, Heinrich Reitzmann and Caspar Schantz. Several times restored, the painting of the Virgin and Child under a rainbow was identified as Grünewald's work by Schmid (1911); its literary source, according to Feurstein (1930), is St. Bridget's *Revelations*. Of the two wings, only one survives: the *Miracle of the Snow*, in Freiburg im Breisgau (Augustinermus.). This painting, whose subject is the miraculous snowfall that helped determine the site of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, was attributed to Grünewald by Bayersdorfer in 1897. – *The Meeting of St. Erasmus and St. Maurice* (on pine; Munich, Alte Pin.; PL. 90). Commissioned by Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg for the Collegiate Church of St. Moritz in Halle and brought by him to Aschaffenburg to protect it from the upheavals of the Reformation; transferred to Munich in 1836. The subject is a colloquy between Bishop Erasmus, in episcopal vestments, accompanied by a bare-headed canon, and St. Maurice, in silver armor, followed by a dark-skinned archer. The choice of Erasmus, who wears the features of Albrecht, was probably a bow to Erasmus of Rotterdam. – *Crucifixion* (PL. 95) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (PL. 94; on pine, Karlsruhe, Staat. Kunsthalle). These paintings, datable to the period of the Peasants' War, formed the obverse and reverse of a turnable panel in the parish church of Tauberbischofsheim, demolished in 1664. H. Thoma in 1873 recognized the artistic value of the *Crucifixion*; it was attributed to Grünewald by O. Eusenmann of Kassel. The *Christ Carrying the Cross* was discovered in 1883, when the panel was cleaned; the two paintings were subsequently separated. There are certain similarities between this Crucifixion and that of Basel, done about twenty years earlier (e.g., in the cloaks of St. John). The later painting, limited to three figures, has a tragic force that distinguishes it as one of Grünewald's greatest achievements. It inspired Huysmans' deeply felt and widely cited description from *Là Bas* (1891), in which he likens the bent transverse beam of the cross to a bow about to spring back in sheer pity to hurl the suffering flesh to heaven. – *Lamentation* (on pine; Aschaffenburg, Collegiate Church), predella of a lost altarpiece, showing the arms of Albrecht of Brandenburg and Dietrich of Erbach.

*b. Some lost works*: *Lament of the Magdalen*. A copy on canvas is in Donaueschingen (Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Samml.), painted by Christoph Krafft in 1648 (Feurstein, 1924, 1930). It bears the arms of Abbot Franz Chullot of Sankt Blasien, in the Black Forest. In the middle is the crucified Christ seen in profile; on the right a ladder is propped against the cross; on the left is the kneeling Magdalen, crying out in despair. – Sandrart reported that three Grünewald altarpieces from the Cathedral of Mainz were removed by the Swedes and lost in a shipwreck in the Baltic. He also mentioned a life-size St. John the Evangelist at Castelgandolfo, in the possession of Pope Urban VIII.

*c. Drawings*. These are studies for paintings; in chalk, generally on brownish paper, occasionally heightened in white (numbering follows Meier, 1957; see also Behling, 1955). (1) Christ on the Cross (Karlsruhe, Staat. Kunsthalle). Damaged in part, but can be reconstituted by means of a copy in Basel (Öffentl. Kunstsammlung). Datable after 1503. – (2–5) Inserted in a Luther Bible of 1541, printed in Wittenberg, Stengel (1952) found studies of St. John the Evangelist (?) and two prophets, one of them Moses (all three, Berlin, Märkisches Mus.). They belong to the same group as the so-called "Mocking Pharisee" (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (6–7) The apostles Peter and James the Greater (formerly Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett), studies for a Transfiguration. – (8) Drapery study for a seated figure, belonging to the same group as nos. 6 and 7 (formerly London, Oppenheimer Coll.; now U.S., private coll.). – (9–21) Group of studies for the *Isenheim Altarpiece*; (9) Study for the Virgin of the Annunciation (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). (10) Portrait of an old man, perhaps Guido Guersi (Weimar, Schlossmus.). (11–12) Probably studies for the Biblical Marys (formerly Lützschena, near Leipzig, Speck von Sternburg Coll.). (13) Probably study for a Magdalen (Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Coll.; PL. 96). (14) Woman with a veil on her head (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus.). Bears the signature [M]athis and later annotations. (15) Forearm of St. Sebastian (formerly Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett). (16) Upper arm of St. Sebastian (formerly Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). (17) Seated old man, verso of no. 15. (18) Seated old man, verso of no. 16, study for the St. Anthony of the panel, showing him with St. Paul. (19) Head of a woman (Paris, Louvre). (20) Presumed self-portrait, with the monogram G within M; retraced in the 17th century by another hand, in pen and India ink (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek). An early-17th century copy is preserved in Kassel. (21) Study for the Virgin of the Annunciation (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (22) Nude trumpet player (formerly Haarlem, Koenigs Coll.). – (23–24) Unfinished drawing of St. Peter; on the reverse, St. Joseph, standing, with staff and sword (Vienna, Albertina). – (25) Kneeling king (?), the train of whose cloak is carried by angels; suggestion of a landscape (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (26) Half-length Virgin with Child and the infant St. John, verso of no. 25. – (27) Study for the *Virgin of Stuppach* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (28) Head of a woman (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (29–34) Studies for the lost altarpieces of Mainz (except for no. 34, all Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett): (29) head of a screaming figure, verso of no. 28; (30) boy crying out; (31) standing woman and, on the reverse (32), St. Catherine; (33) St. Dorothy with a child on an astrolabe beside her; (34) study for a Queen of Heaven among clouds over a yellow-tinted moon, with the notation "Menz" (dialectal for Mainz; ca. 1520; Vierhouten, Van Beuningen Coll.; formerly Haarlem, Koenigs Coll.). – (35) Three-headed creature (ca. 1525; original monogram: G within M; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). According to Markert's somewhat forced interpretation (1943), a "Trias Romana" or personification of the vices of Rome; more likely, an "Unholy Trinity," a trinity of the devil (Winkler, 1952), or the "grimace of the triune god" (Liefmann, 1912). – (36) Study for the St. John of the Karlsruhe *Crucifixion* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett). – (37) Portrait of a canon (Stockholm, Nationalmus.). – (38) Portrait of Margaret Prellwitz, mother of Hans Schenitz (ca. 1525; Paris, Louvre). – (39) Virgin of Mercy (Stockholm, Nationalmus.), published by Schilling (1935). According to Winkler (1952), this is Grünewald's only pen drawing.

Six drawings (ca. 1525; Marburg, private coll.), heavily damaged by humidity, were found in 1949 at Gisselberg near Marburg. The harsh feminine types, a'so present in the unquestionably original panels of Donaueschingen, speak for their authenticity, which is vigorously defended by Winkler (1952) but still disputed. The subjects are God the Father; Mary on a throne of clouds with two angels; the Magdalen; Veronica; John the Baptist; and St. Paul. Of two further drawings, dealing, according to Winkler, with Christ and the Holy Ghost, there survive only fragments.

Karl SITZMANN

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ESTIMATES AND INTERPRETATIONS (16th–20th cent.). Contemporaneous testimony on Grünewald is extremely sparse — so sparse that adequate data for an understanding of his esthetic and culture in relation to his environment can hardly be deduced from it. But this silence should not suggest that his fame is a product of modern criticism; even less that he was a special phenomenon, insulated from manifestations of the Renaissance in Europe and particularly in Germany. The documents present Grünewald as a court painter charged with important commissions; as an architect (he designed a chimney piece, supplying the model); and as a hydraulic expert, especially on fountains and mills. His adopted son was to pursue a Humanistic career. A little after the painter's death, Melanchthon, in the last chapter of his *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* of 1531, ranked him just after Dürer and before Cranach — this order corresponding to the three levels of rhetoric (high, medium, and low), which he felt were illustrated by these artists. Grünewald, then, was the painter who followed the middle path ("quasi mediocritatem servabat"), who, unfolding dramatic themes, approached the sublime until he almost identified himself with it (indeed, "the middle level can scarcely be distinguished from the high"), but without giving his forms a classicizing idealization. This was a highly positive judgment and notably revealing, also shedding light on the valuation of Cranach about 1530. Moreover, since both Dürer and Cranach are known to have had close connections with Melanchthon (with consequences for their style and iconography still to be clarified), it is possible that Melanchthon's opinion of Grünewald, too, reflects a personal contact not yet investigated. It must be remembered that Grünewald lived and worked in great cultural centers such as Isenheim, which flourished under the Italian Maecenas Guido Guersi, and the court of Albrecht of Brandenburg, an extremely complex and interesting personality, whose patronage was both politically and religiously motivated, and who from more than one point of view may be regarded as a figure of the pre-Reformation.

There can be little doubt that Grünewald was involved in the religious and social conflicts of his time. An inventory of his estate lists a sealed box with Lutheran works and a booklet containing the "12 articles of the Christian faith" — most likely the "peasant articles" drawn up in Swabia, which called for free choice of pastors, abolition of slavery and of small tithes, the right to hunt, fish, and cut wood, and so forth. It is reported that in 1525, in Guebwiller, a Mathis Nithardt was stirring up the populace (this "wicked good-for-nothing. . . took some peasants with him and brought them into a cellar"). The coincidence in name might be written off as fortuitous — as it is, indeed, by most historians — were it not known that many artists, especially in southern German-speaking countries, participated in the religious and political struggles. Various persons with whom Grünewald must have had contact took part in the peasant revolt and were ultimately imprisoned. One may speculate whether a religious crisis prompted him to change the name Nithardt, suggesting wickedness, to Gothardt, suggesting godliness. (The similarity in meaning between *Nithardt*, a spiteful, ill-natured person, and *grün, grien*, "ill-humored," "sullen," may account for Sandrart's associating the master, in a manner historically erroneous but critically interesting, with Baldung-Grien, also miscalled "Grünewald.")

Grünewald, like other painters, may have been deliberately neglected by contemporary writers, for political reasons, although it would seem that after a period of exile in Frankfurt he was reconciled with Albrecht of Brandenburg. For a long time the German courts continued to interest themselves — predominantly as collectors — in the works of the master. In 1539 a nephew of Albrecht tried to acquire the Heller altarpiece in Frankfurt. Rudolph II in 1597 made a futile attempt to obtain the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (as did Maximilian of Bavaria some sixty years later) and the Heller altarpiece, though he did not know the author. In 1613 William V of Bavaria succeeded in obtaining the *Mocking of Christ*. The name of the painter was still cited in 1573 in Jobin's introduction to the *Accuratae effigies pontificum* by Onuphrius Panvinius, published in Strasbourg, and in 1619 by Vincent Steinmeyer (*Newe Künstliche Wohlgerissene vnnd in Holtz geschnittene Figuren*); but these citations are no more than mentions.

The strange art and iconography of the master must have aroused expressions of disapproval and puzzlement. How else explain why two painters active in Isenheim in 1578, Hagerich of Chur and Abel Stimmer (Stymer), should defy the incomprehension of the public, qualifying Grünewald's art as divine, denying anyone who did not understand it the right to judge it, and insisting, perhaps more than the rhetorical tropes of the time required, on the sacredness of the painter's inspiration and on the edifying value of his work. Hagerich of Chur, for example, writes: "This art comes from the grace of God / When God denies, then all's for naught / All should praise this work God wrought / For this art comes from God." Another painter, Philipp Uffenbach, jealously preserved and imitated the drawings of Grünewald. It is through these drawings that Grünewald's first biographer, Sandrart, came to know him.

Sandrart's biography (1675), although it is not based on written sources, seems to sum up the value judgments implicit in the preceding citations. He speaks of a "subtle spirit," of a melancholy temperament, of a solitary and unhappy life, thus drawing a "saturnine portrait" similar to those of the early Florentine mannerists, whose most extreme religious paintings are contemporaneous with those of the German painter. Sandrart emphasizes the naturalistic element in Grünewald's work, insistently speaking of realism, not alone in the biography proper but elsewhere; and he considers the master unrivaled in "truth." For this idea of realism it may be appropriate to recall the dramatic inflection, in a certain sense preexpressionistic, in the early Caravaggio style; Sandrart's thought presumably takes its impulse from his knowledge of this style. At all events he grasps the connection between the exaggeration, the imaginative transfiguration, of naturalistic impression — later exalted by the critics of expressionism — and the painstaking, almost polemic, depiction of sacred figures and their surroundings as poverty-ridden. A contemporary of Sandrart's, the traveler Balthasar de Monconys, on Jan. 5, 1664, refers somewhat uncertainly to Grünewald, describing him as far more esteemed than Dürer ("un Martin d'Achafenbourg, bien plus estimé infiniment qu'Albert Dure"). The period was that of the expansion of the baroque in Europe, and the appreciation of Grünewald was undoubtedly due to the force and drama of his compositions, to which French and Flemings were particularly susceptible in those years.

A new wave of enthusiasm for the artist, and especially for the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, which, partly because of its accessibility, was to remain the focus of interest, came in the second half of the 18th century, a time of warm appraisals by artists and critics, coupled, to be sure, with false attributions to Dürer. In 1828 Grünewald's masterpiece was visited by the most famous German artists, among whom was probably Peter Cornelius. The "Raphaelists" Tieck and Wackenroder, however, judged the work repellent. Mannerism, baroque, preromanticism, romanticism — each movement has left its own characteristic marks of appreciation, but it fell to the expressionists (anticipated by the 19th-cent. symbolists) really to discover Mathis Nithardt — still commonly called "Grünewald," after Sandrart — and make him one of the most admired, popular, assiduously studied, and frequently reproduced artists in the world. In him the expressionists found the antithesis of the profane, in a certain sense naturalistic, Italian Renaissance; in him they saw the living embodiment of inner vision, of the capacity to see and feel with the eyes of the spirit, to achieve a symbolic and emotional transfiguration of reality. Nolde declared him "the most powerful of all painters." All the most dramatic religious compositions of the expressionists are openly modeled on his paintings, especially the great altarpiece of Colmar. In the first enthusiastic monographs much was made of the painter's mysticism and his value as a typical representative of German religious mentality (see the writings of Huysmans, Crusius, Mayer, Hausenstein, Wölfflin, and, on the role of light in his work, Boos).

The theory of mysticism was confirmed by the discovery of an iconographic relation between some of the compositions

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and the *Revelations* of St. Bridget, which just at the beginning of the 16th century gained wide circulation through printing (Feurstein, 1930), and by the numerous iconographic studies published in the 1920s (Walter, 1920; Bernhart, 1921; Groner, 1920; see also Zülch's articles, in the bibliog. of his 1938 work). The spiritual drama of the artist, torn between obedience to the pure "divine" laws of painting and participation in the religious and social conflicts of his time, is most vividly presented in the opera *Mathis der Maler*, written and composed by Paul Hindemith (1935), in which some of the content of the *Isenheim Altarpiece* is brought, quite successfully, to the stage. The main theme is perhaps epitomized in the exchange between the painter and the leader of the peasants in revolt: "Broken heads can mend the world, then?" "Better than your painted saints." The whole work, charged with bitter anti-Nazi feeling, seeks in its hero the embodiment of the true German folk spirit.

Subsequent estimates of Grünewald have depended less on esthetic insight, perhaps, than on scholarship, which, thanks especially to Zülch, has finally succeeded in illuminating the figure of the master historically, giving him a name, a biography, and a background. The conception of him, once founded on little more than a vague impression of mysticism, has been clarified by analytical studies of the purpose of his art and of the influences upon him. It is known, for example, that the *Isenheim Altarpiece* was intended for a famous hospital that also treated the mentally disturbed; its suggestive power was supposed to produce a violent emotional shock in the patients, who hoped to be miraculously healed by it (Vogt, 1958). The iconographic tradition of the Anthonin order, which commissioned the altarpiece, has been examined by Cuttler (1956). Other iconographic sources besides St. Bridget's *Revelations* — the scope of whose influence has been defined with exactitude by such scholars as H. Gasser (1958) — have been discovered in popular sermons (Dyroff, 1930) and devotional images (Haug, 1953). The attribution of some portraits to Grünewald has shed light on the circle of his acquaintances and, above all, has opened avenues of interpretation other than the purely religious. As Pariset remarked in 1931, "Grünewald is also a realist, a traveler, a supervisor of works, a businessman; what is more, a member of the court circle, if not actually a courtier, ideally placed in a center of art and culture. Owing to his office, he was considered the peer of the greatest men of his time, in a position to know the manifold aspects of Renaissance art and to find around him . . . marvellous subjects of observation." The studies on both similarities and contrasts with Dürer and Cranach have proved ever more fruitful, as has the analysis of Flemish and Italian influences. (Among the latter that of Jacopo de' Barbari must be singled out as determinant.) Criticism today tends to analyses of specific aspects of Grünewald's work. However, the comparative study (attempted, to a certain extent, by Weixlgärtner, 1949) of his artistic contemporaries in Germany and also in Switzerland and Italy — animated, like him, by the spirit of the Reformation — is likely to provide a historically and psychologically more accurate frame of reference for his drama and his art. Thus it may eventually be shown that the peculiarities of his style grew out of a widespread European attitude, an anticlassicism which, as Vogt (1957) observed, found in him not a mysterious outlet but a conscious translation into representational terms.

Eugenio Battisti

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Illustrations: PLS. 85–96.

**GUARDI.** The most famous member of this family of 18th-century Venetian painters was Francesco (b. Venice, Oct. 5, 1712; d. Venice, Jan. 1, 1793). His father Domenico, baptized at Mastellina, Trento, on May 22, 1678, was called to Vienna at an early age by his uncle Giovanni, canon of St. Stephan. On Mar. 12, 1698, Domenico married Maria Claudia Pichler, who gave birth the following year to their first son, Giovanni Antonio. They then moved to Venice, where the other children were born: Maria Cecilia (1702), who in 1719 married Giovan Battista Tiepolo (q.v.); Francesco (1712); and Nicolò (1715). Domenico Guardi died on Oct. 16, 1716. According to P. Panizza (1912), Domenico was a talented decorator; but since no sure work by him is known, his alleged role as intermediary between Venice and the Austrian baroque remains hypothetical. This is typical of the extreme scarcity of documentation — both visual and literary — for the works of the Guardi family, a scarcity which has raised many questions of attribution. The problem of attribution is due also to the way in which the "Guardi brothers" (so described in a document of 1731) must have worked, that is, in a family workshop in the tradition of Venetian artists and craftsmen (e.g., see BASSANO). There are various paintings clearly from this workshop in which the share contributed by Giovanni Antonio and/or Francesco remains a matter for debate — not to mention Nicolò (whose artistic personality is still wholly undefined) or the possible participation of other collaborators and pupils. One of these, in 1742, was the young Francesco Casanova, brother of Giacomo and later famous as a battle painter.

Francesco Guardi must have begun working quite early in the service of his brother Giovanni Antonio, especially in figure painting. There is no information concerning Francesco during this long early period, the only document of any kind being the *Allegories* (Sarasota, Fla., Ringling Mus. of Art), female figures of Hope and Faith signed and dated 1747. In 1760 Francesco married Maria Pagani, and in the following year he joined the painters' guild of Venice. In 1763 he painted two canvases for S. Pietro Martire in Murano, one of which, the *Miracle of St. Hyacinth*, is in part preserved in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (PL. 98). In 1764 he exhibited two Venetian views at the Procuratie, on the basis of which he is described in the diary of his contemporary Pietro Gradenigo as a "good pupil of the celebrated Canaletto." Some time after 1771 Francesco executed an altarpiece, since dispersed, for S. Cristoforo della Pace in Venice; probably about 1775, the recently discovered altarpiece in the parish church of Roncegno, Trento; and certainly after 1776, the famous *Fiera della Sensa*, or *Festival of the Ascension* (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.). Several of his canvases, among them the *Gala Concert in Venice* (PL. 100), commemorate the festivities held in Venice in January, 1782, to honor the Archduke Paul Pavlovitch and Archduchess Maria Fedorovna of Russia. In the same year he was officially commissioned to paint four episodes from Pius VI's visit to Venice; these works still exist in the original and in replicas. The portrait of Andrea Dolfin (Rome, private coll.) is signed and dated 1783. The *Mongolfiera* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.) represents a balloon ascension of 1784, the first in Venice. Drawings and paintings record the 1789 fire in the San Marcuola quarter; the drawings of the Duc de Polignac's wedding are from 1790; and a drawing of the theatre "La Fenice," inaugurated in 1792, brings us to the end of Guardi's life. Not until 1784 was Francesco Guardi elected a member of the Venetian Academy as "*pittore prospettico*," or view painter, with nine votes for him and two against.

Francesco Guardi's earliest signed and dated work, the Sarasota *Allegories*, is stylistically similar to the figure paintings of his brother Giovanni Antonio but is less exquisite, more robust and decisive in handling, with strong brush strokes and outlines. These characteristics are in accord with those found in two other signed works, depicting a saint (Trent, Mus. Naz.) and the Virgin (formerly, Vicenza, Coll. Tecchio). In the *Miracle of St. Hyacinth* of 1763 the influence of Alessandro Magnasco is strongly apparent; this influence was of fundamental importance in the formation of Francesco's style and shows itself in the vividly contrasting lights and in the arresting, summarily indicated figures (*macchiette*) of countless Guardi views. The Roncegno altarpiece shows Francesco's distinctive figure style at a later phase of his career. The signed *Pietà* and several other figure paintings are also attributed to Francesco's later period on the basis of their style.

Although Francesco's figure paintings are often of fine quality, his most characteristic works are the views (*vedute*), whose lyricism goes beyond the limits of rococo taste, translating the data of objective scene painting into imaginative impressions (PLS. 99, 101, 102; I, PL. 410; IV, PL. 279). Even with documents lacking, it is clear from his works that at a certain point Francesco began to imitate Canaletto (q.v.), especially Canaletto's early views, which still could easily be seen in Venice, particularly in the collection (later transferred to England) of the British consul James Smith. Canaletto clearly inspired Francesco's two great views in the former James de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; the view of S. Giorgio Maggiore in the Glasgow Art Galley; the two views of the Rialto in Lord Iveagh's collection at Pyrford Court, near Woking in Surrey (a replica of one appears in the Met. Mus.); and the *Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo* at the Louvre. There is reason to place this approximation of Canaletto's early style in the decade 1750–60 — a style even closer to that of Marco Ricci, from which Canaletto had evolved. Guardi's imitation of Canaletto at this time was so deliberate that it invalidates the attempts made to place an earlier date on certain of Francesco's works in which the qualities of Canaletto were plainly reworked in the characteristic Guardi manner. This imitative phase must have lasted but a short while; and when, in 12 canvases now mostly in the Louvre, Francesco literally repeated the compositions commemorating the festivals honoring the election of a doge that Brustolon engraved from Canaletto's drawings and published in 1766, the results were no less personal than those the Guardis achieved in their copies of Francesco Solimena, Pietro Longhi, or Sebastiano and Marco Ricci.

For about 30 years, until his death in 1793, Francesco worked intensively, producing views of Venice and imaginary landscapes or architectural fantasies (*capricci*). In this, the phase of his activity for which he is best known, he can be considered a successor of Canaletto, even though Guardi's work is very different from the older artist's in character and effect. In fact, Francesco's interpretation of Venice was entirely new and personal. He recorded not so much the city's topographical facts as its ephemeral aspects — shifting lights and changing colors; and as he grew older, he tended more and more to accentuate its unreal aspects. The *capricci* also seem to become progressively more lyrical, arbitrarily arranged, and inventive (V, PL. 241). Even when, between 1782 and 1790, Francesco acted as a chronicler of Venetian events, he remained relatively unconcerned with objective accuracy, and his rapid, economical mode of painting and drawing produced an altogether subjective expression of the character of an event, emphasizing those particulars which appealed to his imagination.

Giovanni Antonio Guardi was born in Vienna, where he was baptized in the Schottenkirche on May 27, 1699. Documents published by Antonio Morassi tell us that he was active from 1730 to 1746 in the service of the Austrian field marshal Johann von der Schulenberg as an executor of copies, some of which have been identified. Further documents concerning Giovanni are sparse. There exist only references to his dealings in the Trentino, where he, and subsequently his brother Francesco, went to take care of family interests, and to his invitation to join the Venetian Academy at the time of its founding under the presidency of Giovan Battista Tiepolo in 1756. Giovanni Antonio died in Venice on Jan. 22, 1769.

The one known signed painting by Giovanni Antonio, the *Death of St. Joseph* (destroyed; formerly, Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Mus.), must be dated fairly early, for in it the character-

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istic tendency to a loose, agitated pictorialism — a tendency later fully developed in other works that it seems reasonable to attribute to the same artist — still appears restrained. There exist many drawings as well; especially important among them for its indication of his stylistic development is the signed *Triumph of Military Virtue* (Geneva, private coll.). Various drawings displaying Giovanni Antonio's name in old inscriptions are convincing attributions, even if generally not autograph, and still others may be attributed to him on the basis of affinity with these. Several figure paintings of a "Guardiesque" character have been assigned to this artist because they display features clearly different from those characterizing his brother Francesco's hand. Among these works are *Soliman and Ismenias* (formerly Venice, Coll. Alvera); *The Story of Joseph* (Milan, Coll. Lutomirski); the *Holy Family* (PL. 97); the ceiling and overdoors, formerly in the Suppiei Palace, Venice, and now in the Barnabò Palace in Venice; the frescoes in the Ca' Rezzonico, originally from the Dabalà Palace; the altarpiece in the parish church of Cerete Basso, Bergamo; and, at least in part, the eight very large paintings representing scenes from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* that were recently discovered in Ireland.

There are also numerous works in which, although there may have been some collaboration, the dominance of Giovanni Antonio's hand in composition and over-all style seems clear. These works are the altarpieces in the parish churches of Vigo d'Anaunia in Trento and Belvedere di Aquileia and Pasiano di Pordenone in Friuli; the lunettes in the church of Vigo d'Anaunia; the *Amorini* now in the Italian Embassy in Paris; and finally, the famous canvases of the organ parapet of the Church of the Arcangelo Raffaele in Venice, scenes from the story of Tobias (PL. 98). It is probable that Francesco worked on these last canvases, which are of exceptional quality, for there appear in passages more marked separations of color and more pronounced outlines than are usual in his brother's loose brushwork. The personality of Giovanni Antonio, a figure long neglected, has begun to emerge in the light of recent studies. His style has been identified as representing an extreme phase, in a rococo key, of Venetian colorism. It is a style that recalls the iridescence of Andrea Celesti, the coloristic improvisations of Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini, and the preciosity of Giuseppe Bazzani; and with great freedom it develops Sebastiano Ricci's tonal harmonies and nimble touch in unreal pictorial fantasies spiritedly handled. Like his brother Francesco, Giovanni Antonio Guardi often drew upon the paintings of other masters, both past and contemporary; nevertheless, as in his brother's case, the results were not so much copies as interpretations or correspondences in his own highly stylized idiom.

Nicolò, the last of the Guardi brothers, was born in Venice on Dec. 9, 1715, and died there on May 26, 1785. He is remembered as "pittore anch'egli di nome" ("also a painter of repute") — in relation to Francesco — in the 1790 catalogue of the Vianelli Collection, Chioggia, which included a pen-and-ink landscape. Elsewhere he is characterized as "estimio pittore di camera," an estimable decorative painter, but nothing further is known. It is probable that Nicolò, too, was taught by his brother Giovanni Antonio and worked in the family workshop, first with him and then with Francesco. Since no work of Nicolò's is known as yet, however, there is no basis for any stylistic evaluation.

Giacomo Guardi, son of Francesco, was born in Venice on Apr. 13, 1764, and died in that city on Nov. 3, 1835. He figures solely as a modest and rather pedestrian imitator of his father. Giacomo's numerous Venetian views and imaginary views are sometimes hurriedly confused with those of Francesco, the more easily since he often based his work on his father's drawings. Some signed paintings by Giacomo Guardi exist in private collections, and many drawings may be attributed to him, among them a group in the Warsaw National Museum and more than a hundred in the Museo Correr in Venice.

The critical fortunes of the Guardis have fluctuated greatly. In the compendium published by Alessandro Longhi (1762) and in A. M. Zanetti's *Pittura veneziana* (1771) they were not even named. Subsequently Luigi Lanzi, in his *Storia pittorica* (1789), considered Francesco as a painter of "effects," weak in the "ragion dell'arte," or the science of art. This evaluation was repeated for many years, with sporadic dissenting judgments, even though collectors and connoisseurs manifested continued interest in Guardi views. A full reevaluation of Francesco Guardi did not come until G. A. Simonson published his significant monograph on the artist (London, 1904). After this publication, critical esteem for Guardi began to mount (even though sometimes on the basis of arbitrary interpretation as a kind of avant-garde impressionist), and only more recently has Roberto Longhi, in his *Viatico per cinque secoli di pittura veneziana* (Florence, 1946), expressed some reservations, especially regarding the repetition of certain formulas. Giovanni Antonio, for so long almost forgotten, began to emerge only from the time of Gion Fogolari's study "L'Accademia veneziana di pittura e scultura" (*L'Arte*, 1913). In 1919 Giuseppe Fiocco published the paintings of the organ parapet in the Arcangelo Raffaele and attributed them to Francesco. Soon, however, the questions of attribution mentioned above began to develop. Only in the most recent criticism has Giovanni Antonio been assigned an increasingly important share in the figure painting, especially after E. Arslan's essay "Per la definizione dell'arte di Francesco, Gianantonio e Nicolò Guardi" (*Emporium*, C, 1944).

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Illustrations: PLS. 97–102.

Vittorio MOSCHINI

**GUARINI,** GUARINO. Architect (b. Modena, Jan. 17, 1624; d. Milan, Mar. 6, 1683). Having entered the Theatine order, Guarini went to Rome as a novice and after his return



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to Modena he (with Father B. Castagnini) supervised the construction of the Church of S. Vincenzo and of the Theatine monastery attached to it (1649–55). In 1655, after having taught philosophy, he was elected *praepositus* of the order's house in Modena. The election was ill-received by Alfonso IV d'Este, who forced Guarini to leave the city — the beginning of a long period of travel. In 1660 he was in Messina, where he was responsible for the convex-concave façade for the Church of the Annunziata, built by the Theatines along the lines of S. Andrea della Valle in Rome; he also erected another building nearby, emphasizing the geometric character of its plan. The attribution to Guarini of works of somewhat later date, such as the façade and campanile of S. Gregorio, is without foundation. More probable is his participation in the construction of the baldachin of the Cathedral, and certain, but difficult to document, is his activity in the Church of S. Filippo, which was begun in 1618 on a basilican plan and was destroyed in the earthquake of 1908.

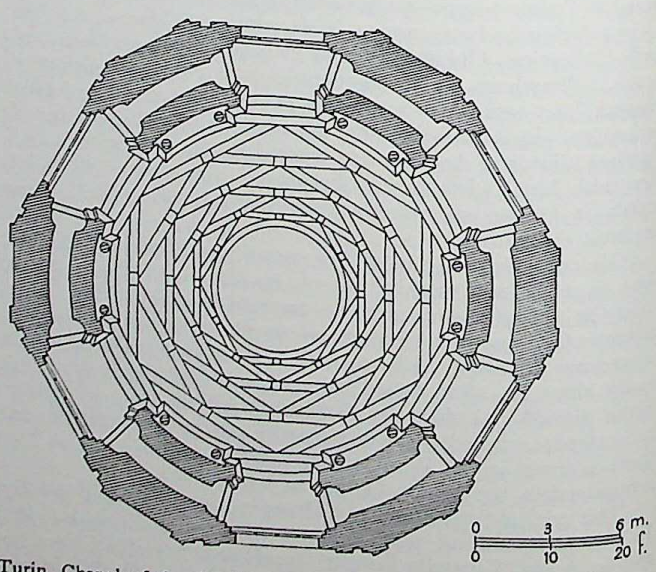
Guarini was in Modena in 1662 and from there was called to Paris, where the Theatines were engaged in building the Church of Ste-Anne-la-Royale. The plan, reproduced in his *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*, is still linked to traditional schemes. However, the drum is lightened by an arcade supported on paired columns, on which is raised a small, flattened dome formed by interlacing arches. The octagonal juncture of these arches is left open, and over it is raised another small dome. What was to become the typical Guarinian scheme is here still used decoratively, yet the basic elements of future development already appear: the domes set one upon the other, the oval chapels, and the façade that reflects the structure of the interior. The construction of Ste-Anne-la-Royale, which had been interrupted after a few years, was resumed in 1714, following the designs of Liévain. (The church was destroyed in the early 19th century.)

Clearly traceable to Guarini's stay in Paris is the plan of a palace illustrated in plates 23 and 24 of his *Architettura civile*, in which one already sees, in the distribution of the masses and sinuous adherence of the court walls to the volume of the stairs, forms that were to characterize the castle at Racconigi (PL. 106) and the Palazzo Carignano, Turin (PLS. 104, 105). In Paris Guarini taught theology and published his *Placita philosophica*, but he was soon summoned to Turin, where he arrived in 1666, probably for work on the Church of S. Lorenzo (PL. 103; II, PLS. 142, 143), the construction of which was begun in 1634 but was later delayed. In comparison with the ground plan of Ste-Anne-la-Royale, that of S. Lorenzo exhibits a greater geometric strictness. The interior space is defined by eight convex sides, each of which is pierced by an archway with trabeated openings on either side; the walls behind recede in concavities variously accentuated. The altars are installed in such a way as to seem to undermine the walls, so that the whole structure appears to be supported by columns and piers. The difficulty in immediately perceiving the geometry of the plan increases the sensation of instability. The spatial elaboration of the openings of the tripartite windows, the smooth surfaces of the pendentives, and their apparent thinness all serve to accentuate the tension and to prepare one for the intricacy of the dome. At every point windows are introduced, even over the center of the archways, in order to emphasize the fragility of the walls. The organic structure which might be imagined from the appearance of the interior has a specious probability but is not true to fact. The elements which sustain the considerable weight of the dome are hidden in the convex envelopes of the pendentives, and the weight of the latter alone presses upon the columns.

The conflict between the vocations of the mathematician and of the impressionable decorator brought up on Roman, French, and south Italian models (but possessed always of a dilettante's enthusiasm) can be recognized in such things as the marble covering of the altars, rich with precious stones and statues; the fluent and imaginative stucco work above the great arches; and above all, in the treatment of the orders, in which can be seen constant use of naturalistic motifs and a determined search after every conceivable variation.

In 1668 Guarini was named engineer and mathematician to Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy and entrusted with building the Chapel of the Sta Sindone (Holy Shroud) in Turin, for which plans had earlier been supplied by Castellamonte (II, PL. 143). Previous to the intervention of Guarini, there might have been envisaged a triangular-plan solution, on the order perhaps of Ascanio Vitozzi's SS. Trinità in Turin. But with Guarini a new spirit makes itself felt. The preference for black marble affords the architect an opportunity to purify his decorative style. The brilliant incrustation of S. Lorenzo is replaced by an idiom of utmost purity dominated by the network of stars set upon the walls. The ground plan is circular, and set in contrast to the great archway that opens onto the nave of the Cathedral are two colossal arched niches divided in two by piers. Three entrances are put into the space between these arches: two steep flights of stairs of convex shape lead down into the church for the entry and exit of the faithful, and one, for the prince, is set on the axis of the chapel and on a level with the palace. Large round windows that free the walls of all sense of mass and concentrate the lines of force in the slender arches are introduced into the pendentives as well as into the shells of the two great niches. Above the cylindrical space of the room proper is a zone of vital juncture with the narrow circle of the dome. Over all the walls of this area is spread out radially a decoration of stars, masterful application of a decorative principle used traditionally in the coffering of domes. But above the solid ring of wall that ends this zone comes the most surprising part of the dome, its pierced latticework. The architect's feeling for his material is seen in the plain dressed stone of the small arches of the drum. The windows (horizontal openings were substituted for the oval ones seen in the first project engraved in Brinckmann's *Theatrum novum Pedemontii*) lighten the hexagonal divisions of the wall. Finally, this whole composition of superimposed sections is tied together by moldings that zigzag up and down. From below one gets the impression of a series of hexagons that diminish in size as they pile up, the vertex of a higher one being in line with the mid-point of a side of the larger one below it (FIG. 196). The product of the surmounting of incredible difficulties, the end result has a particular violence. The force and coherence that mark the interior of the dome are not maintained on the exterior. A lively contour is determined by the placement of the windows, set like gems above a drum of dark brick. The whole, however, lacks unity and spirit, and the lantern, with small false windows cut into white marble, is little improvement.

While at Turin, Guarini published the *Modo di misurare le fabbriche*, the *Trattato di fortificazione*, and his *Euclides adauctus*. In 1678 he was at work on the enlargement of the castle at Racconigi. The façade facing the park was animated by two projecting units with curved cloister roofs. The influence of French castles, and the memory of some Emilian ones, is evident in the




Turin, Chapel of the Sta Sindone, plan of the dome at the height of the capitals.

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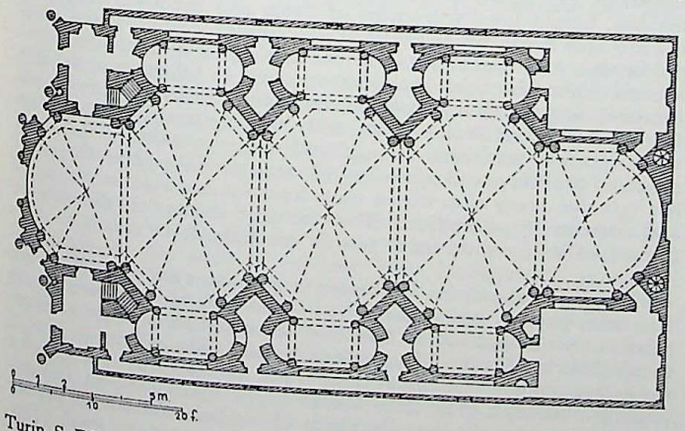
handling of volumes, in the stairs, and in the crowning of the ensemble. In the garden of the castle he built an elliptical casino topped by a dome, the whole constituting a sort of Guarinian version of Bramante's Tempietto in S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome. At this time too Guarini was dealing with the problem of connecting a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, part of the new sanctuary of the Consolata, with the old church of S. Andrea. He used four piers and the foundation walls of the old building and contrived the intersection of an aisleless, twin-apsed nave with a hexagonal space to serve as a presbytery that was probably covered by a ribbed vault. Subsequent alterations have deprived the church of almost every element of Guarini's work except the exterior of the nave. In 1679 Guarini was elected *praepositus* of the Theatine house in Turin, and his activity increased: Emanuele Filiberto, prince of Carignano, wished to have him in his service; for the Jesuits Guarini began building the Collegio dei Nobili (now the Accademia delle Scienze), a massive block from which the forms of cornices and orders barely emerge, heightening the dramatic effect and the severity produced by the dark brickwork. Noteworthy is the use of some ribbed ceilings on the ground floor of the building, like that over the grand staircase of the Palazzo Provana di Collegno, attributed to Guarini although erected after his death.

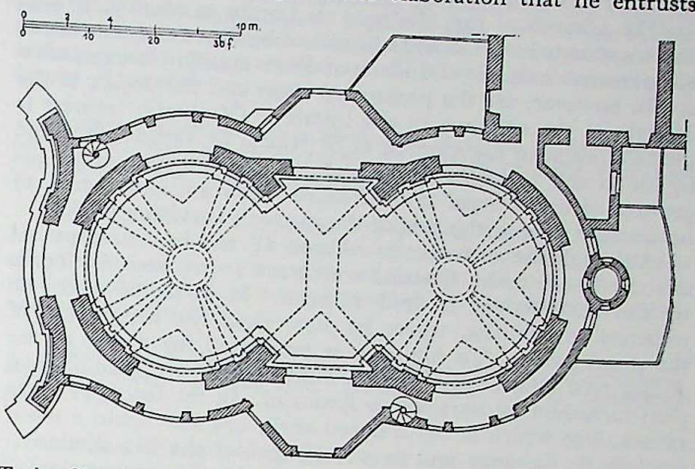
Also of this period is the project for the little Church of St. Mary of Altötting in Prague, called also Our Lady of Perpetual Help, one of the simplest and most successful of Guarini's plans. The builders, however, did not follow faithfully the designs sent them from Italy. The most important commission of this second period in Turin is the palace of the Prince of Carignano (PLS. 104, 105). Designed for a much narrower piazza than the present one, the sinuous façade originally had a different aspect. The ostentatious exploitation of the brick itself is a principal focus of interest. The form of the cornices, shaped of cut brick, has the crudeness that the material imposes, but the simplicity and novelty of the parts demonstrate sure technical mastery. The composition is dominated by the oval cylinder of the entrance hall and of the Piedmontese Chamber of Parliament behind it, which rises above the entire structure and projects out into the middle of the courtyard, whose walls are covered by the exuberant geometry of stars incised upon the bricks. The beauty of the façade is born of its geometry, of the meeting and precise intersection of simple volumes, of the rhythm of raised and sunken areas.

In 1679 Guarini considered two solutions for the Church of S. Filippo Neri (FIG. 197). The first plan published in the *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica* does not correspond to the one adopted after Guarini's death by Michelangelo Garove



Turin, S. Filippo Neri, plan (from *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*).

and carried out until the collapse of the still incomplete dome in 1714. In the plan of the *Disegni* there is no trace of a dome; on the contrary, there is the strictest application of the principle of a nave composed of interpenetrating spatial units. In contrast to what is to be seen in the plan for the Church of S. Maria da Divina Providência in Lisbon (destroyed in the earthquake of 1755), the curved line is completely banished. In the Lisbon church every member moves in an obsessive rhythm: even the piers are twisted, and the frieze is decorated with an example of that "wavy order" described in detail in the third treatise of his *Architettura civile*. The difference between these two solutions casts light upon the master's working methods. It is to the sure process of geometric elaboration that he entrusts



Turin, Church of the Arcivescovado, plan at the springing of the vaults.

the creation of the formal vocabulary of his works, with the result that they seem to arise less out of any general idea than from a scheme for the linking of parts, from the systematic repetition of a basic unit. Thus the attribution to Guarini of the Church of the Arcivescovado (PL. 105) in Turin, while without documentary basis, is acceptable on account of the inventive conception of the structure, altered though that has been by a meager translation of the plan (FIG. 198). This is the only example in Italy of that scheme of juxtaposed spatial units that ranks among the fundamental discoveries of the architect. The design of the façade of the Palazzo Graneri at Turin, built in 1683 by Gianfrancesco Baroncelli, may perhaps be traced to a plan of Guarini's.

Among the unrealized projects of this period, that for the remodeling of the Church of S. Nicola at Vicenza (published in the *Disegni d'architettura ed ecclesiastica* as S. Gaetano) merits particular attention. And the discovery of several designs of 1695 has permitted the certain attribution to Guarini of the Church of S. Maria d'Aracoeli, also in Vicenza. The project for the Church of S. Filippo at Casale Monferrato met with an unhappy fate. Pier Francesco Guala, put in charge of construction, kept in mind only the master's designs for the dome, and even there demonstrated absolute incomprehension of Guarini's intention. The inscribed-cross plan is produced by placing four circles in the arms of the cross and four tetracuspids (figures obtained by setting opposite one another the convex faces of four quarter-circles) in the reentrant angles of the cross. The simple and harmonious rhythm that results generates a strongly centralized space, bounded by clear and relatively plain surfaces. Perhaps from this period comes the plan for the Church of the Somaschi at Messina, which repeats on a hexagonal basis the plan of S. Lorenzo, making out of large projecting arches a circular corridor that has a remote antecedent in S. Costanza in Rome. In the plan for the sanctuary at Oropa the centralized octagonal layout features new variations on the theme in a more extensive development of flat and curved surfaces. Somewhat in the same manner as that of the Chapel of the Sta Sindone, the dome develops out of the piling up of three octagonal units, the corners of the upper ones set at the mid-point of the sides of the lower. A more harmonious variation is the project for St-Cajetan at Nice (built much later from designs by Bernardo Vittone). This sums up with rare simplicity some of Guarini's major accomplishments. Although its ground plan is pentagonal, the church recalls in some respects Borromini's Chapel of S. Ivo in the Palazzo della Sapienza in Rome (II, FIG. 556); however, the compact space of the chapel for

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the Sapienza gives way here to the extraordinary development of an essentially mannerist theme. This is Guarini at his most Borrominian (see BORROMINI), and it is the most extreme of all his central plans. Of two unspecified plans reproduced in the *Architettura civile*, one, on plate 33, has been referred to the palace of the Conte di Govone and the other, on plate 34, to a church in Turin never actually built.

The Church of the Madonna di Loreto at Montanaro was also constructed with designs furnished by Guarini, but without his personal help, by builders of little ability. Recognizable as his, however, are the pentagonal choir and the design of the capitals of the columns in the interior. Of greater interest is the tabernacle of the Church of S. Nicolò in Verona, executed by Carlo and Giambattista Ranghieri but, because of an engraving of the *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*, to be counted among the few of the master's surviving works.

Although the successor to Alfonso IV had in 1672 repealed the decree of exile, Guarini continued to be kept in Turin by the commissions he had assumed. In 1680, however, he returned to Modena, where he supervised the completion of the ducal palace. To him can be attributed the design of the niches that adorn the stairway, built according to the original plan furnished by Bartolomeo Avanzini. In the facing of these niches, into which is cut a fluted shell, one sees again a motif used in S. Lorenzo and in the Chapel of the Sta Sindone.

Guarini was busy these last years with the preparation of his two-volume work, the *Coelestis mathematicae*; he died while on a visit to his publisher in Milan.

As a theorist Guarini was most influential in the field of architecture. At the first appearance of his *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica* in 1686, many of the published plans decisively affected the course of architecture in northern Europe. Guarini's theoretical principles were also diffused by Bernardo Vittone (1704–70), the architect most sensitive to Guarini's influence. In 1737 Vittone published, together with the plates of the *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*, the text of the *Architettura civile*. The treatise reveals what means are offered to the architect by the experimental method and the study of science, although in general it still follows the classical models of the Renaissance. Particularly interesting are evidences of an interest in Gothic architecture, whose boldness and inventiveness Guarini notes, although he disapproves of its proportions. Brief note is also taken of the problem of the relation between mathematics and architecture, and despite the closeness of the two disciplines, the priority of visual over technical considerations is affirmed. Of much greater influence than either his theory or his working out of methods of projection (elaborated by Guarini to facilitate the measuring of complex building parts) was that vocabulary of curvilinear forms, intuitively obtained, from the plates of his *Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*, which suggested an easy and stimulating way to compose spatially and to affirm thereby the value of form as a determinant of space, without deviating from the canons of classical proportion.

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Paolo PORTOGHESI

Illustrations: PLS. 103–106; 3 figs. in text.

**GUATEMALA.** The Republic of Guatemala is bounded on the north and west by Mexico; on the east by British Honduras, the Caribbean Sea, Honduras, and El Salvador; on the south by the Pacific. Within its territory, as well as in what are now the Mexican states of Chiapas, Tabasco, and Yucatán, developed the Maya civilization, rightfully considered among the most remarkable of the pre-Columbian epoch. The Spanish subsequently united Guatemala proper, El Salvador, Honduras, and Chiapas into a single captain-generalcy which they called the "Kingdom of Guatemala." Guatemala, for nearly three thousand years the scene of intense artistic activity, still displays innumerable traces of both the pre-Columbian and colonial epochs.

SUMMARY. The pre-Columbian epoch (col. 200): *The lowlands; The highlands; The Pacific plain.* The colonial and modern epochs (col. 204): *Modern centers.*

THE PRE-COLUMBIAN EPOCH. Although the Maya civilization lasted for over 2,000 years, the Mayas never created a unified state: numerous politically independent cities divided the territory among themselves. They had all sprung from a single cultural stock, but each city followed its own pattern of life and had its own laws and mores. Archaeologically speaking, their culture is divided into three periods: the preclassic, the classic, and the postclassic. The first-named lasted until about A.D. 300; the second, from the 4th to the 10th century; the third, until the Spanish Conquest (see MIDDLE AMERICAN PROTOHISTORY). The territory is divided into three zones: the hot, humid low-lying plains of Petén and the lower reaches of the Motagua River, whose religious and cultural centers, after a splendid heyday, were abandoned about the 10th century; the central mountainous regions, in which the cities were still in full sway in the 16th century and in many cases offered desperate resistance to the conquistadors; lastly, the Pacific plain, with its mountainous spurs, which was an area of transition and cultural exchange between the Mexicans and the Mayas. Archaeological research since about the 1930s has revealed many sites whose ruins have for centuries been invaded and overrun by vegetation. Thus a clear conception can now be formed of the country as it was in pre-Columbian times.

*The lowlands.* Cities in the lowland areas were generally larger than elsewhere, it seems, and the highest pyramids surmounted by temples were found there. One characteristic feature of the architecture in this zone is the Maya corbeled vault. The ceilings in most of the palace rooms in Petén are not flat but are constructed as corbeled vaults formed by a progressive thickening of the side walls. The narrow opening remaining at the top is closed by a flat stone. No less characteristic in the lowland zone are the steles which every urban center would erect periodically. These are often dated and bear hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Tikal. This, the principal Maya city, is located about 27 air miles northeast of Flores, administrative center of the Petén department. It is easily accessible, owing to the construction of an airport. Here is found the highest (ca. 240 ft.) temple in Guatemala. Two other temples, over 155 and 140 ft. high, in their turn overtop the loftiest trees in the forest. Also well preserved are the temples atop pyramids, whose cut stones were coated with plaster, and the palaces,

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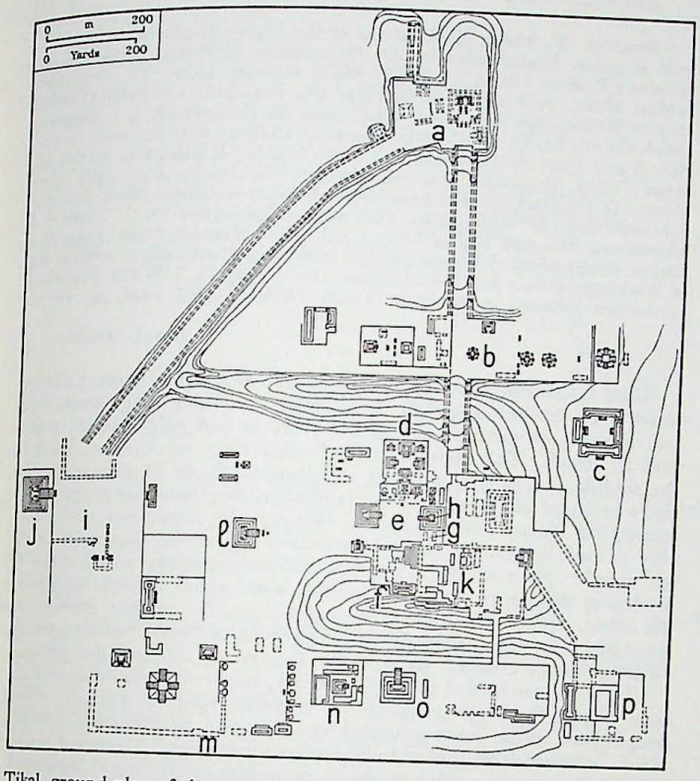
with whitewashed walls, in which some wooden beams are still to be seen. A few carved panels are visible *in situ* within the temples, but the most famous of these is now in Basel (Mus. für Völkerkunde; X, PL. 16). A team of archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania has been engaged since 1956 in freeing the structure still hidden under vegetation. The work was expected to continue for some twenty years.




Tikal, ground plan of the central area of the ruins: (*a*) Group H; (*b*) Group E; (*c*) Group F; (*d*) northern acropolis; (*e*) large plaza and Temple II; (*f*) Group A; (*g*) Ball Court; (*h*) Temple I; (*i*) Group D; (*j*) Temple IV; (*k*) central acropolis; (*l*) Temple III; (*m*) Group C; (*n*) southern acropolis; (*o*) Group B and Temple V; (*p*) Group G.

BIBLIOG. T. Maler, Explorations in the Department of Petén, Tikal (Mem. Peabody Mus., Harvard Univ., IV, 1), Cambridge, Mass., 1911; A. M. Tozzer, Preliminary Study of the Ruins of Tikal (Mem., Peabody Mus., Harvard Univ., V, 2), Cambridge, Mass., 1911; A. M. Shook, Investigaciones arqueológicas en las ruinas de Tikal (Dep. de El Petén, Guatemala, Antropología e historia de Guatemala, III, 1), Guatemala City, 1951, pp. 9–32.

Uaxactún. Eighteen air miles north of Tikal, this city too is now accessible owing to the construction of an airport. It is Uaxactún that persisted longest in the custom of erecting steles. Between the earliest stele of this site, bearing the date 8.14.10.13.15 (A.D. 328), and the most recent, dated 10.3.0.0.0. (A.D. 889), there is an interval of 561 years. In all, 49 steles have been discovered, 26 of which are dated.

Particularly fruitful excavations were made between 1926 and 1937 under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Unfortunately, the mounds explored were inadequately protected, and the jungle has again taken possession of them. Several stratigraphic sections had shown the site to have been already inhabited for some 1,500 to 2,000 years when the Maya began to erect steles there; this means a total span of about 2,500 years. An abundance of pottery, now preserved in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología in Guatemala City, was found at all levels, thereby establishing the sequence necessary for classifying all Guatemalan pottery.

BIBLIOG. O. G. Ricketson, Jr. and E. B. Ricketson, Uaxactún, Guatemala: Group E — 1926–31 (Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Pub. 477), Washington, D. C., 1937; A. L. Smith, Uaxactún, Guatemala: Excavations of 1931–37 (Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Pub. 588), Washington, D. C., 1950.

Piedras Negras. Located at the western extremity of Petén, in the valley of the Usumacinta River, this city owes its renown to the excellence of its sculptures. These can best be appreciated in the museum in Guatemala City for, as at Uaxactún, the vegetation has overrun the archaeological site. One face of the steles bears scenes in relief, showing one or more persons — chained prisoners before a priest, the corn god in the act of sowing, etc. The dates succeed one another at five-year intervals, from 9.8.15.0.0. (A.D. 608) to 9.19.0.0.0 (A.D. 810). Among the figures, there recurs with some regularity a personage seated on a throne within a niche. This figure appears on the earliest steles and gradually evolves into its ultimate form in the stele of 761, one of the finest of this site. A splendid mural panel exhibited in the museum in Guatemala City bears the same date, 761, which seems to mark the high point of the Piedras Negras sculptures. It is carved in the form of a niche, within which is the representation of a priest seated on a throne, surrounded by groups of people.

Naranjo and Seibal. Both are located in Petén, in dense jungle, and are the two sites in which the production of steles was latest (A.D. 608–820 and 746–869, respectively).

Holmul, Altar de Sacrificios, Poptún, and Tayasal. These sites too are located deep in the jungles of Petén. They lack monuments of sufficient interest to attract tourists, but the excavations there, particularly at Holmul, have been of great help in increasing our knowledge of the ceramics.

BIBLIOG. R. E. Merwin and G. C. Vaillant, The Ruins of Holmul, Guatemala (Mem. Peabody Mus., Harvard Univ., IV, 2), Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

Quiriguá. Situated in an agricultural area of the lower Motagua Valley and accessible by railroad, this site has escaped the fate of those in Petén. Its monuments are well preserved within a park maintained by the United Fruit Company. This city seems to have been a colony of Copán, an important Maya center located some 31 miles to the west in Honduras (q.v.). It owes its fame, not to its architecture, which is of secondary interest, but rather to its steles, which are decorated on all four faces. On the forward face is carved the figure of a personage with the head in deep relief; the lateral and posterior faces are covered with hieroglyphics. One of these steles, which is almost 35 ft. high, is the tallest one known.

Four of Quiriguá's steles, dated at successive five-year intervals, have been replaced by enormous so-called "zoomorph" carved blocks, remarkable for their fine workmanship. These represent monsters derived from the cat or toad families, usually combined with a human head or with a seated figure whose body is entirely covered with hieroglyphics or varied ornamentation (X, PL. 240). Before two of them stand carved altars.

BIBLIOG. S. G. Morley, Guide Book to the Ruins of Quirigua (Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Sup. Pub. 16), Washington, D. C., 1935.

*The highlands.* Save for two or three hundred Lacandón Indians living in the territory of Chiapas and Guatemala, all the lowland Indians have vanished. This has not occurred in the highlands, where the indigenous inhabitants form the majority of the present population and frequently retain their customs, as, for instance, the Quiché, who still go to burn copal among the ruins of Utatlán, while at Chichicastenango native priests perform their *costumbres* before the pre-Columbian statue of Pascual Abaj. Vestiges of the past, from the earliest periods to the Conquest, can be found throughout the area.

The earliest structures were made of earth. Stone construction developed only in the classic period and was more severe than in the lowlands: the pyramids were lower; the cities were built in more easily defended sites, fortified and provided with strategic platforms. The architecture is utilitarian, yet it has a certain grandeur. Monumental sculpture is almost entirely absent; the chief artistic expression is found in the ceramic censers and sculpture in the round. Sculptures have been discovered at Tajumulco, San Agustín Acasaguastlán, and in three caves at Queen Santo. Pottery adorned with hieroglyphic decoration has been found at San Agustín Acasaguastlán and intact plumbate-ware vases at Tajumulco.

Kaminaljuyú. Close by Guatemala City is a site where numerous mounds contain the ruins of ancient earthen dwellings. There the experts of the Carnegie Institution of Washington have conducted excavations that have made it possible to establish cultural sequences. The explored mounds have been completely destroyed, but others still remain intact. The Anthropological Institute of Guatemala has exposed various strata of earthen structures in the Palangana region.

BIBLIOG. A. V. Kidder, J. D. Jennings, and E. M. Shook, Excavations at Kaminaljuyú, Guatemala (Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Pub. 561), Washington, D. C., 1946; E. M. Shook and A. V. Kidder, Mound E III, 3, Kaminaljuyú, Guatemala (Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Pub. 596), Washington, D. C., 1952.

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Utatlán. Capital of the former Quiché kingdom, this city can be reached via road from Quiché. Until 1920, a pyramid was still standing there, but now the site is almost completely destroyed because the cut stone of the ancient structures has been carried away for use in building the modern city. Only outlines of the buildings' plans and a large plaza paved with stucco remain.

Iximché. This former Cakchiquel capital, accessible by road from Tecpán, has suffered the same fate as Utatlán. Several plazas covered with stucco have been discovered in recent years.

Mixco Viejo. This former city of the Pocomán is accessible, during the dry season, via San Martín Jilotepeque. With its nearly two hundred buildings, it was one of the largest cities in the region. Perched atop a rocky spur, bounded all around by the Pancajcó River and a girdle of precipices that made it easy to defend, Mixco Viejo was provided with a great many platforms oriented to allow surveillance of its surroundings and the narrow paths of access. It was composed of 11 sectors. A French-Guatemalan mission has explored, cleared, and reconstructed two of these sectors, with their pyramids, platforms, ball court, and great wall broken by staircases, as well as the principal pyramid of a third sector. A double pyramid is noteworthy. Pottery found at the site allows an approximate dating of the 14th or 15th century.

Zaculeu. Located near the airport of Huehuetenango, this city was the capital of the Mam. It stands on a platform surrounded on three sides by deep ravines. The ruins have been restored at the expense of the United Fruit Company. Of 43 mounds, 23 have been explored. The buildings are grouped around plazas. The temple of the principal pyramid has been restored (X, PL. 48). The objects found, belonging to the classic and postclassic epochs, have been assembled in a small local museum.

BIBLIOG. R. Woodbury and A. S. Trik, The Ruins of Zaculeu, 2 vols., Boston, 1953.

Chicol. Located about 9 miles from Zaculeu, which it apparently antedates slightly, it has some dozen earthen structures, including a ball court and a pyramid.

Cahyup and Chuitinamit. In Quiché territory, these sites may be reached from nearby Rabinal. They are similar in many respects. One has 42 remnants of structures, the other has 44, most of them covered with stucco. Each has a double pyramid; Cahyup also has another circular one. Chuitinamit is one of the best-preserved sites in the highland region. So far no excavating has been done there.

Chutixtiox and Xolpacol. These sites, too, are in Quiché territory, near Sacapulas. Chutixtiox — from *Chu* (above) and *Tixtiox* (church) in the Quiché language — is bounded on three sides by the Río Negro. Three plazas are discernible there, one of which is on the top of a hill, the other two being lower and accessible by stairways. A ball court was found in one of the latter. In contrast to most of the other cities, the structures of Chutixtiox are arranged without regard to symmetry. The pottery from the surface seems to indicate that the site was still occupied shortly before the Conquest. No excavations have ever been made here. Less important than Chutixtiox, Xolpacol — from *Xol* (amid) and *Pacol* (white earth) in the Quiché language — has a ball court and a circular structure, probably part of an altar.

Nebaj. In Ixil territory, accessible from Sacapulas, this must have been an important site, occupied for a long period of time. It probably served as a link between the highlands and the lowlands. The city is noteworthy only for its tombs, which date from an advanced phase of the ancient classic to the postclassic period. Several are covered by corbeled vaults. Richly sculptured ceramic censers, some jade items, and other objects (the most beautiful found in Maya territory) are in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología in Guatemala City and elsewhere (X, PL. 30).

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*The Pacific plain.* Numerous sculptures come from this zone. The best known are the steles of the region of Santa Lucía Cozumalhualpa (IV, PL. 204) and those of El Baúl and Bilbao. Mexican influence is evident there. These sculptures are attributed to the Pipil, an extinct tribe of Nahuatl stock. Several ritual axes, in the form of flattened heads, and stone yokes are comparable to those of the Totonac area (Veracruz state, Mexico).

The Pipil had also settled in the region of Asunción Mita, where there is an archaeologically important area in which the structures are covered with corbeled vaults.

El Baúl, Bilbao, and Ixtepeque. In the department of Escuintla.

Cerritos. In the department of Santa Rosa.

Asunción Mita. In the department of Jutiapa.

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Henri LEHMANN

THE COLONIAL AND MODERN EPOCHS. Within the general characteristics of the baroque style, Guatemalan colonial art presents original aspects, particularly in its architecture and polychromed sculpture in wood. The construction of such cities as Antigua, built in the middle of the 16th century, displays standards of monumentality and a sense of adaptation to the landscape; the buildings are predominantly of stucco-covered brick. Despite the numerous contemporary chronicles, the architects' names are unknown. Generally Spanish monks planned the churches and monasteries, which arose in profusion during the colonial period, with native artisans supplying the labor. Also of outstanding interest are the private homes; the colonial house was generally two-storied, with broad portals opening onto the main arcaded patio, itself flanked by two smaller patios.

In the latter half of the 16th century, there was a thriving production of polychromed sculpture in wood of religious subjects called *imaginerías*; these were actually an imitation of imported Spanish forms enlivened by native folkloristic accretions. Among the sculptors were many Spanish emigrants, as well as mestizos and mulattoes. After 1600, the importation and imitation of Spanish images ceased (save for the works of Juan Martínez Montañés); thus, at the close of the 17th century, there existed a thriving, original Guatemalan school, whose works were even exported to Mexico and Europe. There are several *imagineros* whose names are known, despite the unsettled problems of attribution: Juan de Aguirre (late 16th cent.); Antonio de Rodas (active in Guatemala until 1611); Alonso de la Paz (d. ca. 1689); Mateo de Zuñiga (d. 1686); Quirio Cataño (d. 1620), whose origin is uncertain, but whose name might have been Quirino or Quirico Cattaneo, and who was probably Italian or Portuguese. Very few examples of retablos have remained intact; they display all the characteristics of the Spanish-American baroque style, the fruit of the collaboration between painters, sculptors, *ensambladores* (the craftsmen who constructed the wooden structure and did the intarsia work), *estofadores* (the craftsmen who covered the sculptures with gesso-coated canvas on which the colors were painted and gold leaf applied), and *doradores* (those who applied the gold leaf).

In the field of painting, which was but slightly developed, Spanish influence, that of Murillo in particular, is quite marked. Notable figures are Tomás de Merlo and Pedro and Francisco de Liendo. At the beginning of the modern period, the arts were greatly stimulated by the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, which as early as 1798 had established an Escuela de Dibujo (School of Design). During the 18th and 19th centuries, engraving was original and quite highly developed. (The first Guatemalan printing house, the fourth to be established in America, dates from 1600.) About the time of Independence (1821) the taste for neoclassicism along academic lines became popular, as did the art of portraiture, particularly portraits of families, examples of which remain mostly anonymous. Among the better-known painters are Casildo España, Pedro García-Aguirre, Francisco Cabrera, and Julián Falla. Sculpture, predominantly commemorative, also employed academic forms.

About 1920, there was a move to restore the national tradition, which favored returning to the native representational arts. Closely linked to the impressionist movement are Rafael Rodríguez Padilla (1890–1946) and Carlos Valenti (1884–1911). Later Carlos Mérida availed himself of indigenous elements for self-expression in abstract terms, while Alfredo Gálvez Suárez specialized in academically treated "Indian" scenes, and Humberto Garavito concentrated on landscapes. Among the eminent sculptors was Rafael Yela Günther (1888–1943), who was influenced by impressionism.

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Guatemala. *Key*: (1) National boundaries; (2) regional boundaries; (3) archaeological sites.

In contemporary art, Guatemala participates in the various international trends; the most renowned artists today are the sculptors Rodolfo Galeotti Torres, Roberto González Goyri, and the sculptor-painters Guillermo Grajeda Mena and Dagoberto Vásquez.

*Modern centers.* Antigua. Artistically this is the most important city. Formerly the capital of the Kingdom of Guatemala, it was founded in 1543 by Pedro de Alvarado following destruction of the original capital (today Ciudad Vieja). In 1773, it was destroyed by earthquakes and abandoned. There are, however, many remains of monuments in the colonial style, among which are the churches, with their adjoining monasteries or convents, such as those of S. Francisco, La Merced, S. Clara, de Las Capuchinas, S. José Cathedral, La Recolección, La Escuela de Cristo, and Belén.

Among the notable civil structures is the Palacio de los Capitanes Generales (Government Palace), which was begun in 1550 and restored several times; it has two stories, and the façade has two orders of arcades. Also of interest is the University of S. Carlos, now the Museo Colonial de la Antigua, which dates from the 18th century.

Esquipulas. This was erected in 1754 at the center of what was then the Kingdom of Guatemala (close to the boundaries with Honduras and El Salvador) as a great temple flanked by baroque towers with stucco decoration. The much venerated *Cristo negro* of Quirio Cataño is here.

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Guatemala City. Founded in 1776, the present capital has a checkerboard plan, with streets intersecting at right angles. The most important buildings date from the late 1700s or early 1800s. The religious structures include the Cathedral, begun in 1782 and completed in 1815; the churches of S. Francisco, S. Domingo, and the neoclassic La Merced. About 1917, the monuments were damaged by earthquakes and were later restored.

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Alaíde FOPPA DE SOLÓRZANO

Illustrations: 2 figs. in text.

**GUERCINO** (BARBIERI, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO). Italian painter of the Bolognese school (baptized at Cento, Feb. 8, 1591; d. Bologna, Dec. 22, 1666). His nickname refers to his squint. Guercino's earliest training was at Cento under Benedetto Gennari the Elder, but his work early reveals the influence of the Carracci brothers, particularly Lodovico. Guercino's admiration for an altarpiece by Lodovico which is still at Cento is recorded. Frescoes of 1614 by Guercino in Casa Provenzali, Cento, show the influence of the Carraccis. In 1615 Guercino was in Bologna working on the Casa Pannini frescoes, on which he was assisted by Lorenzo Gennari: one fresco is dated 1615, and a document of 1617 records the completion of the work. His first important religious picture was the altarpiece for the Church of S. Agostino, Cento (1616; now, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A.). In a letter of 1617 Lodovico Carracci mentions Guercino's presence in Bologna to carry out commissions for the Archbishop Ludovisi (later Pope Gregory XV). Guercino visited Venice in 1618; in 1619 he was at Ferrara, possibly not for the first time, where the Cardinal-Legate Serra patronized him. On the election of Gregory XV, Guercino went to Rome and was employed by the Pope and the Ludovisi family. There he executed, among other work, the *Aurora* fresco for the Casino of Villa Ludovisi (II, PL. 197), the huge *Burial and Reception into Heaven of St. Petronilla* (now Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Pin. Capitolina; VIII, PL. 218) for St. Peter's, and a full-length portrait of the Pope (recorded in a 17th-cent. Ludovisi inventory). On Gregory's death in 1623, Guercino returned and settled in Cento. In May, 1626, he was at Piacenza to complete the fresco decorations of Morazzone (P. F. Mazzucchelli) for the dome of the Cathedral (finished in 1627). In 1633 he was in Modena, where Francesco d'Este patronized him (e.g., *Venus, Cupid, and Mars*, 1634; Modena, Gall. Estense). Although he received patronage widely in Italy and abroad, Guercino remained active at Cento until the death of Guido Reni in 1642, when he moved to Bologna. Charles I of England made a bid for Guercino's services, and he was also invited to France; neither proposal was accepted. From 1629 on, Guercino's brother, Paolo Antonio, a painter of still life, kept an account book of payments received by the two brothers for their pictures. After his death in 1649 it was kept by Guercino until 1665 and completed by Benedetto Gennari the Younger, the painter's nephew. Guercino's output and industry were considerable. He painted many easel pictures (of mythological as well as religious subjects), altarpieces, and a few portraits (the latter little studied). Work by Guercino is in most of the great galleries; a large collection of his drawings is in the Royal Collections, Windsor. His reputation stood high in his own day, though probably less high in cultured Roman circles than elsewhere in Italy. Although never forgotten, Guercino became the subject of serious scholarly research only in the 20th century. His early pictures show north Italian and Venetian influences, the latter probably first transmitted to him by way of Scarsellino's work. The significant change in Guercino's style after his Roman years has been commented on by all his biographers; his late style is usually recognized as a decline. The painterly handling of his early work was gradually replaced by tighter and tamer treatment and by attempts to mold a classic style after the example of Reni. In this process Guercino lost originality, achieving at best a certain dignified monumentality. (See III, PL. 311; IV, PL. 430.)

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Michael LEVEY

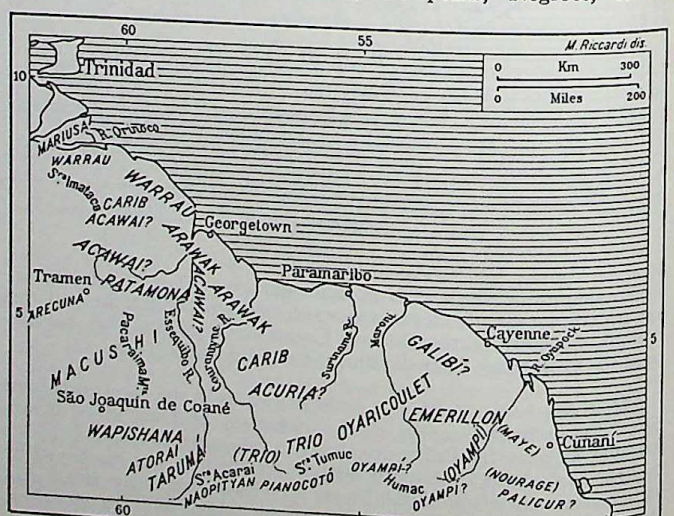
**GUIANA.** This name is applied to an area of South America bounded by the Orinoco River on the north and west, the lower part of the Branco and the left banks of the Negro and the Amazon on the south, and the coast of the Atlantic on the northeast. The area thus includes parts of Venezuela and Brazil as well as British Guiana, Surinam (Netherlands Guiana), and French Guiana.

The three principal manifestations of art are objects from archaeological sites, such as pottery, rock engravings, and rock paintings; certain decorative arts of the Amerinds — mainly featherwork, basketry, and beadwork, with some pottery; and the art of the Bush Negro, principally wood carving. Esthetically the most outstanding is that of the Bush Negro, which is comparable with other tribal arts of distinction, notably the West African, from which the main elements of its character derive, since the Bush Negro originated in West Africa.

There are no colonial or modern towns of artistic interest and no noteworthy traditions of art.

SUMMARY. Ethnic and geographic situation (col. 208). Archaeological objects (col. 209). Indian tribal art (col. 210). Art of the Bush Negroes (col. 211).

ETHNIC AND GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION. The population of the Guianas is small (British Guiana, 376,000; Surinam, 220,000; French Guiana, 26,000), and it is concentrated in the coastal belt. The ethnic groups represented are Amerinds, Europeans, Negroes, Asians




Distribution of indigenous Amerindian tribes in the Guianas and adjoining territories.

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(mostly East Indians), and African-European mulattoes, with the last two groups forming the largest proportion of the population. Physically the landscape consists of alluvial plains and deltas on the coast, 3 to 30 miles in depth, with thick swamp forest which is relatively heavily populated and cultivated. Inland there is higher country with true tropical forests, covering the major part of the area; this is intersected by rivers that provide virtually the only means of land communication; the numerous rapids and falls, together with the thick jungle, isolate the interior from the coast. South of this region the forest thins out into partially forested savannas and mountains with high rain forests. The climate is tropical (about 80° F.), with rainfall exceeding 100 in. on the coast but decreasing inland.

The distribution of the principal modern Amerindian tribes is marked on the map (FIG. 208); the best known of these are the Arawak, the Carib, and the Warrau, but in general the cultures of many of the tribes marked are poorly known, if at all, and the number of groups extant today and their size is very small compared with earlier times. The number of Amerinds in French Guiana has dwindled to about 300, in Surinam to 2,000–3,000, and in British Guiana to 16,000.

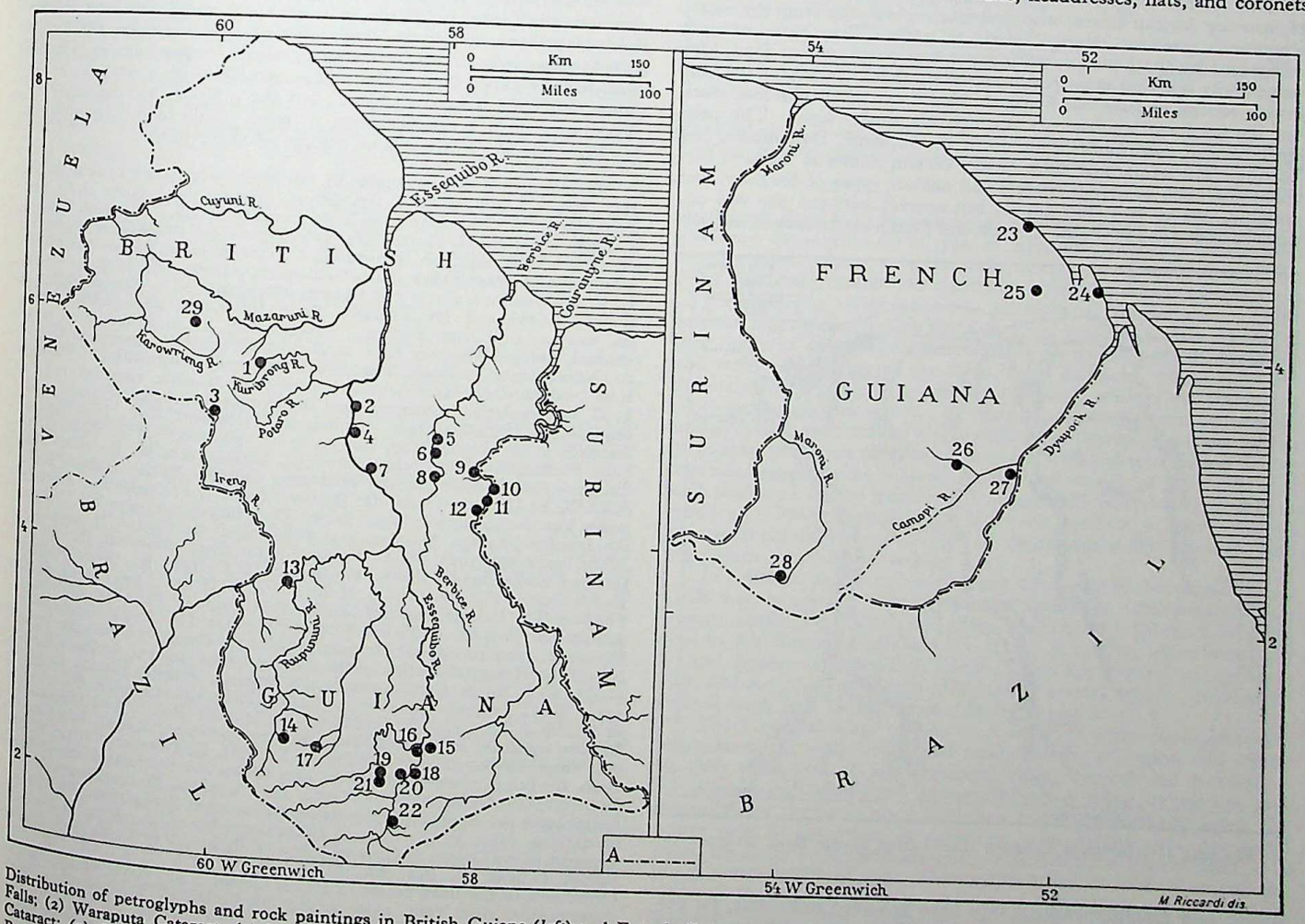
The principal Bush Negro tribes are the Saramaccaner, Aucaner, and Boni, with three small tribes, the Matawaai, the Quintee Matawaai, and the Paramaccaner. The Bush Negroes live mainly along the principal rivers of the true forest region of Surinam, except for 600 Boni who are located in French Guiana on the upper Maroni (Marowijne) River (see map, FIG. 211). The Bush Negroes appear to have increased slightly in recent years and now number about 22,600. See AFRO-AMERICAN ART.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS. Relatively little archaeological excavation has been done in the Guianas. Artistically the remains are not significant: a few grotesque heads, figurines, and effigy vessels have been found in the middens and shell mounds of the coast, as in the underground caves at Cunani on the Brazilian Guiana coast. Throughout the interior region, however, are numerous petroglyphs and a few rock paintings, usually at or near the cataracts of rivers.

Petroglyphs have been found at sites on the Kuribrong and Quitaro Rivers, on the middle and upper reaches of the Essequibo, on the middle reaches of the Berbice and Courantyne, at two places on the Camopi River, and at the source of the Maroni. Three sites in the coastal belt of French Guiana, southeast of Cayenne, are the only ones known in coastal areas. The principal petroglyph designs are animals, fish, and human figures — single or grouped, some very large — or else purely geometric patterns. The techniques employed are pecking, scratching, and rubbing; grooves are generally polished. One exceptional petroglyph shows the hieroglyph of a place that is also found in the codical art of the Mixtecs of Mexico (Dahlgren de Jordan, 1951).

Rock paintings have been found in British Guiana in the Waetipu Mountains, between Caracarai and Ireng, at Amaila Falls on the Kuribrong River, and on the cliffs of Tramen, 1,500 ft. above the Karowrieng River, a tributary of the Mazaruni. The most remarkable are the Tramen paintings: the designs, chiefly in red but some in black, with some superimposition, are figures of animals, birds, and a few human beings, geometric patterns, and numerous positive impressions of hands; they cover an area extending 2 to 30 ft. above the ground and over 30 ft. horizontally. It has been reported that the pecking of designs on rocks beside rapids is an occupation of resting canoe travelers, but the Indians know nothing of the origins of these engravings and paintings and do not appear to have any beliefs, traditions, or ceremonial practices in connection with them (FIG. 209).

INDIAN TRIBAL ART. Comparatively little is known about Amerindian featherwork, but elaborate ruffs, headdresses, hats, and coronets




Distribution of petroglyphs and rock paintings in British Guiana (*left*) and French Guiana (*right*). *Key*: (*A*) National boundaries. Petroglyphs: (1) Amaila Falls; (2) Waraputa Cataract; (3) Wantriana Falls; (4) Cumutie Rock; (5) Berbice River; (6) Marlissa Rapids; (7) Onrocopari Cataract; (8) Christmas Cataract; (9) Courantyne River; (10) Timehri Rock; (11) near Wonotobo Cataract; (12) Great Cataracts of the Courantyne River; (13) between the Rupununi River and Lake Amaku; (14) between the Makatawa and Makamintowa mountains; (15) Takarimi Rock; (16) along the Kuyuwini and Essequibo rivers; (17) Quitaro River; (18) Takarimi on the Essequibo River; (19) Cuduwine; (20) Bubamana; (21) Duerwau; (22) Essequibo; (23) Pacaud; (24) Montagne d'Argent; (25) basin of the Kaw; Montagne Favard; (26) Inipi; (27) Camopi; (28) source of the Maroni River. Rock paintings: (1) Amaila Falls; (29) Tramen.

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(with frames of basketry or cotton bands) are made. Feathers are used purely for decorative purposes, independent of any design. An old practice in the western area is to cultivate artificially colored feathers by plucking tame birds such as parrots, then injecting various substances into their skin so as to cause a new growth of colored feathers. Painting of feathers is also common.

Basketry is usually a man's work and is very skillful; wickerwork, checkerboard, twilling, twining, hexagonal, pentagonal, crossed quadrilateral, wrapped, locked, and imbricate techniques are all used. Designs — including representations of animals and geometric patterns — on a wide variety of everyday objects are obtained either from the surface texture of the weaving or by using colored elements.

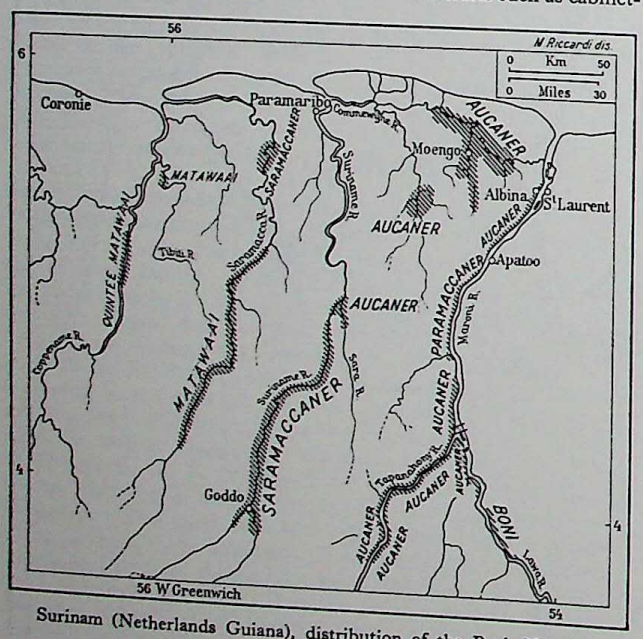
Beadwork is of high quality. Beads are made from shell, seeds, quartz, greenstone, and frequently glass. They are worked into aprons, necklaces, and armlets and are decorated with geometric and animal designs.

Cotton arm and leg bands are woven on a true loom.

Pottery is made but is generally poor in the quality of its decoration, though the coastal Arawak make an attractive white, red, and black ware for Europeans; the forms of this are either zoomorphic or copies of European dishes, cups, plates, etc., decorated with traditional linear designs similar to those found on archaeological specimens.

Flattening of the forehead and nose is considered a sign of beauty among the Amerinds. Other forms of deformation for ornamental purposes are filing of teeth and perforation of the lower lip, cheeks, and nasal septum for the insertion of ornaments. Tattooing, which takes place soon after birth, is widespread; the part most commonly tattooed is the forearm, incisions being made with animal teeth or by pricking. Body and face painting, with vegetable stains — usually black and dark red — is also widely practiced. The Arawak paint the whole body, the Carib and Warrau only the face.

Art of the Bush Negroes. The Bush Negroes are descendants of runaway African slaves, who first started escaping from the coastal plantations into the interior jungle in 1667. They were officially recognized by the Dutch as an independent people about 1772, after successfully resisting attempts to recapture them. Much of the subjective feeling engendered by Bush Negro art recalls African work, but the art forms evolved are distinctively Bush Negro. The principal African contributions are from the Ashanti, Dahomeans, and Yoruba. The Amerinds have made certain material cultural contributions, such as cotton armlets and anklets, types of basketry, and, possibly, one or two stool forms, but contact between the two cultures has been and is slight. English and Dutch crafts such as cabinet-




Surinam (Netherlands Guiana), distribution of the Bush Negroes.

making and furniture making may have provided influences, for certain scroll motifs and interlacing suggest European traditions. Today, however, Bush Negro art seems unaffected by outside influences.

The principal forms of artistic expression are found in the carving of utilitarian objects: combs, food paddles, clothes beaters, canoe paddles, stools, trays, peanut-pounding boards, drums, calabashes, and architectural accessories such as doors and lintels (I, pls. 32–37). In contrast, religious images are generally roughly hewn and ill-conceived artistically, and seem to be intended only as habitations of spirits. In addition to their utilitarian value, most Bush Negro carvings are love tokens, *sanni* or *timbeh*, made by the men for the women. Occasional intricately designed and well-finished pieces are created solely for esthetic pleasure.

The tools of the carver are limited to a machete, a kitchen knife, a nail, and a piece of string to act as a compass. Sand is used to create a highly polished surface, palm oil and smoke to darken wood. Most objects are flat, and the Bush Negro excels at low-relief work with pierced areas to enhance the curvilinear geometric motifs. He does not try to solve problems in the round but views formal problems in terms of flat surfaces to be decorated; the approach to basically cylindrical objects, such as drums, is one of low relief. Where an object, such as a stool, has several surfaces requiring decoration, the artist is concerned with carving those surfaces which are most visible, and he generally treats each surface as a separate unit of design, rather than as a related part of a whole. Carvings are enhanced by the use of decorative devices such as brass tacks, cartridge marks, and hatching; inlay, of different woods or objects, and color are rare. An exception is the canoe paddles of the Aucaner, which are painted with geometric clan symbols, usually in white, black, green, and red imported paints.

The symbolism of the designs used by the Bush Negro is frequently sexual and personal to the male donor and the female recipient. The general range of designs — which includes a few animal motifs such as the snake and an occasional human figure, and which is used on the principal parts of objects, such as the handles of combs, canoes, and food paddles — has a symbolic significance related to sex and fertility. A second range of smaller designs, placed haphazardly on objects, is concerned primarily with personal sexual relationships between a man and a woman. A man woos a woman with carvings and continues to maintain her affections after marriage by means of further gifts.

As a result of the woman's being the recipient of carvings and the man the executor (all the men carve), there is a division in the field of esthetics in Bush Negro culture. (The women are highly gifted connoisseurs.) An exception is the carving of calabashes: the men usually carve these only on the outside, with motifs from the range employed for other objects, but the interiors are decorated by the women with a different design range. This reflects once again the sex division in the artistic culture of these people.

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Philip J. C. DARK

Illustrations: 3 figs. in text.

**GUINEA.** The term Guinea designates the West African coastal region included between the estuary of the Gambia River and Cape López, which the Niger delta divides into two regions, Upper Guinea and Lower Guinea. The greater part of this region is treated under other entries (see AFRICA, FRENCH WEST; GHANA; LIBERIA; NIGERIA; SIERRA LEONE). In this article three colonial states will be considered: Gambia, whose artistic production is so sporadic and modest that it does not require extensive treatment, and the two Guineas, Portuguese and Spanish. Gambia, a tiny territory on both banks of the Gambia River, is a British protectorate, except for the Island of St. Mary, site of the capital, Bathurst, and the territory opposite it, which comprise a British colony. Gambia is bordered on three sides by Senegal, into which it penetrates like a wedge. To the southeast, Portuguese Guinea includes continental territory and the adjacent Bijagos (Bissagos) Archipelago. Since 1951 it has been a Portuguese province, administratively autonomous. Portuguese Guinea is bordered by Senegal and the Republic of Guinea (formerly French Guinea). Slightly south of the Gulf of Guinea lie the Spanish possessions; Spanish Guinea includes a mainland territory called Río Muni lying between Cameroun and Gabon, as well as the islands of Annobón, Fernando Poo, and other minor islands.

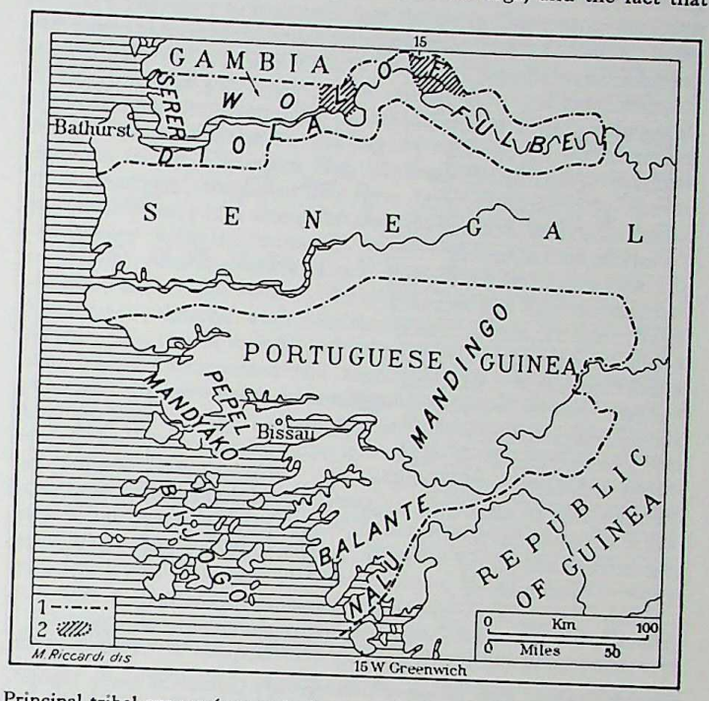
SUMMARY. Gambia (col. 213). Portuguese Guinea (col. 213). Spanish Guinea (col. 214). European settlement (col. 216).

GAMBIA. Scattered throughout the country, 1,226 circles of upright stones and 275 isolated menhirs have been counted; the stones generally are shaped like truncated cones, and the circles may be either isolated or in groups. Sometimes the circles stand on the summit of artificial earthen mounds; the menhirs, several of which have been considered phallic symbols because of their appearance, may in actuality have been altars and steles connected with the cult of the dead. The larger circles may perhaps represent the tombs of kings or distinguished personages. These monuments seem to be no more than four or five centuries old, and they may have been erected by prehistoric sun worshipers with some knowledge of astronomy, who seem to have no connection with the present inhabitants of the territory. The menhirs are generally adorned with marks, dimplelike indentations and furrows, all motifs which are found on the pottery of this period. At least a few of the circles of stones are connected with burials, since around them have been found burial objects made of pottery and iron; the pottery is decorated on the outside with impressions made by matting or cords.

The present inhabitants of Gambia — the Wolof, Serer, and Diola — who belong linguistically to the West Atlantic group (comprising the peoples of Portuguese Guinea, and several groups of Fulbe shepherds in the interior), produce no art deserving mention; among the Wolof, however, workmanship in gold and silver filigree and the handling of fur is of interest.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA. The only report of a prehistoric or archaeological discovery in the area concerns evidence of a paleolithic workshop for fashioning yellowish-gray labradorite stone found at the confluence of the Féfiné and Rio Grande Rivers in the Boé region. It is difficult to establish the period of this deposit.

Among the present occupants of the land the best artistic production is that of the Bijogo, islanders of the Bijagos Archipelago, who, especially in the past, have produced excellent wooden sculpture that falls into several categories: rather sketchy representations of fetishes consisting of a postlike figure on a pedestal, cut from a single piece of timber; and anthropomorphic figurines — female for the most part — of delicate workmanship, distinguished by the white color of the wood, the spread position of the legs, and the fact that




Principal tribal groups (names in heavy CAPITALS) in Gambia and Portuguese Guinea. *Key*: (1) National boundaries; (2) diffusion of prehistoric megaliths.

the figures wear the national costume of the Bijogo and their typical headdress (PL. 118). This type of sculpture, probably linked with fertility rites, is now very decadent, owing to constant demand for it by tourists. Another class consists of masks, which for the most part realistically represent heads of bulls or rhinoceroses. These animals also appear in the decoration of wooden vessels, in which they figure as handles or as decorations on the lids, and in the prow and stern decorations of the large, regal pirogues, whose sides are decorated with painted, geometric incisions, while a sculptured ox skull appears on the prow. In recent times, two forms of art, introduced long ago into the archipelago, have flowered: the decoration of gourds, which are used as receptacles, with delicate incised figures representing single persons or groups and scenes of daily life; and wall paintings of the same motifs, more fully developed, found in dwellings. From these sources it is still possible to study various aspects of the Bijogo culture and of the islanders' first contacts with Europeans, particularly sailors.

In continental Portuguese Guinea, especially in the district about Catió and in several isolated zones of Cubisecco (Fulacunda), Nalu groups numbering about 3,000 people have settled. (Most of the Nalu live in the Republic of Guinea.) Their sculpture, while including several figures o secondary deities, is mainly related to initiation rites and comprises statuettes of human or animal figures, occasionally pole-shaped, and drums supported by caryatids.

The Pepel, who live on the banks of the Cacheo River, decorate their dwellings with ornamental peaked roofs, whimsical and subtle in their variations of two principal types, conical and pointed.

Among the Mandyako, pottery, which is made by women and intended for domestic use, reaches a fairly high artistic level: the upper part of the vessel is decorated with vertical and horizontal lines, the body with incisions and bands; after the vase is fired, it is given several coats of slip. Among this tribe, as well as among the adjacent Brame and Biafada, there is a flourishing art of weaving, which produces cotton fabrics with geometric and figural decorations.

SPANISH GUINEA. On the island of Fernando Poo, site of Santa Isabel, the colony's capital, which is inhabited by the Bantu-speaking tribe of the Bubi, there have been interesting discoveries of the Neolithic period, for which it is difficult to establish even an approximate chronology but which must certainly antedate the Bubi. For

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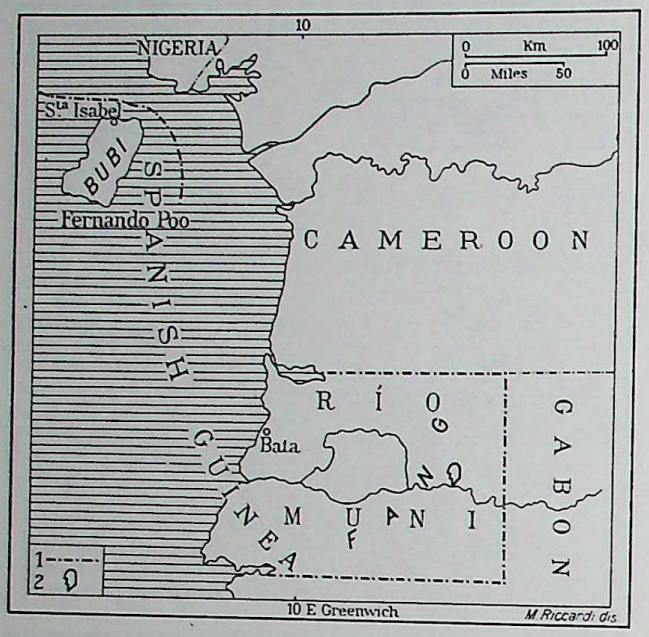
the most part, these consist of vases of varied forms, decorated with reticulate or herringbone patterns, but also bearing incisions, intaglio, impressed circles and irregular ovals, furrows, and cord designs. The most generally used forms of decoration are the zigzag; rows of circles and ears of corn imprinted by means of shells, combs, or pintaderas; furrows forming bands of parallel lines; concentric circles, either plain or arranged in garlands; and undulating furrows of parallel lines. Found in association with the pottery were stone-




Spanish Guinea, with principal tribal groups (names in heavy CAPITALS). *Key*: (1) National boundaries; (2) wood sculpture.

working tools of neolithic type (pebble culture). The archaeological levels are slightly over 8½ ft. deep; six different phases of occupation have been recognized there.

The present inhabitants of the island produce a utilitarian pottery which is very much more rudimentary than the early type. Their most notable work of art is a peculiar musical instrument called a *leebo*, a sort of bell made from a single block of wood, with eight to ten clappers, decorated on the outside with geometric and linear motifs, some of great richness. This instrument is still made today by a few old men in the southern sector of the island.

In continental Guinea, or Río Muni, the most outstanding art is produced by the Fang group (in Spanish, the *Pamues*), who have also settled in neighboring Gabon (see BANTU CULTURES). The art of woodworking reached a very high degree of formal perfection among these people in the past, although at present it is in a period of great decadence. The early wooden art objects were symbolic in nature and essentially religious; wooden figures were carved on the boxes in which the skulls of dead forebears were conserved, while anthropomorphic or zoomorphic masks were employed by the secret societies. The masks are used today primarily in games or festivities; *biang*, small wooden masks with raffia beards, are suspended from the arm and carried during dances; other facial masks, painted white, are worn on the occasion of the *agon ntang* dance. Such masks are still in use in the vicinity of Añisoc, in the region of the Río Bimbili. In this area homage is also paid to the *malan*, a nude female idol with a high headdress of raffia, which is considered to be dedicated to a forest deity.

The Fang also make fine cylindrical, footed drums, on which geometric motifs are incised, and a sort of decorated checkerboard for a game on the order of checkers, called *song*. In the men's meeting houses, connected with the secret societies, a wooden column is often kept, on which are carved symbolic motifs and zoomorphic heads.

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Ernesta CERULLI

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT. The only modern town that is of interest for its monuments is Santa Isabel on the island of Fernando Poo (Spanish Guinea). Founded by the English in 1827 as Port Clarence, it was later renamed Santa Isabel by the Spanish. Although it is not appropriate to speak of true town planning or architectural development, nevertheless in the 20th century Santa Isabel has taken on the aspect of a Westernized colonial center. The Gothicizing Cathedral, which stands on the site of an earlier Jesuit church, was begun in 1916 by H. Miguel and completed later by others. Santa Isabel also contains the Government Palace (1915), the Palace of the New Mission by H. Cabrera, and the Bishop's Palace. The international airport was built in 1960 after plans of J. L. Servert. Other modern towns on Fernando Poo are Banapa, with the Seminario Conciliar del Vicariato, and Bafa, with its School of Arts and Crafts (1959). Of interest are the dwellings of the Poblado de Rilaja (1958) and the church of the Poblado de Masola (1958).

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Illustrations: 2 figs. in text.

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**GUINEAN CULTURES.** The peoples who created the civilizations which flourished along the northern arc of the Gulf of Guinea are historically and ethnically closer to their neighbors of the north, the Sudanese (see SUDANESE CULTURES), than to those of the south, the great Bantu group (see BANTU CULTURES). Their art, however, is on the whole more closely related to that of the Bantu both in the nature of the objects (masks and wooden statues) and in the types of activity (considerable, although discontinuous, development of pottery, metalwork, and weaving). But this broad parallelism does not extend to specific styles, which are extremely varied. Although the majority of the objects known are modern, artifacts have also been brought to light in archaeological excavations, which demonstrate the high level attained in periods corresponding chronologically to the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe. In recent decades the traditional arts have undergone a general decline, which revival movements have not yet counteracted.

SUMMARY. Peoples and kingdoms of Upper Guinea (col. 217). Cultures of the past of the Gulf of Guinea (col. 219): *Origins; Megaliths and stone sculpture; Metalwork; Benin ivories; Clay sculpture.* Contemporary cultures (col. 226): *Tribal arts of Senegambia and Portuguese Guinea; Sculptural styles of the southwest; Dan masks and*

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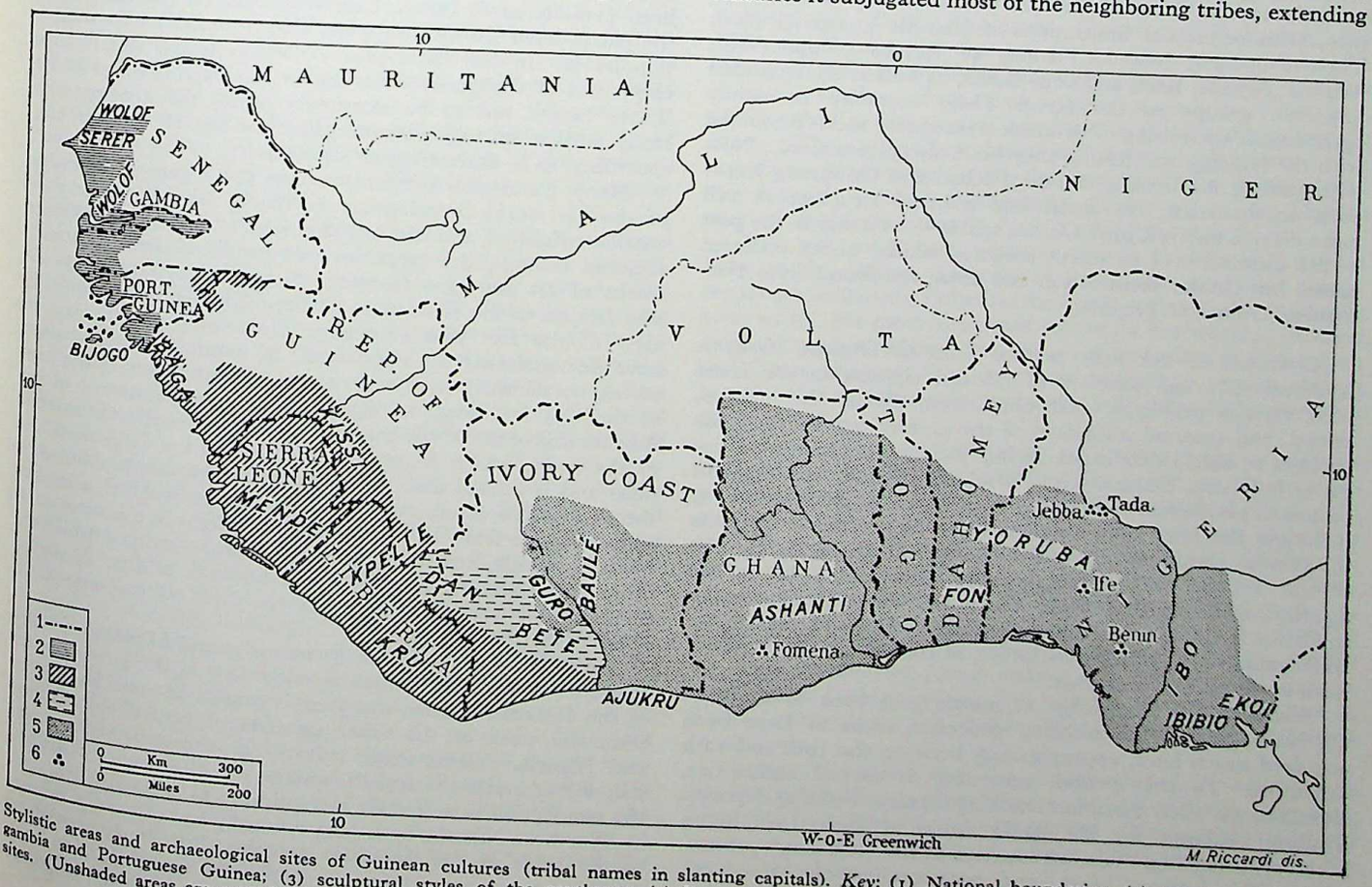
*styles; East Guinean and Cross River arts; Contemporary pottery of Ghana, Nigeria, and the Cross River.*

PEOPLES AND KINGDOMS OF UPPER GUINEA. From early times the west coast of Africa has been an area in cultural contact with the outside world, even if the first positive information about these lands goes back only to the medieval Arabian geographers and their voluminous geographical, historical, ethnographical, and commercial documentation on the new lands reached by their caravans. The name Guinea, whose origin still remains a mystery, appeared for the first time in the work of the Arabian geographer el-Zuhri (1st half of 12th cent.), who divided the Sudan (taken in a broad geographical sense) into three regions: Ginawa, that is the Guinean coast; Kukawa (Kanem-Bornu); and el-Habesha (Ethiopia). In a 14th-century document the name reappears as Ganuya, while later Leo Africanus (b. Granada, ca. 1485; d. Tunis, after 1554) mentioned a kingdom of Gheneoa or Ghinea. Probably the name is derived from Ghinea (or Ginnie, Genni, Djenné), a city and kingdom of the Niger basin founded about the 8th century and made famous by merchants' reports, but it could also have stemmed from Ghana, the oldest empire known in western Sudan — not to be confused with the modern state of Ghana.

In the 15th century Portuguese ships began increasingly to frequent the landing points of the gulf, establishing garrisons and commercial bases. They were followed by the English, Dutch, Danish, and French. The reports of their impressions of the new countries are a valuable source of information.

Since their discovery the "great" states of the Gulf of Guinea, surprisingly advanced in the heart of a generally barbarian environment, have presented a vexing problem to European observers. The best solution at the time seemed that of attributing their genesis to external influences: from the eastern Mediterranean, ancient Egypt, the Nubians of Meroë, or more imaginatively, the lost continent of Atlantis, of which these kingdoms were thought to be a remnant. Little attention was paid to the hypothesis that they might be of African origin, the result of specific historical and economic conditions, although admitting considerable cultural contributions of foreign origin. The question is still open, but hypotheses lacking in scientific foundation are being replaced by an ever greater development of analytical investigation of the political and social structure, of economics, and of art. In this latter aspect, recent archaeological excavations have led to important new conclusions. Today there is a tendency to maintain that the early Guinean civilization was principally conditioned by economic factors, rather than, as long believed, by imperatives of a religious nature. The art of Ife, for example, cannot be considered independently of the economic environment in which it rose and flourished, an agrarian civilization in the age of metals. In the first five centuries of the Christian Era, food plants of Malaysian type (igname, oryam, banana, rice, taro, etc.) seem to have spread by a continental route along the coast of Guinea, making possible a sedentary agrarian economy, with a consequent increase in population. On the other hand, ever since the centuries immediately before the birth of Christ the Guinean regions have had commercial relations with Mediterranean Africa by way of the Sahara. The use of metals and other external cultural contributions which transformed the aspect of the rural community, eventually favoring the formation of despotic states, reached them via this route. In many centuries of evolution (the formation of the Guinean kingdoms goes back to the period between the 12th and 16th centuries), the indigenous communities assimilated external influences, reworking them in an original way so as to make them their own. Thus there arose states and cultures of an African type, which varied in territorial spread and technical levels but were all characterized by an agrarian economy and a knowledge of metallurgy.

During the period known through archaeological investigation a more developed and perfected artistic production was reached in those states which, aside from local differences, all had the same general makeup. A prime example is the state of Benin, founded in the 12th century. Between the 15th and 16th centuries it subjugated most of the neighboring tribes, extending




Stylistic areas and archaeological sites of Guinean cultures (tribal names in slanting capitals). *Key*: (1) National boundaries; (2) tribal arts of Senegambia and Portuguese Guinea; (3) sculptural styles of the southwest; (4) Dan styles; (5) eastern Guinean and Cross River arts; (6) archaeological sites. (Unshaded areas are occupied by peoples of Sudanese culture.)

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on the west to border on Dahomey and on the east as far as the Niger. In Benin, capital of the state, resided the king with his court and large harem. The sovereign personally directed the ritual ceremonies of state and supervised the administration of justice. The queen mother, the principal wife, and the oldest son of the king — heir apparent to the throne — held positions of particular prestige. A complex administrative hierarchy assured the functioning of the state apparatus by means of *corvées*, semiannual tributes, fines, commercial monopolies, and war booty. The affairs of ordinary and extraordinary administration were decided by two different councils of ministers, the first composed of the six governors of the principal provinces and the heir apparent, the second consisting of these with the assistance of 18 city chiefs and 29 palace functionaries. Even this powerful bureaucratic machine would not in itself have sufficed to assure the continuity and stability of the kingdom. The true force of the Benin and similar west African kingdoms (Yoruba, Ashanti) was war, expansionistic and predatory in character and conducted by trained armies which, equipped with metal weapons, easily defeated the weaker and more backward neighboring tribes who were still living in the Stone Age. It is interesting to note that the best art was produced in the period of maximum expansion and consolidation of the Nigerian kingdoms.

The states which were never very large territorially were no less bureaucratically organized than the greater empires and, like them, had a strongly warlike and expansionistic character. It is sufficient to recall the three Wolof kingdoms of Walo, Kayor, and Baol, ruled by a single monarch with the title of *bur*; the strong Temne state of the Sierra Leone, with which the Portuguese had contact in the early 16th century and which survived until the late 19th century; the military and despotic kingdom of the Dahomey Fon, purely Negro in origin, whose great expansion in the 18th century was favored by the slave trade, which it monopolized for more than 150 years.

The populations of the Atlantic coast and forests, from Senegambia to the Cross River, are predominantly of Sudanese race, with occasional infiltrations of Hamitic groups (Fulbe). Their languages, however, belong to various groups (West Atlantic; Mande, Kwa, and semi-Bantu, as well as such isolated linguistic groups as the Kru). Their economy is mainly agricultural; the raising of livestock is secondary and is combined with the hunting and fishing they have always practiced. Notwithstanding the leveling action of Islam and the strong European acculturation, the social and political structure is still quite diverse today; Upper Guinea still is — as it was in the past — the classical area of secret societies which, under different names but similar constitution and aims, are found from Portuguese Guinea to Nigeria.

CULTURES OF THE PAST OF THE GULF OF GUINEA. *Origins.* Archaeologists and scholars of African civilization are faced with various problems, still unresolved, about the origins, period, and external influences of the greater part of the finds brought to light in countries facing the Gulf of Guinea, particularly in Ghana, Dahomey, and southern Nigeria. Independent centers of production seem to be indicated for the stone sculpture, including the great megaliths. It is, in fact, difficult to relate the steatite statuettes of western Guinea and the stone thrones of the Yoruba to the megaliths of Senegambia or to the figurines and mutilated heads of Esie (PL. 117). Ivory working in Benin is unique — of unequaled perfection and delicacy — while metalwork and clay sculpture, at least so far as is known, have more points of contact.

Although the knowledge of metals goes back to the pre-Christian period, the working processes seem to have been acquired much later, approximately between the 10th and 12th centuries. To this period, according to several authorities, should be assigned the oldest smelting furnaces and slag deposits. Binding evidence for the confirmation of these hypotheses, however, is lacking. The introduction of the "lost-wax" process, with which bronze, brass, and occasionally gold were cast, probably spread from a single center, northern or eastern, in a period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Although it is difficult to establish how this technique spread, its introduction by the Europeans during the Renaissance seems to be definitely excluded, since archaeological finds place it prior to the arrival of the white man. It remains uncertain whether the lost-wax process was acquired by a single west African people and transmitted by them to other areas, or whether there were several independent centers of diffusion, as the various stylistic and technical diversities seem to demonstrate. Facts do not seem to support the assumption that all African lost-wax metallurgy is only an epigonal derivation of that of Ife. This could probably be true only for the early Nigerian civilizations with which there are noticeable stylistic and technical agreements, but the metallurgy of the Ashanti, Baule, and Dan-Ngere, as well as that of the groups of the Cameroons Grasslands, seem to have an independent origin and development. Production in the latter groups began much later and has continued up to present times; it therefore more properly concerns the contemporary cultures which will be dealt with below.

So far, with little known of the ancient culture of Ife and even less of those of the other Nigerian centers — Nok, Tada, Jebba, Esie — it is impossible to establish whether the undeniable stylistic ties in their art were the consequence of a similar historical development which, at a certain point, resulted everywhere in favorable conditions for the birth of the art, or whether the Ife style instead branched out among the neighboring peoples. An authoritative example appears to support the latter hypothesis. Precise information of a historical kind (see below), as well as stylistic and technical considerations, seem to prove that Benin derived from Ife at least the technique of its perfected metallurgy, that is, the lost-wax system of casting bronze and brass (see NIGERIA). It is still difficult to ascertain whether the cultures of Ife and Benin (and consequently their art) were the product of several centuries of evolution or the work of a few generations. In any case recent archaeological research has demonstrated the existence of long cultural sequences. In 1957 Goodwin, excavating in the ruins of the "palace" of Benin, brought to light a series of clay remains which it has been possible to fit into a long sequence; on the other hand, the palace itself showed no fewer than four successive occupation levels. In the same year Willett collected about 30,000 clay vases of the present Yoruba in the neighborhood of Ife. These turned out to be extremely useful for a comparative study (still in an experimental phase) of the Ife work in clay, according to a chronological succession.

Many Europeans scholars, noting the vigorous naturalism of the Ife works found prior to World War II, upheld the outside origin of the art, on the sole basis that the African societies through the centuries had produced only "abstract" works of art and that therefore a naturalistic concept of art was foreign to the African mentality. This seems an error, in view of the fact that successive discoveries of Nigerian art have demonstrated the coexistence of naturalistic and abstract styles, occasionally in the very same object, such as the bust of the Oni (PL. 107), in which the realistic treatment of the features and of the whole head is countered by negligent modeling of the body, which is out of proportion to the fullness of the head and is buried under a plethora of ornaments. Moreover, the excavations conducted by Bernard Fagg in Abiri, a locality some 10 miles from Ife, have brought to light in the same tomb five clay heads, two of which are strongly stylized while the other three present the delicate naturalism of Ife. A similar phenomenon was encountered in the Nok culture, one much older than that of Ife.

Even if the art of Ife, in its maturity and formal perfection, seems to represent a unique development in the larger context of the Guinean culture complex, it cannot be considered apart from the work of the other cultures of central east Guinea and Nigeria. When these cultures at a certain point found themselves under the stylistic and technical influence of Ife art, the connection is as clearly recognizable as is its absence.

Northern Nigeria, both geographically and culturally, belongs to the orbit of the Sudanese cultures, but its archaeological tradition must apparently be considered in conjunction with that of Ife. Above all, a small but important group of bronze

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sculptures must be taken into consideration. Belonging to two or more styles, the pieces are preserved in two Nupe villages, Tada and Jebba, on the banks of the middle Niger. In the first village was found what is regarded as the most important metal statue in all west Africa, a seated male figure about two-thirds life size. Although the features have been almost completely obliterated by centuries of ceremonial rubbing with sand and water, and the hands and feet have been lost, the statue is clearly recognizable as a product of the classic style of Ife. It differs, however, in the extraordinary freedom and looseness of the pose, quite different from the canons of rigid symmetry which are almost the rule in African sculpture. This figure, preserved in the small and almost inaccessible village of Tada, is intimately connected in the minds of the inhabitants with the well-being of the country. On the other hand, the great standing male figure and the three female statuettes of Jebba, also in bronze, are not readily related to the sculptural style of Ife but seem to conform more closely to African esthetic conventions. Not to be excluded is the possibility that the style of Jebba represents an emanation of the culture of Idah, the metropolis on the Niger, capital of the Igala group, which long ago seems to have been a rival of Benin. The Nupe kingdom was founded toward the middle of the 15th century by the culture hero Tsoede, king of Idah. Driven from the throne, Tsoede supposedly fled along the Niger, abandoning those precious sculptural works along the way. Tradition and internal evidence seem to confirm this hypothesis.

But it is above all in Benin that the fruits of the Ife school can be discerned. This warlike civilization with a strongly centralized power was without parallel among the Edo peoples. The closest similarities are found in the kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashanti. The warlike character of this society and the pomp of court life provided a powerful stimulus for an art commemorating the historical events of the city, especially of its dominating class, with a certain tendency to distortion or idealization of the events, according to the interests of the various rulers. It is probable that two different artistic traditions coexisted in Benin: plebeian, executed mainly in perishable materials, which has been almost completely lost, and courtly, expressed in bronze and ivory. Ever since the technique had been introduced from Ife, workers in bronze had been prohibited from working for anyone other than the king. Consequently all the works produced remained inside the walls of the "great palace," with the exception of a few pieces given by the sovereign to officials and vassals, which have remained in the possession of their descendants up to the present.

Conforming to tradition, commemorative heads of deceased obas were made in Ife under the aegis of the Oni of the city, the spiritual leader of the kingdom of Benin (see below). The possibility that the Bini were acquainted with the working of metals, however, before the introduction from Ife of lost-wax casting methods is not excluded. Among the many surviving bronze heads of Benin one type is generally accepted by scholars as the oldest. On the whole these works are naturalistic, but certain features such as the ears and nostrils tend to be stylized and the metal is extraordinarily thin. The heads do not seem to be imports from Ife but rather of local manufacture during the first two centuries of the Bini artistic activity, a period which ended when the first contacts with Europeans took place in the late 15th century. Their derivation from Ife is much more evident than is that of the works of later periods. In the late 16th century a real artistic revolution must have taken place as a result of political changes. To this era belong both the famous plaques which adorned clay columns and piers of the royal palaces and the massive figures of musicians and other personages, whose common characteristic is their great weight —in contrast to the works of the earlier period. This trait may be related to the large-scale importation of metals from Europe. A number of stylistic changes accompanied this technical variation: a strong tendency to uniformity of the features and an accentuation of such decorative elements as necklaces and headdresses, under which the features and the body are almost completely hidden.

Once the period of conquest had passed, the internal political situation became stabilized in a pattern of hierarchical bureaucracy. The arrival of the Portuguese may have instituted artistic transformations resulting in work that is inferior to the older production (ca. 1350–1550) to which the famous portrait heads can be assigned. In effect, with the arrival of the Portuguese in Benin, new artistic themes — representations of Europeans in civilian and military dress — and new forms were introduced. These new shapes are found particularly in ivory objects such as boats, bowls, coffers, and boxes, which are decorated with geometrical motifs of Western derivation. It must be supposed that the Europeans, in addition to inspiring the new forms, commissioned these specific types from the Bini. Real decadence began late in the 17th century and lasted throughout the following century. Bronze was gradually replaced first by brass and finally by wood, and the naturalistic style of Ife was submerged beneath a plethora of ornaments. While Benin ivories (see below) were known in Europe from the period of Portuguese exploration, the bronzes remained unknown until the British punitive expedition of 1897. Only then, when museums acquired numerous pieces, was the art of Benin made accessible to a larger public.

The art of Ife became known even later, first through the few heads, mostly clay, found in that city by Leo Frobenius (1910); the main discoveries took place in 1938, in the course of a chance excavation which brought to light 11 bronze heads and masks of surprising beauty. These were followed by exceptional finds of small clay heads and fine busts and whole figures cast in bronze.

It is to be hoped that future discoveries in other localities of the Guinean area will clear up the chronological, technical, and stylistic problems for which even a tentative solution would be premature.

*Megaliths and stone sculpture.* Groups of stones standing in a circle and isolated monoliths, some of which bear enigmatic grooves or vaguely anthropomorphous engravings (see GUINEA), have been found in various areas of the Gulf of Guinea (west coast of the Gulf, Sinesalum, Casamance, Dahomey, and Nigeria). Because of the scarcity of precise data about the meaning and age of these megaliths, some scholars consider them the vestiges of altars or temples of an ancient sun cult, while other archaeologists attribute a phallic symbolism to them. The latter hypothesis still awaits confirmation but correlates surprisingly with that proposed for similar, and more clearly phallic, monuments discovered in the Cushite area of southern Ethiopia (see CUSHITE CULTURES).

It is not yet known whether artistic relationships existed between the various countries in which the megalithic monuments are scattered or whether they have a single place of origin such as Ife, the most important center for the working of stone in all of western Africa. But the great monoliths of Oranmiyan and Ogun, although they constitute pilgrimage centers, do not seem to present particular connections with those of the countries to the west.

Much more important from an artistic point of view is stone statuary. The anthropomorphic (more rarely zoomorphic) steatite figurines are unique and topographically limited in production. Since the inhabitants of the countries in which they are found know nothing of their origins or real significance, they were probably created in a fairly remote period. Given certain of their anatomical characteristics, however, it is not improbable that they were related to fecundity and fertility cults. Such statuettes, of small dimensions (max. ht., 10 in.) are still occasionally found among the Kissi peoples in the Republic of Guinea, where they are known as *pomdo*, and in Sierra Leone among the Mende (Mendi), who call them *nomoli* or *nomori*.

Among the Kissi and the neighboring Lele and Lunda the steatite figurines are at present used for divining purposes, since they are thought to be in contact with ancestors who try to return among the living. A similar belief also seems to exist among the Mende.

In certain magical rites of the Kissi the *pomdo* are used as a substitute for the human victim. Since they are ancestor

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images, moreover, they are objects of a very active ancestor cult which is the basis of the Kissi religious life. For this reason most of these statuettes are found on tombs or abandoned sacrificial places and on the summits of low tumuli. In considering the steatite statuettes as ancient objects, it should be noted that several of the anthropomorphic *pomdo* present attributes alien to the present population, such as beards cut in the eastern mode and particularly elaborate hair styles. It is a fact that today neither the Kissi nor the Mende work stone.

Proceeding eastward, important evidence of ancient stone sculpture has been found in Esie, in the province of Ilorin, Nigeria. There, in 1934, some 800 small heads and statuettes, mostly mutilated, were found in a clearing in a palm grove. They were carved in stone and show a great variety of physical types (PL. 117), some so individualistic as to be considered portraits. Moreover, many of the tribal marks with which they are decorated are still in use among present-day peoples. The naturalism of the Esie statuary, ingenuous and typically African, is highly original in character. According to William Fagg, only one of the heads, probably of foreign origin, displays any likeness to the vigorous naturalistic style of Ife.

Finally, from Ife come beautiful monolithic stone stools (in granite, quartz, or quartzite) consisting of two disks joined by a cylindrical pillar. Some of these stools are furnished with a single lateral handle which connects the edge of the upper level with the supporting pillar. Nothing is known of the origin and significance of these objects, but it is not improbable that here, as in other Guinean countries (Ghana, Dahomey) they were an attribute of royalty (see FURNITURE).

*Metalwork.* The masterpieces of indigenous African metallurgy, the wonderful bronzes of Ife, remained completely unknown, not only in Europe but also locally, until very recent times. In 1938 a single excavation in Ife brought to light seven magnificent heads, and four more were found at a nearby archaeological site. Some of the heads have small holes symmetrically arranged in the lower part of the face and along the hairline, presumably for the insertion of beard and hair (PL. 109). Other heads have longitudinal grooves which represent the lines of tribal scarification, still used among the Yoruba. The insertion in bronze heads of hair and beard made of human hair or plant fiber was known to the ancient Egyptians and, according to the experts, is proof of the autochthonous origin of the art of Ife. Another head (PL. 115), whose face is decorated with the characteristic facial scarification marks, wears a low crown in the shape of a frontal band with a jutting ornament at the center, probably of a phallic nature, which has analogies to the frontal ornament used by the Kafficho and Konso warriors of Ethiopia (IV, PLS. 88, 89). This head, which is in the British Museum, is probably a portrait of Olokun, wife of Odua and mother of the second Oni (king-priest) of Ife, Obalufon I. In fact, it seems certain that all the Ife bronzes, including the rare full- or half-length figures dressed in the ceremonial dress of the Oni (PL. 107), are portraits, more or less idealized, of chiefs or important personages. They may have been executed posthumously to be employed as substitute figures during funeral or commemorative ceremonies.

In comparison with the classic naturalism of Ife, the later metalwork of Benin and other Nigerian centers seems considerably inferior. According to tradition, Benin craftsmen learned the technique of bronze and brass casting from a Yoruba master foundryworker from Ife, a certain Igue Igha, subsequently worshiped as the divinity of the Bini founders corporation. More specifically, the Oba Oguola of Benin is said to have sent a messenger to the Oni of Ife about 1280 requesting an expert founder, so that bronze and brass objects could be produced in Benin without having to import them from Ife. Metalwork was necessary to commemorate the historical events of the city-state. Today it seems certain that the bronze of Benin was produced by court craftsmen who worked at the orders of the sovereign.

Only a few metal objects — the round bells with extremely thin walls — can be attributed with certainty to the early, or archaic, period. This phase, which seems to have extended from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 14th century, was followed by the period called "classic" (ca. 1350–1500), to which the most beautiful male and female portrait heads are attributed. Those probably representing young princesses are outstanding in originality and realism and can be enumerated among the masterpieces of Negro art (PL. 111). These heads have a characteristic upswept hairdress, in the form of a high cone, which most likely was supported by a fine network of corals, realistically represented in bronze.

The working of bronze and, above all, brass reached its apex under the reign of Esigie (ca. 1504). The best of the celebrated plaques (PL. 113; IV, PL. 20) were produced at that time, with scenes taken from court life, from festivals and ceremonies, and with personages such as the Oba himself and the great dignitaries of the kingdom, accompanied by courtiers or carried by slaves. The massive bronze heads, stylistically quite different from the refined heads of Ife, also belong to this period. There were also statuettes in the round, occasionally equestrian, representing important personages of the kingdom, or Europeans in the sumptuous costumes of the period. The last artistic period, the period of great efflorescence, lasted throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

The bronze figures discovered in Tada, a rather inaccessible village on the right bank of the Niger, seem to be related to the style of Ife, in particular the beautiful reclining anthropomorphous sculpture (see above). Three other human figures were also found (two quite small), one of which clasps its hands in a symbolic gesture, considered typical of the Ogboni secret society, which is widespread among the present Yoruba. But these figures are quite crude, and their style recalls the recent Yoruba brass production rather than that of Ife. The fourth figure, called *gara*, is considered so sacred that it is never carried outside its hut. It is richly robed and wears bronze ornaments decorated with geometric motifs. On its forehead the statue bears a disk, part of a rich headdress which hangs down its back. In the center is the gorgonesque motif of a horned human head from whose nostrils serpents issue. In Tada three zoomorphic figures — two ostriches and a small elephant — were found. Their style is unrelated to that of other parts of Africa.

Jebba, likewise a village of the Nigerian Federation, has yielded two bronze figures which are related to the figure with joined hands from Tada; together they form a stylistic group influenced by the two traditions of Ife and Benin. They seem to be objects from a single foundry.

*Benin ivories.* A characteristic art of Benin which, in part, reveals European Renaissance influences, is the carving of ivory, which often reached a high level in fineness of execution and expressive realism. The range of production comprises elephant tusks completely covered with a spiral carving of subjects of courtly or military character or lively genre scenes; coffers, cups, and spoons, of evident Renaissance derivation, the decoration of which consists of geometric-symbolic motifs and naturalistic figures (VIII, PL. 250); fine ivory horns; small anthropomorphous masks, some exquisitely executed (PL. 112); bracelets decorated with zigzags, spiral bands, and various geometric motifs; and finally human and animal figurines in the round, which are comparatively realistic, as in the case of the leopard in the British Museum whose spots are inlaid metal disks (PL. 114). Probably many ivory objects were executed according to Western designs at the request of Portuguese merchants, even though the objects, taken as a whole, present a fundamentally African character.

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*Clay sculpture.* Ancient examples of ceramics, beginning with the Neolithic age, have been found everywhere in the Guinean countries in the numerous workshops for stone implements. These are generally small fragments, but their faces bear ornamental designs incised with a burin or impressed with a rope pattern. It is surprising to discover in this ancient evidence the techniques used today by African potters; indeed, the utilitarian pottery of the Gulf of Guinea does not seem to have progressed noticeably from this early stage. However,

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from remote times relatively advanced cultures with an excellent artistic production have existed in the Guinean area, particularly in Ghana and Nigeria. In Gambia large open funerary urns, with striated and cord-marked surfaces, have been excavated on the sites of ancient stone circles, which are attributed to a period between the 8th and 13th centuries, although they are considered by some authorities to be much more recent. In the Ivory Coast, the Anyi (Agni) of Krinjabo, near Aboisso, used to employ in the course of funerary rites, heads, busts, or complete figurines called *ma*, artistically modeled in clay; some of these are decorated in an extraordinary way.

The oldest identifiable high culture is centered at Nok (Plateau and Benue provinces) in northern Nigeria, where a series of remarkable clay heads and human and animal figures have been excavated in geological deposits dating from about 900 B.C. to A.D. 200. Geographically this area belongs to the Sudanese civilizations (see SUDANESE CULTURES), but its artistic styles are connected to the great art of Ife (see below). The human heads are modeled in a distinctive quasi-naturalistic style of real artistic merit; the peculiar treatment of the eyes with staring hollow pupils conveys an expression of intense concentration. Children's heads and elephants and other animals, admirably modeled, form part of this art complex, which is still little known. The Nok culture had become extinct by the beginning of the Christian Era.

The numerous clay heads of Ife, which are attributed to a period between the 8th and 15th centuries (and certainly are not later), mark the culmination of naturalistic art in Africa and have little in common with the various traditional stylizations which characterize most African sculpture. The heads, serene and dignified in expression, are clearly differentiated portraits of individuals and vary in scale from miniature to more than half life size; many of them originally had bodies of which fragments remain, but no figure has been found complete. Like the well-known bronzes of the same culture, they are modeled with consummate skill and fidelity to nature. Indeed, there is nothing primitive about them, and they will bear comparison with the masterpieces of the highest civilizations. Only in the treatment of the eyes and ears do they show a slight degree of conventionalization, and the style is so consistent as to suggest that all the clay sculpture and the bronzes are the work of a single artist or school of art. They seem to represent the peak of a long tradition, but the source of their inspiration, whether local or foreign, remains unidentified; no traces of earlier stages in the evolution of the art have been discovered. The people portrayed appear, however, to be the ancestors of the present Yoruba, since they depict the same mixture of Semitic, Hamitic, and Negro types which is characteristic of that group today. Some of the heads are covered with facial scarifications or raised weals such as can be seen among tribes living in northeastern Nigeria and Bornu (PL. 108). By analogy with the bronze figures, some of which are shown wearing the royal insignia of the Oni of Ife, these heads would seem to relate to secular rather than religious art, although they may be connected with ancestor worship. Their original purpose is not known, but until recently some of them were preserved and venerated in sacred groves, though most of them are now in the Ife museum (PL. 107).

Among the surviving works of art from the 15th to the 17th century from Benin City in southern Nigeria are a few small clay heads (ht., ca. 6 in.), which are modeled in the same style as some of the finer early bronzes. The portraiture is less completely naturalistic than that of Ife, though probably inspired by it; a peculiar feature is the inlaying of strips of iron to indicate the pupils of the eyes and the nasal scars. A few larger heads are direct copies of bronzes of the 18th or early 19th century, showing a considerable degeneration from the older style.

In southern Ghana and Ashanti a good deal of fragmentary pottery has been excavated at various ancient sites, apparently antedating the early colonial period of the 16th century (e.g. Nsuta and Tarkwa near the coast, Obuasi, and Abodom). Much of it is extremely ornate and the style of decoration is quite distinct from that of the modern local wares. It consists chiefly of incised, impressed, or combed linear designs, herring-bone bands, punched circles and ellipses, small appliqué bosses, and occasional figures in relief. The rims are often deeply undercut and prominent flanges are modeled below them. This pottery seems to have been chiefly domestic and shows no trace of having been painted; it is often found associated with stone celts and the remains of an embryonic iron industry.

In some parts of Ashanti and the coastal region (Fomena, Wassau) clay heads, almost life size, were placed on burial sites as abodes for spirits of the dead. The features are somewhat stylized, but certain details such as noses and curls of hair are more realistic, and the general effect is often vigorous and lifelike. The manufacture of these heads ceased only about a century ago. Another type of small funerary head at Agona-Swedru has a ringed neck and flat face, resembling that of the Ashanti dolls called *akua'ba*. Funerary equipment also includes jugs, "tazzas," and ring-necked vases. Very few complete specimens of early pottery have survived in Ghana or Niegria; some of these have rouletted ornament.

Hermann J. BRAUNHOLTZ

CONTEMPORARY CULTURES. The forest, almost nonexistent in Senegal, thickens progressively though not evenly along the Gulf; it forms a more or less continuous cloak of vegetation in Casamance, and, after many interruptions, reappears in its full density in the Ivory Coast. The innumerable species of trees found in these forests have favored the development of a remarkable art, wood sculpture, which is the highest vehicle of esthetic expression for certain cultures in this area. The whole interest of the Guinean artist seems centered in the creation of objects for ritual use, such as the mask and the statue. Because climatic conditions in the Gulf of Guinea are unsuitable for the conservation of wooden objects, nothing remains that is really old. With a few rare exceptions, the works in museums certainly go back no farther than two or three centuries; most collections are no more than a few decades old. This period, of course, corresponds to the time when Europe, beginning a spiritual revolution, discovered Negro art as one source of a possible renewal.

Estheticians are fond of declaring that since the African natives began to adopt Western models, the art of wood sculpture has begun to decay. The sociologist, however, prefers to speak of an "evolution." Although modified in its forms and in its spirit, this art is still very much alive in the Guinean area but is steadily being transformed from an art into a craft. The penetration of Islamic thought, which has made itself felt on the west African coast since the Almoravid expansion of the 11th century, has generally impeded the development of the native art and has even stopped it completely in certain cases. Naturally, the situation is also influenced by other psychosociological factors which can act as negative catalysts in the area of artistic creation. An example is the Arab-Berber taste for decorative detail which has steadily infiltrated the naturally robust forms of Guinean art.

The Arab script, introduced by the Islamic culture, has encouraged the development of calligraphy. However, this art remains almost exclusively the specialty of copyists of the sacred books, certain pages of which bear ornamental designs of Oriental inspiration. This art flourishes here and there in some Islamic schools of higher learning (madrasah), aided by the presence of an imam or some other influential religious dignitary. In the Koranic schools in the principal centers of Moslem expansion on the west coast of Africa, the little Negro students, like their Arab counterparts, in learning to recite the suras of the Koran use wooden tablets which often reveal a subtle and refined sense of art.

The influence of Oriental decoration also shows itself in other sectors of social and economic life, above all in architecture. The mosques, the houses of chiefs, and other public buildings often bear a clear Sudanese imprint. Throughout western Africa, which was formerly faithful to the traditional religions, the Islamic doctrine seems to be gaining ground, in spite of the rather unsystematic opposition of the Christian missionary movement. These two religions hinder the development of genuine Negro-African sculpture, which they judge savage or



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pagan, but they sometimes give rise to local craftwork of an enervated appearance that is not always very happy from the esthetic point of view. Examples are the little iron figurines from Ouagadougou (Upper Volta), some of the objects in copper, wickerwork, ivory, and leather made by the craftsmen of Bamako (former French Sudan), and the statuettes in brass from Zagnanado (Dahomey), which are carried throughout the Guinean area by traveling Diola and Hausa merchants and are destined for the tourist trade.

Throughout western Africa it can be seen that, without exception, the extent of local art corresponds to the degree of conservation of traditional institutions. Indeed, since the abandonment of their traditions, none of the modern societies of the Gulf of Guinea has been able to create a substitute art. All these societies in movement, absorbed by their efforts at acculturation and by the reorganization of their political and economic structures, have been able only to imitate, borrow, and assimilate foreign values for the elaboration of a new esthetic. In comparison with the old masterpieces of Negro sculpture, the contemporary production makes a very poor showing.

*Tribal arts of Senegambia and Portuguese Guinea.* Senegal, a rather arid country of subdesert type, is today largely Moslem, a fact which gives a distinctive character to its peoples, although a significant minority of the rural population remains faithful to the old religious practices. The oldest inhabitants of the Cape Vert Peninsula, the Lebu, who live on the "Little Coast" near Dakar and Rufisque, support themselves by fishing and by agriculture. Today the Lebu form a relatively mixed ethnic group; they are basically Mande-Susu, but there has been considerable mixing with the Serer and the Wolof. The prows of the Lebu pirogues are often decorated with geometric designs in painted relief which are of little artistic interest. This is true also of the Wolof pirogues which are used all along the coast from Ngor and Yoff to the "Tongue of Barbary."

Another Senegalese tribe, the Fulani of Fouta Toro, are for the most part Moslem pastoral nomads. Their way of life has not permitted the development of any art worth mentioning. However, a group of Fulani craftsmen known as the *laobe*, who correspond in many ways to a caste, specialize in wood carving and make everyday domestic utensils such as dishes, ladles, spoons, and various chairs and stools which can always be seen in the markets of the big towns; they also make drums and similar objects. Many *laobe* today work in Dakar for a European clientele, and their products, often of poor quality and taste, are sold all along the coast to Abidjan; typical are the roughly varnished wood sculptures, the ornamented stools, and lamps imitating Western models. The Tukulor (a corruption of the Arabic name "Tekrur"), pastoral Moslems who live on the banks of the Senegal River, have created no noteworthy art.

The most numerous population of Senegal, the Wolof (ca. 850,000), are Moslems who maintain archaic beliefs side by side with Moslem practices. The Wolof have an old political tradition; their society, which is extremely hierarchical, is composed of many strata, fairly separate from one another, which are somewhat like what we call "castes." The caste, or *tegue*, of metalworkers and jewelers is of interest because it produces traditional jewelry as well as modern filigree work. The *oude*, whose members are shoemakers and saddlers, makes leather boxes for the innumerable talismans carried by both sexes. The Wolof woman adorns herself with large pieces of showy jewelry of "fetish gold" and wears elaborate coiffures and brightly colored clothing. The Serer, living to the south of the Wolof, are an agricultural population attached to their traditional beliefs, and therefore resistent to Islam. Their artistic creation is of poor quality (see AFRICA, FRENCH WEST).

In the interior of the Casamance — politically a part of Senegal but forming an ethnographic unit with Gambia — live other groups of Fulani who are superficially Moslem but continue to practice cults that, although probably very old, are still only slightly known. Along the coast are established communities of the Mande and more especially of the Diola, while along the river Casamance are the Diola and the Felupe, both excellent rice growers.

The only artistic works worth mentioning in this area are the vases for cooling water, with two spouts joined by a small twisted handle, similar to those of the Yoruba (see below), and also found among the Mende (Sierra Leone). This type of vase probably has a Spanish or Portuguese derivation; some examples are painted with curvilinear motifs in red or are stamped with decorations based on plant forms.

The Bayot of Portuguese Guinea are closely related to the Diola, with whom they have many customs in common. Like the latter they show incomparable ability in building great communal dwellings intended to house all the members of a family (using the term in its broadest sense). They contain many rooms, so that each family unit may lead a separate life. Among the oldest inhabitants of Portuguese Guinea are the Balante, the Pepel, the Mandyako, and, best known, the Bijogo. Traces of the matriarchal system are found among these tribes, who are rice growers and excellent boatmen. The Balante and Pepel societies are firmly organized and stratified into classes according to age. The ceremonies which accompany the transition of young people from one class to another are spectacles with astonishing choreography, rich in color because the taste for clothes and personal ornament is highly developed. The weavers of the Balante, the Mandyako, the Bram, the Biafada, and the Banyun are deservedly famous for loincloths and coverings ornamented with beautiful geometric or figural designs. Such fabrics, mainly intended for export, can be found in the markets of Dakar and other places. The walls of dwellings are often covered with paintings which contain a rich variety of motifs and combine keen observation with a strong decorative sense.

Owing in part to their natural isolation, the Bijogo, who are spread through the Bijagos (Bissagos) Archipelago, have a wonderfully preserved littoral civilization. In the past theirs was a very rich art in both painting and sculpture, but the gradual infiltration of European subjects has given their creations an un-African character. The paintings which decorate the walls of their circular houses are executed with mineral colors (kaolin white, and yellow and red ocher), and with motifs taken from both secular and religious sources: geometric forms, palm trees, birds, oxen, sharks, giant rays, scenes of fishing and of ritual combats appear next to those with pirogues, steamships, airplanes, and administrative officials. There is an almost religious veneration of the bull, associated with the idea of strength and of fertility; enormous masks representing a bull's head play a part in the rites, dances, and mimes of puberty. Formerly the solidly built pirogues carried powerfully executed figureheads of bulls or crocodiles on the tip of the prow. Today the wood sculpture, carried out in a very soft white wood (PL. 118), has obviously been commercialized so that it has lost its earlier simple strength (see GUINEA).

*Sculptural styles of the southwest.* The Koniagi, who inhabit the plains around Yukunkun (Republic of Guinea), and the Basari (Bassari), situated on the rocky hills of the subdivision of the same name, belong to the same ethnic and linguistic group, the Tenda. Among both these peoples clothing and headdress assume extraordinary forms; the fetes and the dances — in which masked actors such as the *ganguran*, *lukuta*, *anenere*, and others take part — are famous for their spectacular character. Esthetic feeling plays an important part throughout life and finds expression in the most personal things: coiffure, decorative scarification of the body, and even a codpiece braided in straw.

Nearer the coast live rice growers, the Nalu, the Baga, the Landuma, and the Susu. The initiation societies (such as the Simo), which were once very powerful, developed a rich and striking wood sculpture in creating such ceremonial accessories as the great statue-masks, *sili-simo*, *mbantiun*, *kakilambe* of the Baga, and the *bansundyi* (the great python) of the Nalu, which are sometimes of tremendous size. The use of masks was very common in the past, but today it is disappearing as a result of extensive economic changes. In recent years a large number of works of art, sometimes of the greatest ethnographic interest, have been exported from this area: masks, statues, and magnificent polychrome drums. Among the masks are the enormous *nimba*

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(which may weigh more than 100 lb.), a female spirit associated with fertility rites, and the zoomorphic *banda*, shaped like a crocodile's jaws. The *nimba* and its local variants, the *nimba kupon* and *nimba pefete*, are creations of the Baga, while the *banda* seem characteristic of the Nalu, although they are constructed by Baga sculptors in the villages of Taigbé and Taĭdi, which are famous for this work. From the same region comes an extremely bizarre idol called the *atiol*, the object of a collective propitiatory cult of the rice growers. It is the effigy of a head of a bird-woman with a long beak; its features are badly defined, but it has recognizable human traits. The very stylized head, with a cylindrical neck, is mounted on a base. Under the influence of the invading Susu, the Baga and the Nalu are losing much of their ethnic individuality; with the adoption of Susu as the lingua franca, the cultural boundaries of the two groups are becoming imprecise. This fact is important, since it affects the interpretation of the function and the exact origin of certain less interesting masks which are life size and have a mainly secular use: the *koni* (also called the *tiyamba*, or the *kinson* after its inventor), which represents a bird with a long curved beak; the extraordinary and complex *sibondel* (also called a *bondi*); the *sebe-simo*, which has become the *komoe* by ritual corruption, and which represents the bust of a young woman; and the grotesque *lumbe*, *dudu*, and many others, all inspired by the innate sense of rhythm of these people and their natural inclination for the bizarre and for caricature. Compared with the multitude of masks, the statuary of this region seems rather scarce (PL. 121), but there are some statues with large hooked noses clearly inspired by the brutal features of the *nimba*. More noteworthy are the wall paintings on the interiors and exteriors of the dwellings (PL. 119).

In the interior of Guinea completely settled groups of Fulani raise their flocks and cultivate cereals such as *fonio* on the grassy slopes of the Fouta Djallon. The Malinke, formerly migratory, have settled even farther inland, and on their boundaries are former inhabitants of the area, such as the Dialonke (expelled from their native mountains by the Fulani), the Dyakanke, and the Koranko (Kuranko). Because of their conversion to Islam, all these peoples have produced little art. However, the Islamization seems fairly superficial in the peoples with a very primitive cultural level, which perhaps explains why the Dyakanke provide such a great number of metalworkers (assimilated with the sacrificers of the chthonian cults) and of potters (the female counterparts of the metalworkers).

Apart from inept imitations of the *pomdo* in a dark-hued pottery, the Kissi (see above) make only statuettes for divination and, rarely, flat masks with horns called *komo*. Among the Mende, on the other hand, there are excellent sculptors who make the famous hood masks known as *nowi*, which are said to be used by the women's cult associations called Bundu. With their amazing helmet-shaped headdresses, minutely detailed in execution, and with their thick necks bulging in heavy rings (an important functional detail), these robust Mende masks possess an esthetic appeal that is increased by the beautiful patina they develop through long use. The Mende sculptors also model slender figurines of women, characterized by long, ringed necks; the most recent of these, however, are generally less expressive.

Among the peoples of Sierra Leone, the Mende are the leaders in creating works of art; the Bulom, the Sherbro, the Krim, the Temne, and the Vai of the coast (PL. 120) have no artistic production of importance, although there are little groups of craftsmen, among the Temne for example, who imitate the Mende style to make money from tourists. In this region are found the Poro and the Bundu, the initiation organizations for men and women respectively, which direct the religious and political life of the primitive societies of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Upper Guinea. The Poro, which requires the production of an enormous quantity of masks, statuettes, and other accessories, usually of wood, for use in its innumerable ceremonies, is one of the most important factors in the development of ritual arts in this entire cultural area. The region contains, in addition to the tribes in the interior of Sierra Leone already named, the following ethnic groups: in Upper Guinea, the Toma, the Kpelle (or Gerse), the Mano, and the Kono (who must not be confused with the people of the same name who live in the north of Sierra Leone); in Liberia, on the borders of the Republic of Guinea, there are important groups of Toma, Kpelle, and Mano; and finally there are the Ge and the Gio (who are related to the Dan-Yakuba) of the Ivory Coast.

In the course of their ceremonies, the Toma employ masks depicting the two initiating spirits, *niangbai* and *gbakologhi*, whose massive faces, sometimes prognathous, sometimes flat, occasionally fringed with the skin of a black monkey to form a beard, and often crowned with horns, are of a very distinctive type. Because of the extreme secrecy of the Toma rituals and the lack of esthetic interest of this branch of Guinean art, these masks rarely appear in collections. The masks used in Poro ceremonies of the Kpelle, Mano, and Kono have many physiognomic traits in common, so that it is possible to group them with analogous works of groups of Dan in Liberia and the Ivory Coast (see below) in a regional style. Among the Kpelle, the *nyomu*, sacred figures which are very popular, appear most often in pairs. There exist also certain less familiar masks which are reserved for exclusive rites; most important is the "bearded old man," armed with a claw of iron, who takes part in the pectoral scarifications practiced on the neophytes; another mask, with a very large jutting jaw, intervenes to ensure discipline among the new initiates of the Poro, who are secluded for a long period in the bush school. All the male masks (*nyomu*) of this cycle are conspicuous at first sight by their great projecting hooked noses; the lower jaw is often a movable piece attached to the main facepiece by vegetable ligatures. In some masks the jaw is extended in the form of a long beak shaped like that of the hornbill. The presence of a beard is not a sure way of distinguishing the sex of a mask, since frequently the *nyomu nea* (female mask), like the male *nyomu sine*, is ornamented with thin tresses of raffia. The women potters of these tribes use a whitish clay to make fine *canaris* and other utilitarian pottery, decorated with designs in black and white. The greatest variety of masks is certainly found among the Mano, above all in the Liberian group; the number of prototypes among the Kpelle and the Kono does not seem to exceed five or six at the most.

In Sierra Leone there are masks used in the initiation ceremonies of the women organized in the Bundu, but the wearing of masks, with a few rare exceptions, is strictly forbidden to them in the similar local associations known as Sande. Even the sight of a sacred mask (PL. 120) can be fatal to a woman or to the uninitiated.

Among the Kono, the use of masks is almost a daily occurrence; no social event — birth, funeral, the enthroning of a chief, the departure of new recruits, the visit of the administrator — can take place without the participation of the *nyomu*. In the beliefs of the peoples of Upper Guinea the mask is truly a materialized symbol of the transcendental world; the mask, as spokesman of the directors of the Poro, presents itself as a permanent agent charged with safeguarding and applying the unwritten common code; it personifies the moral code without which social cohesion could not be maintained; finally, it represents the Initiator who makes of the human embryo a valid social unit, whom it guides through the vicissitudes of life, protecting and punishing as needed. All this naturally works through the omnipotent organization of the Poro, whose directors always exercise a great influence on public affairs.

The surface of the wood of a *nyomu* is darkened and polished with the help of natural colorings, which give it an added beauty; the headdress and clothes, on the other hand, are multicolored and contrast with the sobriety of the face. To satisfy the requirements of the rituals the flowing skirt made of raffia fibers must entirely conceal the feet of the mask wearer, even during the frenzied whirling of the dance. Under the influence of the comic masks (called *sagbwe*) of the neighboring Yakuba, the turbulent *nyomu kpman sine* of the Kono have a scarlet fabric covering on the polished oblong face; in some cases this shrinks to a simple band at eye level, pierced by circular holes rimmed with aluminum rings.

The tiny pocket-sized masks, called *lugo*, found sometimes among the Toma and less often among the Kpelle, Mano, and Kono, are miniatures which copy as faithfully as possible the

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appearance of the great ritual masks. The *lugo* receives something of the supernatural force inherent in the original in its role as a sacred agent in the initiation rites, and it serves its owner as a source of beneficial power for his own private use; for it is personal property, unlike the large masks which are entrusted to the specially qualified wearer but belong to the group. For this reason *lugo* are the objects of a very intimate cult that is simple but permanent: one may almost say that a Kono, Kpelle, or Mano never lays aside his *lugo* without staining it with the orange-colored spittle of his daily kola nut. As a result of this treatment the little wooden masks become covered with a fairly thick coating of this substance, and further stained with the blood of sacrificed chickens, they acquire a patina which is highly prized by collectors. Other types of *lugo*, less well-known and less sought after because of their crude execution, are carved from pieces of steatite found in the rich veins in the environs of Nzerekore, in the cantons of Vepo and Lola.

Frequently represented on the incised and painted walls of the circular dwellings of the Kpelle and the Kono, the long *nyomu kwuya* is worn by the dancers on stilts, as is the *siwere-were*, its smaller and rarer variant. The dances, which were originally sacred ceremonies, today form a completely secular acrobatic spectacle that is included in all the folk dances organized for foreign visitors and European officials. The masks for dancers on stilts are not peculiar to this region, since they are found among other tribes of west and Equatorial Africa, such as the Dogon of the former French Sudan, and the Gio and the Ge of Liberia; they have a very limited geographical distribution, however. It is also possible that they were introduced among the peoples of Upper Guinea from the country of the Dan-Yakuba around Man in the neighboring Ivory Coast. There is nothing arbitrary about this supposition, for the Dan are considered the original masters of the masks used today by the tribes in question; it is a fact that certain *nyomu kono*, for example, speak or sing in the language of their Dan "initiators" during their ceremonies, although their words are incomprehensible to the majority of the laity. In the Liberian hinterland the masks of the dancers on stilts come in couples. The male partner reaches up sometimes to a great height, which requires exceptional skill on the part of the dancers; at times their conical hats are higher than the rooftops of the houses. Unlike the masks worn by the dancers on foot, which consist of a piece of wood carved into a face, the *nyomu kwuya* and the *siwere-were* simply have their faces veiled with a piece of black cloth made from vegetable fiber, from the middle of which hangs a braid representing the nose. The dancers, who have become professional strolling players, like the famous child jugglers of the Man district, roam across a huge area following the public festivals, even going as far as Abidjan. Apart from the Dan, they are recruited almost entirely from among the Ngere (Guere) and the Wobe.

West of the Cavally River, which serves as a natural frontier, the civilizations established in central Liberia and on the coast remain to be considered. From present knowledge it does not seem that these are important centers of artistic productivity; the names of the Gbanda, the Buzi, the Gola, the Bassa, and even the Vai (PL. 120) are usually passed over in books on Negro art. This is understandable, because these people have lost much of their cultural creativity by mixing with former slaves repatriated from the United States. However, although it is not very well known, the Kru and the Grebo possess masks, often of a very strange appearance, which are intended for ritual use in secret societies. Some suggest hideous, terrifying spirits, while others reproduce sensitive feminine faces and are heavily decorated with ornamental details. The Ge and the Gio have already been mentioned as related to the Dan of the Ivory Coast, and many villages in their region have become important producers of ritual objects, notably of masks (whose style recalls that of the southern Dan), and, in smaller quantities, votive or commemorative statues (PL. 121) which are very inaccessible to collectors. Further south, the Kran, ethnically related to the Ngere of Toulépleu (Ivory Coast), live in the area whose chief town is Zwedru, center of the district of Tchien (Eastern Province). The Kran have excellent manual ability and a feeling for decoration similar to that of the Ngere. Their villages always have a brightly colored appearance, which is due mainly to the fantastic and almost surrealist paintings which enliven the white walls of their huts (FIG. 233). This traditional mural art is unfortunately now in a state of decline, since in recent years the work on coffee plantations has absorbed all the interest of its former creators.

Along the course of the Cavally River on the east side are found three successive types of civilization: in the south, heterogeneous groups united by the same language or by related languages, who are known by the not very explicit name of Kru; to the east of the middle Cavally, the Ngere and assimilated peoples; and finally, on the upper Cavally and beyond toward the northeast, the Danpôme, better known as Dan and Yakuba (Yafuba).

The small groups of the Kru complex, called the Bapo, the Niabua, the Plawi (Plapo), the Yirebo, the Tewi (Tepo), the Urepo, the Grebo (Trebo), the Tribu, the Bakwe, the Kwadya, the Godye, and the Neyo (these latter living around Sassandra), are interesting only for their artistic ability. The local sculpture includes some heads of the idol *gle*, modeled in clay and without distinction, and a very few masks and statuettes. There is also a very active production of wooden combs that are attractively engraved. Much more exciting are the numerous wall paintings that show an amazing precision and technical knowledge. This is true not only of the monstrous creatures with extraordinary bodies that are part of the local water mythologies, such as the well-known woman-Hydra, or manatee, called the *mami wata*, but also of the innumerable pirogues, boats, and steamers that are reproduced in the most faithful detail.

Painting, and to a lesser degree, incised wall engraving, which are highly developed on the west coast of the Ivory Coast, are almost unknown among the related groups of the interior, such as the Godye and the Dida, as well as among the tribes of the lagoons to the east of Fresco: the Avikam, the Ajukru, the Ebrie (Kyama), the Mbato, the Evalue, the Essouma, the Abure, and the Nzima. Some minor examples appear sporadically much farther away, in the southeast Ivory Coast, among the Attie, the Abe, and the Anyi (Agni) of Indenie and other peoples of Akan origin, who are active growers of cocoa. In this last region modern motifs predominate. Mixed with garlands, palm trees, and stylized flowers are unusual compositions: for example, two boxers in combat, an elegant European woman, a splendidly equipped white hunter, or a couple of young African men in festive raiment. This repertory also includes many zoomorphic forms: a chimpanzee climbing a tree, a leopard, a lion, two peacocks facing each other in a symmetrical composition, and a huge python.

The Bete of the Gagnoa, Issia, and Daloa regions like to decorate the outer walls of their temples, dedicated to a syncretic cult known as Lalu or Deima, with expressive representations of wild animals such as elephants, panthers, hyenas, buffalo, and snakes.

*Dan masks and styles.* In the area of the great forests along the Cavally River, approximately at the level of Tai, a small tribe called the Ubi is the vanguard of an important ethnic group whose sylvan civilization is little differentiated socially. The Ngere, as well as the Wobe and the Niabua, are makers of the horrible grimacing masks which are well known to students of African art (PL. 120). Statues are extremely rare, but the few examples in museums, usually representations of women, have a savage yet compelling beauty. These tribes excel in realistic animal sculpture (PL. 118). The oppressive quality of the natural surroundings — the shadows of the forest, so conducive to supernatural apparitions; the mournfulness of interminable rainy days; the heavy and perpetual mists which weigh upon the villages and fill the inhabitants with an almost morbid melancholy; the deliriums of palm wine; the rhythm of the night dances; the elusive spirits that hide in the undergrowth, in the rivers, and on the mountain tops; the human uncertainties and fears — all are dramatically reflected in strange faces carved in wood and heightened with the most improbable attributes. It is not merely a question of naturalism, because nature is not only deliberately exceeded but deformed, twisted, and abused by

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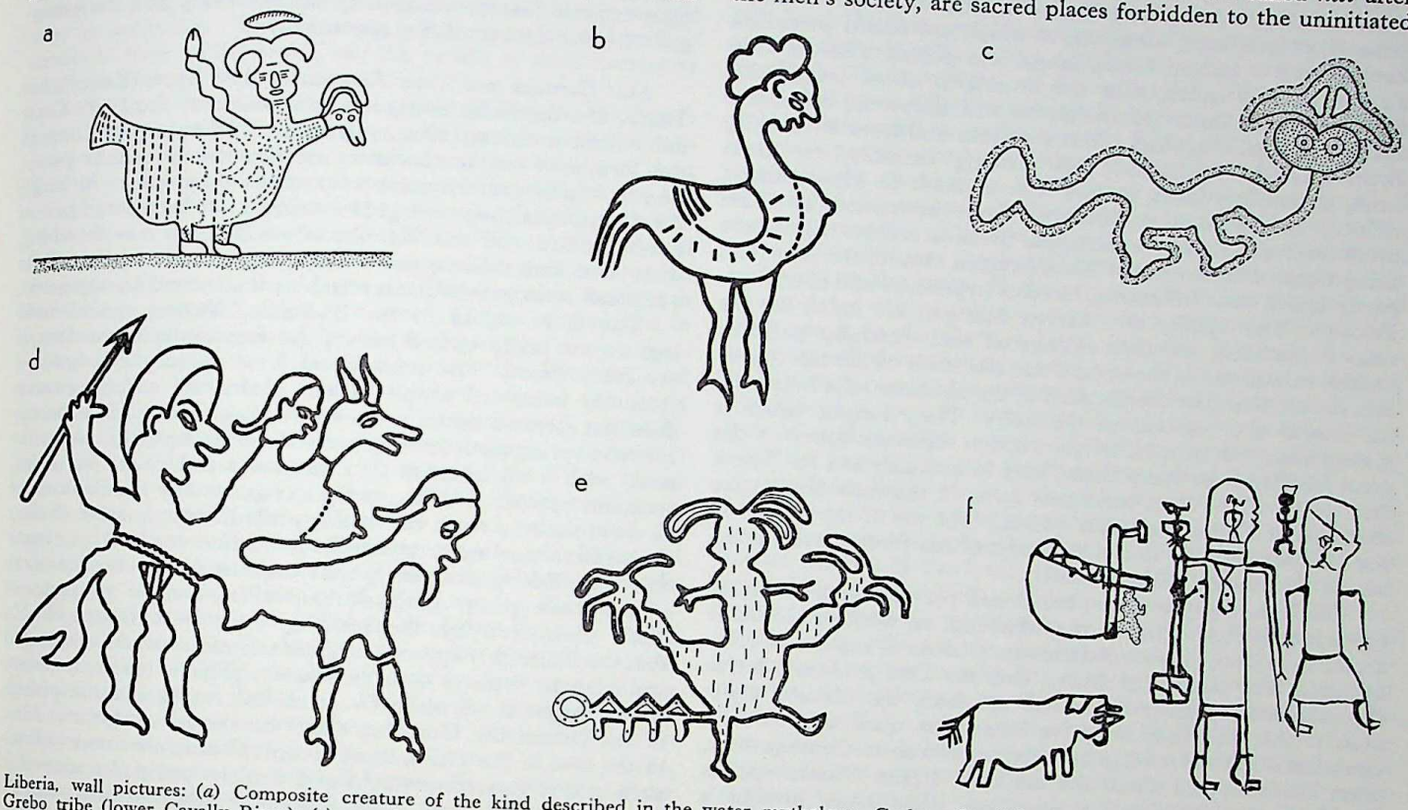
the artist. The result is a hideous and evil caricature of an almost apocalyptic creature which we cannot call either human or animal. It has tubular eyes, swelling and embossed cheeks, enormous ears, and a multitude of horns surmounting a large nose, and a huge mouth (or rather muzzle) with savage menacing teeth. The whole surface of the face of the mask is violently colored, and it is framed at the top by a fringe of skin from a wild animal such as panther, wildcat, civet cat, bushbuck

fering in name according to the locality but all instituted in honor of Nionswa, the supreme god of the Ngere. There are numerous rectangular mud-walled temples, which have an extraordinary apparatus for sacrificial purposes on the altar and sometimes have large effigies of Nionswa modeled in clay and decorated with vivid colors. In the public squares of the Ngere villages Wobe and Grebo, the hut-shelters, which are called *kwi* after the men's society, are sacred places forbidden to the uninitiated




Liberia, wall pictures: (*a*) Composite creature of the kind described in the water mythology, Grebo tribe (Maryland County); (*b*) mythical creature, Grebo tribe (lower Cavally River); (*c*) aquatic monster; (*d*) mythical manatee *mami wata* (Zwedru region); (*e*) mythical manatee, Kran tribe; (*f*) two missionaries with an elephant and an airplane, Kran tribe.

(especially the striped species), or monkey (in particular, black with a white tail). Below, the face is bordered by a beard which is left to the imagination of the artist and which is made of the same kind of fringe. Very often the mask is topped with a high full headdress, skillfully constructed of cloth, skin, metal, and shell, or a crown of feathers (hornbill, touraco, or eagle).

The masks of the Ngere, the Ubi, the Wobe, and except for some formal details, the ritual masks of the Niabua (which are closely related to the Bete) are carved and decorated according to a common esthetic plan. The result is a formal parallelism which can cause difficulties for the white scholar trusting to the illustrations in art books, in which uncertainties about the places of origin are often repeated. A special category of Dan masks, of similar style, also exists to complicate the situation and to lead the collector into error.

The penetration of Islam and Christianity, sometimes devastating to native culture, is slow in this remote area, where the people are scattered and relatively impervious to outside influence. The mask has thus retained all its psychological force; the only perceptible decline is the recent introduction of the masks into secular celebrations, so that the same masks which were formerly an essential part of sacrificial ceremonies are part of the leisure distractions of the young Ngere planters. Nevertheless, the masks' original role — which is certainly ritual — remains of great importance in the religious life. Though, for example, a grotesque and ridiculous *zoroa gla* collects presents and food for the society of young people in exchange for its buffooneries, the martial *te gla*, with its helmet topped by an enormous crest of plumes and armed with a wooden sword, continues to instill fear into the spectators. The majority of these masks, both male and female, are connected with the great tribal cults, dif-

and, above all, to women, since the ceremonial masks are sometimes kept inside. A masked participant, or even two, takes part in all the more important ceremonies.

The wall painting and the mask represent the most important artistic creations of this region. However, the ancient Ngere must have known the smelting of metal, for they have left a large number of copper personal ornaments showing great skill and a finely detailed decorative sense. The outstanding examples are some very pretty bracelets, showing signs of much wear and tear and yet covered with a centuries-old patina. In these forests, inhabited by herds of elephants and numbers of smaller wild beasts, ivory is used for making bracelets and certain ritual accessories such as priestly insignia, and the fangs of panthers are made into necklaces with magical powers. Ivory, however, has never been used for figural sculpture here; in fact, the people of this cultural area are not in the least interested in statuary. On the other hand, the Ngere have demonstrated their real ability, so often underrated, in remarkable examples of their figural art in metal. This production consists of several dozen little statuettes of copper representing a wide range of subjects. Most of these small masterpieces are female figures, in ceremonial costume or completely nude, who make gestures of ritual significance. The museum of Abidjan owns a figurine of a naked pregnant woman with belts and necklaces who holds a large knife in her hand to show that she is the director of a female cult society. There are also examples of contemporary masculine subjects, such as an African rifleman standing at attention. Among these miniatures of exceptional artistic merit there are also replicas of objects used for religious or secular purposes, such as a ceremonial ax, a cult vessel, a sword used for slaughtering animals, and a chair.

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The inhuman aspects of the Ngere masks, with their ferocious and evil bestiality, are also found among the Ubi, the Wobe, the Niabua, and some of the Dan, so that it is possible to observe a regional style with a range of local variations. However, among the Niabua there is a barely perceptible transition toward the very personal style of the Bete. The mask of the latter type has the heavy projecting brow and the traditional tubular eyes of the Ngere masks; the face is very long, with features composed almost entirely of geometric elements, to which are added incredible excrescences — curved horns, fangs, and points. Among these strange faces, bristling with the inventions of an imagination both fertile and almost paranoiac, are still discovered works that are free of these trappings. Above smooth oval faces are bulging hydrocephaloid foreheads; this striking anomaly, far from being disturbing, lends to this type of mask an expression of refined, concentrated spirituality. Some authorities attribute this latter type of mask to the Gagu, the most archaic tribe of the Ivory Coast, who live in the Ouémé region close to the Bete (and partly under their influence), but this hypothesis still needs verification. The equally rare carved figurines are noted for the refined modeling of their elongated and carefully polished bodies, as well as for the scrupulous care with which the typical skin decorations (the scarification of the abdomen, the back, and the thighs) are reproduced (PL. 118). Their height, which is greater than that of most of the wooden statuettes found in the great forests of the Ivory Coast, may be as much as 3 ft. These rare works of the Bete constitute some of the most impressive creations of Negro sculptural genius. The art of the Dida and the Godye, who live to the southeast of the forest civilizations, has so far aroused little interest.

The Dan, who have been mentioned previously, are a vigorous ethnic group living in the Man region, whose remarkable artists have justifiably earned the appreciation of experts on African art. The Kono, the Mano, and the Dan probably derive the essentials of their sculptural art from the Yakuba style; even if this assertion must be somewhat qualified, there is doubtless a cultural overlap between the two areas. Consequently, what has been said about the masks of Upper Guinea applies also in general to those of the Dan. The latter present a strange formal dualism, a phenomenon that also appears in other civilizations of the Ivory Coast, in particular among the Baule and the Senufo: on the one hand, there are crudely made works with a polychrome finish that does not conceal the esthetic deficiencies, while on the other, there are thin, sensitive faces, beautifully carved and varnished very soberly in black (PL. 125). The thinness of the skulls, the careful polishing, and the smiling but elegant expressions delighted the first collectors of Negro art at the beginning of the 20th century, and with good reason. The classifiers of these masks divide them into several styles and substyles, but only two very distinct types need be distinguished. The most refined of the Dan masks, in spite of their thick lips and round, wide-open eyes, have noble convex foreheads and pointed chins and generally come from the region of Danane; while the areas of Binhoué and Flanpleu have produced the ugly masks which are intended to inspire fear rather than esthetic pleasure. But the geographical limits between the different centers of production are not clearly defined and reciprocal borrowings are common. The works distinguished by deep incisions in the temples come most often from the northern zone occupied by groups of Dyomande and are described as belonging to the "substyle of the upper Bafing." This region presents many distinctive cultural features, including a society, the Komo, which is practically unknown to the rest of the Yakuba. In its ceremonies it uses heavy masks with long hornbill beaks that recall certain forms of the Toma or Kpelle of the Guinean-Liberian forest. Among the Dan creations, the *sagbwe* mask deserves special mention; it has a lively red face made of cloth on a wooden base and is worn during the dry season by an inspector of the hearths in order to prevent fires in the village. The masker is severe on this point and readily strikes negligent housekeepers, though he generally acts the buffoon, making ridiculous jerky and unexpected movements. Sometimes he entertains the newly circumcised during their initiation retreat.

The Tura have been pushed by the present Yakuba up into the high mountains, where their villages perch on rocky mountain tops as high as 3,000 ft. They possess a mentality and a cultural type clearly different from those of the Dan invaders. Their religious life and ceremonies, unknown until recently (for example, the annual agricultural ceremonies at the opening of the yam harvest), have little in common with the Dan rituals. The faces of the sacred masks are related in conception to the common masks of the Yakuba without sharing their technical accomplishment, but the dress and the equipment of the dancers differ appreciably.

*East Guinean and Cross River arts.* The Guro (Kweni), the Yaure, and the Baule living near the center of the Ivory Coast fall within a cultural framework quite different from that of the forests of the southwest — namely, the grasslands group, among which arts of great value have developed. Although the Guro, according to linguistic criteria, are considered part of the Mande-fu, and the Baule (to whom the Anyi may be added, with some reservations), have Akan blood, the two groups form a regional artistic style that is relatively unified and homogeneous.

The Guro masks of the Zuénoula, Vavoua, and Bouaflé regions are justly ranked among the finest artistic creations of the Ivory Coast. The existence of these masterpieces among a relatively backward people proves again that artistic creation does not depend entirely on the cultural level. Here beauty seems to spring forth directly from unknown depths of the human soul, with a spontaneity that surpasses artifice in its direct, sensuous appeal. This may help to explain why the Baule excel in wood sculpture and use masks, while the Anyi, although they derive from the same recently formed ethnic stock, do not know this art. Taking everything into consideration — the closeness of the Baule group to the archaic tribes, former occupants of lands conquered by the invading Akan — it is conceivable that the Baule only appropriated the techniques of the conquered and adapted them to their own needs. This is true only of two main categories of works in wood: the masks and the pulleys of the looms; the Guro have not developed sculpture. Also, in the case of the Guro, there is a perplexing coexistence of superb anthropomorphic masks and crudely executed zoomorphic masks of the *die* type. The former usually represent delicate human faces, feminine, or masculine with effeminate features. They often acquire the characteristic attributes, large ears, tusks, trunks, and horns, of certain animals such as the elephant or the buffalo. These masks occur as symbols of totemic inspiration in commemorative ceremonies in honor of dead ancestors, or in the course of sacrifices made to minor guardian deities. The other type of mask belongs to the ritual apparatus of the men's societies, which are called Die, Do, etc. Looking at these masks one almost feels that the white and tender blocks of wood from which they emerged, and which the violent painting cannot conceal, have been roughly and too hastily shaped with brutal ax blows. In spite of this crudity the *die* have vivacity and a fine naturalism. In confining himself to sketching the characteristic traits of an animal, the Guro sculptor obtains a very evocative result, perhaps just because of his simplified technique (PL. 120). Among the Guro masks a special place is held by the *zamblé*, a zoomorphic mask which is probably derived from an anthromorphic one. The Guro assert that it is a recent innovation conceived by a talented sculptor called Zamblé, only a few years ago. This recent origin does not detract from the exceptional appeal of the mask, which is easily recognizable because it is clearly marked by the strong personality of its creator. Indeed, almost all of the 100 known works, male and female, seem to have come from the same mold: a long multicolored face, crowned with the twisted horns of a bongo, an extended jaw armed with rows of white fangs, and a pair of slit eyes outlined in red. Unlike the *die*, the *zamblé* always appears in an individual dance that is very fast and full of leaping, and he is followed by a partner who represents the female counterpart. The little community of the Kuya, who live in the locality of Vavoua and are practically assimilated with the Guro, possesses several particularly gifted artists whose works, either unknown or wrongly considered to be of Guro origin, display the highest artistic quality. The few Kuya sculptors have specialized in

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making anthropomorphic masks that are very carefully executed and heavily ornamented, though lacking in expression. Like the Guro and the Yaure, the Kuya (with few exceptions) rarely carve statues, although not because of technical incapacity, as they produce very fine ivory figurines.

The pulleys of the looms, marvelously carved, are for the most part inspired by large animal and human masks, but they are also original creations. Their diversity, their fine shape, and their patina have made these small objects highly sought after by collectors. The Yaure and Baule weavers use pulleys similar to those of the Guro, and the variety of their decorative motifs is perhaps even greater.

In the low mountains to the northeast of Bouaflé, the Yaure have developed a civilization of a type intermediate between those of the forest and of the grasslands, corresponding to their physical environment. Apart from some beautiful pottery, the artistic interest of this very small tribe lies essentially in its masks, which do not equal the dramatic effect of those of the great forest but are impressive in the delicacy of their execution and the perfect balance of their features. The long thin faces with a withdrawn look that makes them seem lifeless or absorbed in mystic contemplation, and with the thin lips, the narrow projecting chin reminiscent of the false beard of the Pharaohs, and the zigzag line like a halo, are undoubtedly among the finest artistic creations of the Ivory Coast. This assessment, naturally, does not apply to the recent everyday masks produced for visiting tourists. The ornamental attributes of the Yaure masks reflect a very elaborate symbolism and a complex mythology which are becoming incomprehensible to the people and are expressed in conventional symbols recalling the old lunar and solar cults that have disappeared into oblivion. The use of masks among the Yaure is similar to that among the Guro.

The work of the Baule sculptors, probably the best known among collectors of west African art, can be divided into several categories. Among secular objects are numerous household utensils (spoons, ladles, dishes) that are made with taste and precision, as well as various seats and stools, chairs with backs, the carved handles of tools, and the like. These works, however, rarely appear in art collections. Some objects fall on the borderline between the secular and the religious or merely ceremonial: chief's insignia; ceremonial canes which symbolize tribal beliefs and adages; flywhisks reserved for those of important social rank. In spite of an obvious functional corruption, most musical instruments retain an indication of their primitive ritual role, particularly the magnificent drums, ornamented with polychrome reliefs, and the remarkable *dawle* or *laule*, the gems of Baule sculpture. These are small carved sticks used in the course of certain feasts for striking a flat bell of iron, which produces a clear metallic sound. Like the numerous loom pulleys, the heads of these sticks carry ornamental motifs drawn from the rich mythology and popular traditions of the Baule. Especially worth mentioning are the carved doors, works of the past, with decorative designs in relief inspired by both mythology and everyday life. The images of ritual masks and symbolic animals (mainly those associated with water mythology, fish, crocodile, varan, and python) are mixed in a disconcerting proximity with historical or living people (for example, a military officer on horseback). Works intended for cult purposes fall into the two usual categories, masks and statues. The latter are more numerous among the Baule, contrary to the situation in the other groups of this cultural area.

In the grasslands cultures the making of ceremonial objects in wood is not the prerogative of the smith, as is often the case elsewhere, but of a sculptor in wood who has specialized in this type of work. Any gifted individual may enter this craft. Baule sculpture presents the sort of formal parallelism that was discussed earlier. Two forms exist, two diametrically opposed concepts of ritual masks: the large masks, made with little attention to detail, and the little anthropomorphic masks that are very carefully executed and are closer to Western taste. Although complementary and sometimes interchangeable, the functions of these two categories of masks must not be confused. The large masks are used almost exclusively by the men's societies of the villages, which are known by the name of the guardian deities under whose sign they are instituted: Do, Botiva, Die, Goli, etc. The small masks have a more universal use in the great feasts of the agrarian cycle, in funeral ceremonies, and in other events which embrace the whole community, including the individuals who do not belong to any of the cult organizations mentioned. The sacrifices which necessarily accompany such ritual ceremonies are intended for one of the two principal divinities, Nyamye of the sky and Assye of the earth. A counterpart of the Earth Mother, the latter occupies the central place in the thriving telluric cults. Altars called *assye bonu* were once placed in all the Baule villages, at the crossroads. These were tiny huts sheltering effigies modeled in painted clay, of symbolic animals associated in myths with the forces of the earth and the waters, especially the huge python (here without doubt a phallic symbol), the chimpanzee (with erect phallus, the promise of approaching fecundation), the tortoise (symbol of the vulva), and the crocodile. The two supreme deities (who, incidentally, are unrelated by any theological attributes) are represented only indirectly, in the aspect of their mythological intermediary god or associated animal symbol, or even in a conventionalized ideogram which, in the altars of Assye, may take the form of a specially shaped piece of pottery with a lid. Nyamye (not to be confused with the ancient creator of the universe, Adudwa or Alulua, who is so remote as to be practically inaccessible to man) manifests himself to his devotees preferably in the form of a ram or a buffalo, animals famous for their strength and virility.

The large Baule masks have a clearly zoomorphic character. An analysis discloses sculptural features inspired by the animal world that the artist observes around him every day: the great hoofed animals of the bush, the hyena, the hydrosaurians, the reptiles, and various birds. Added to these are the forceful creations of the mystical imagination, so that the various ornamental motifs, often difficult to classify zoologically, which are superimposed on the massive jaw of some wild animal, owe their presence to mythology or, if one prefers, to totemism. Like other tribes of the Ivory Coast, notably the Senufo around Korhogo, the Baule sculptors sometimes make heavy animal masks formed of two opposed heads, which are worn as hood-masks by the dancers during the ritual, as they are among the Mende of Sierra Leone. The horned masks called *goli gulin*, *botiva*, *die yassua*, *do*, and the like, all seem to be based on the same model, the buffalo or the bull, with each cult adapting them to its particular needs and its own cosmology. The smaller masks, which are more precisely executed and have more varied decoration, are based on the human face and are often described as commemorative works. Although this is only partly accurate, a good many of these *mboro* (which frequently have very different individual names, a generic term often being unknown) are really portrait masks possessing specific identities. Given these facts, the place of these ritual instruments in the ancestor cult seems only logical and perfectly justified from the theological point of view. Among these essentially human masks, always rich in ornament, the buffalo (*ewe*) and the ram (*mbalwone*) are few in number but actually have a high place in the hierarchy as allegorical representations of celestial deities. Between the two types of wooden sculpture, the mask and the statue, there exists a parallelism of concept revealed by the similarities between the large masks of the *die* and *do* type and the statues of the minor divinities, on the one hand, and between the *mboro* and the statuettes called *waka sona*, which are completely anthropomorphic, on the other.

In Baule statuary the minor gods appear most often in the form of an animal carrying in its paws a cup ready to receive the offering, but they may have an indeterminate, composite character (IV, PL. 206). These objects, usually referred to rather unsatisfactorily as *gbekre*, are relatively rare both in their natural religious context and in collections. Their importance lies less in their esthetic value than in their ethnological significance. When they were first encountered, little was known of their true ritual purpose or of their position in the hierarchies of the local pantheons. Recent research makes possible more accurate evaluation of these figurines; they occupy a central place in the lesser cults, which function independently of the rituals of Assye but always have some connection with the forces of

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fecundity of the earth. If the Baule civilization is recognized as one of the "yam belt" cultures, with strong ritual associations in the cultivation of yams, it becomes clear that the *gbekre* has a ritual function of great importance, although it is being displaced by a new intolerant god known as Tete Kpan, or Ahiere Kpli. An extensive study of the known specimens yields the following types of *gbekre*: (1) In first place, judged by the occult power for which it serves as vehicle, is undoubtedly the *ndiadan*, or great lord, a statue that is impressive not only for its size (it can be 3 ft. or more high), but above all for the bestial expression on its apelike prognathous face. As a weekly public offering the *ndiadan* receives a dish of *mvufu* (gruel made from yams and palm oil) and a little *mezan* wine, and from time to time a sacrificed animal to protect harvests and births. The figurine must be carved from wood of the *iroko*, the most appropriate kind for this holy use, since it is supposed to contain an especially strong and formidable occult power. Certain examples of the *ndiadan* in collections accessible for study are dressed in extraordinary clothes and accessories (raffia skirts, belts, and ankle bracelets) and possess attributes of magic significance, such as pendants of marcasite or neolithic axes that are believed to be of supernatural origin. (2) Most typical and most popular god in this category is certainly a cynocephalous deity, the *mbotumbo*, the name of the cynocephalous monkey in the savanna of the Ivory Coast. More grotesque than beautiful, sculpture of this kind has little esthetic value; its creator has clearly followed only the ritual requirements by which this strange god appears to the faithful in all its sacred ugliness. (3) Another minor guardian spirit, the *gbokro kofi*, is a personification of the hyena, believed to be in mystical communication with the underworld of the dead by simple theosophical reasoning that is easily understood. The *gbokro kofi* is thought by some authorities to play a ritual role as a kind of psychopomp in the Baule funerary rites, and it is said that together with other divinities of secondary importance, the *kakandie* and the *gbekre*, it conducts the souls of the dead into the beyond. This particular role has not been proved in the case of the *gbokro kofi*, however, which seems to prefer the affairs of the living. Like the *mbotumbo*, the *gbokro kofi* usually has a height of about 2 ft. Invariably, as if it delighted him, the artist exaggerates the teeth, which so weigh down the head and unbalance the whole anatomy of the *gbokro kofi* that they become the principal formal characteristic. (4) The *aboya*, sometimes described as the "father" of the two preceding gods, and also called *mbla mandwa kwassi* in certain regions, takes second place in hieratic importance among the various *gbekre*. Unlike all the others, the *aboya* has a more or less human appearance. As its second name indicates, the figure is characterized by a flywhisk made from an ox tail, which it holds in its right hand as an attribute of its dignity. Although the cult of the *aboya* has practically disappeared from contemporary religious practices, it seems that its main purpose was to free the village from all kinds of evil influences. It was particularly occupied with witch hunts and presided at the divinatory ceremonies to identify the persons responsible for all deaths under strange circumstances; sometimes it even executed the sentence. In its beneficent aspects the *aboya* willingly helped sterile households and in general occupied itself actively with the problems of births and with the material prosperity of its devotees. Although accepting chickens, sheep, and occasionally oxen, this god preferred the sacrifice of dogs.

The execution of these idols is fairly crude and inexpressive in comparison with the famous *waka sona*, representations of ancestors and living people, which for Western taste are the most outstanding creations of the Baule genius. In spite of the presence of thousands of these figures in collections, information on them is incomplete. No doubt this is due to the fact that the first collectors of Negro art, struck by their extraordinary beauty, which harmonizes with Western esthetic standards, neglected to ask their purpose (PL. 122). The *waka sona*, statuettes sometimes called votive and sometimes commemorative, fill a very imprecise place in the ritual. They all have a strongly personal character and, without exception, serve in individual cults which may easily escape the observer. The models may be chosen from either the visible or the invisible world. The figures represent persons of both sexes and all ages, either standing or seated, all set in conventional attitudes which somewhat detract from their individuality but give them in return that kind of noble inertia which is so characteristic of African statuary, and which confirms their fundamentally hieratic origin. Their entrance into the domain of the secular dates back only a few decades, in the author's opinion, and manifests itself in certain secondary but significant details borrowed from Western civilization: cork helmets, European costume, imported shoes, and hunting rifles. The artist always pays special attention to the faithful rendering of decorative scarifications, which were formerly characteristic of the various subgroups of the Baule. The *waka sona* are usually fairly small. The beautiful finish of vegetable colors, both somber and elegant, relegates polychromy to the background (PL. 123).

The divinatory boxes (*gbekre bo*), usually ornamented with figural designs, are still used daily in the Baule villages. They are employed in a kind of divination which requires the use of live mice in the positioning of knuckle bones placed on a bed of rice. After letting a hungry mouse loose on the rice, the *gbekre fwe* reads the oracle from the marks which result. The carved handles of the flywhisks and the chiefs' insignia, with their motifs drawn from tradition, are usually finely executed and then covered with thin gold leaf. This important class of ceremonial objects is found among all the Akan of the Ivory Coast, particularly among the Anyi. The Attie, the Abe, and the other neighboring tribes imitate this custom, although usually obtaining these objects from Baule sculptors. Among the Anyi, the use of wood in making ceremonial objects is much less widespread than among the Baule and is confined to two typical forms: carved seats, which are of great importance in religious ceremony; and statuettes, easily recognizable by their long, ringed necks, which are supposed to have beneficial properties and are referred to by the tribesmen as "fertility dolls." If there are a large number of carved insignia and gilded objects in the houses of the chiefs, it means that the mask is unknown in this area, as is the case among the Abe, the Attie, the Brong, and other tribes.

The local cotton is used in weaving, with excellent results, and this industry still flourishes in spite of the competition of imported cloth. The Baule blankets and loincloths have a beautiful blue-black color, obtained by dyeing the thread with indigo from bushes grown in the villages. The Baule dyers use a technique of successive soakings, during which an ingenious system of knots makes the desired pattern on the cloth.

Each region has its own centers of production of pottery for secular purposes, but the only products that are interesting from the artistic point of view are the funerary clay heads made by the Anyi of the Sanwi group, inheritors of the kingdom of Krinjabo.

Among all the tribes of southeast Ivory Coast the production of metals is insignificant today. The extraordinary *dia yabwe*, weights for measuring gold dust, are certainly of Ashanti origin; these people must have brought them from their old homeland in the Kumasi region of Ghana, in the course of successive migratory movements begun in the middle of the 18th century. The problems of the origin of these weights and of their system of graduation are too complex for discussion here. The weights made in geometrical form (cast in copper by the lost-wax method) are of slight esthetic interest, but from these have evolved figural pieces particularly admired by collectors, representing the most diverse subjects and scenes. Among these small masterpieces there are both original designs and pieces molded from natural objects. The first type is more interesting, especially for an expert, for these objects all speak an apocryphal language, full of double meanings, mythological allusions, and illustrations of the old Akan philosophy, particularly of the often ironic proverbs and moral sayings. The subjects represented are innumerable (PL. 128): domestic animals and such wild ones as elephants, buffalo, large antelopes, panthers, birds of every kind, crocodiles, fish, coiled snakes; miniatures of ritual objects and household articles; castings of lizards, crabs, insects, small fruits; tiny human masks; people, either separately or in groups, such as a hunter, old chiefs sitting on stools, checker players, a drummer, groups of dancers, a woman carrying a pot of water, a mother and child.

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The Baule and the Anyi possess jewelry of some antiquity, as well as the work of contemporary craftsmen. The finest pieces are heavy gold masks and breastplates in the form of the customary tribal symbols. While serving as adornment, these also possess apotropaic power and so may be considered beneficial amulets. Similar personal ornaments of gold also exist among the lagoon peoples, such as the Ajukru and the Ebrie, and among the inhabitants of the coastal strip, such as the Alagya (Alladians).

The paleo-Negritic culture of the northern tribes of Ghana (Dagari, Tallensi, Vagala, and Dagomba) does not require the use of masks or statues in its rituals but makes up for the lack of these accessories in luxurious ceremonial ornaments. This situation, which recalls that of the Basari and the Konyagi in the Republic of Guinea, does not vary much among the neighboring tribes of North Togoland and Dahomey (Konkomba, Kabre, Youwa, Somba, and others). These small tribes, though fascinating for the ethnologist and anthropologist, create only small quantities of uninspired art.

In southern Ghana, where the highly developed economy is founded on a national political system, material conditions do not favor the flourishing of the arts. Because their culture is rapidly changing, the peoples of the coast are preoccupied with efforts at adaptation and seldom create art in the traditional pattern. This is true of the Fanti, Awuna, and other tribes. Among the activities of interest from the artistic point of view, only jewelry making, which is famous even in the neighboring territories, is worth mentioning. Thus, the widely varied cultural forms which have evolved in the three administrative sectors of present-day Ghana cannot compare with those of the Ivory Coast in artistic creation. The only exception, and a very impressive one, is the Ashanti culture, in which weaving and dyeing of cloth, pottery (see below), metalwork, and sculpture in wood reach an outstandingly high standard. The flattened and disk-shaped heads of the Ashanti dolls (*akua'ba*), which undoubtedly are of symbolic derivation, resemble the ancient clay heads of Fomena (see above). Carved of wood and painted black, these dolls have their arms crossed, are dressed in a simple *cache-sexe* of cloth, and wear necklaces, earrings, and other ornaments (VI, PL. 1). Sterile women and those who want more children carry *akua'ba* as talismans to encourage fertility. The traditional textile industry is similar to that of the Baule of the Ivory Coast; worth noting is a special technique of dyeing called *adinkira*, which makes use of wooden stamps to print the desired design on the fabric. Some authorities consider the casting of metal by the lost-wax method a borrowing from the expanding Ashanti state two or three centuries ago. Certainly the Ashanti metalworkers must be acknowledged as the creators of the gold weights (PL. 128), the magnificent *kuduo* (PL. 127), the ritual vessels or *ntoro* (often of silver), as well as numerous objects in bronze or copper that are figural works of considerable documentary interest (PLS. 124, 127). The proverb weights are the most important works in this category, both for their form and for their content. One example, a weight representing two entwined crocodiles (an allusion to tribal unity and solidarity expressed by the proverb, "Many jaws, but a single belly") is very well-known. The Ashanti ritual, like that of the Anyi, has no place for ceremonial masks, although R. A. Freeman in 1898 noted the existence of ceremonies in honor of a tribal god, Abosom, in the course of which an antelope mask appeared. Masks are not known in the rest of the territory, however, except perhaps for local innovations not recorded in the pertinent literature. Masks reappear much farther east among certain Dahomey tribes.

Togoland, including the zone that is now part of Ghana, offers a picture similar to that of the former Gold Coast; in the north are archaic civilizations, materially backward without any noticeable industries [the Tem, Kabre, Namba (Lamba), and Konkomba], while in the south are relatively advanced peoples who are undergoing rapid cultural change but who have shown little artistic ability. Only on the borders of Dahomey, among the Nago, the Fon, and even farther away among the Holli (Awori) on the border of Nigeria is there a rich sculpture in wood for ceremonial uses. Statues and masks, both under the influence of Yoruba prototypes, are produced in a huge area which extends over three countries: a part of southern and central Togo, southern Dahomey, and the western provinces of Nigeria. The Nago and the Holli, who form the vanguard of an enormous bloc of Yoruba, produce art not very different from that encountered in Nigeria. This is also true of many other small tribes in the vicinity of the Yoruba, such as the Mahi and the Gun, the latter living near Porto-Novo.

Historical enemies of the Yoruba, the Fon of Dahomey in the past set up well-organized states, protected by strong armies. Around the splendid court of the kings of Abomey, religious art and secular crafts flourished side by side. Craftsmanship still prospers, encouraged by the popular philosophy and by an exuberant and spirited oral tradition, but artistic values decline in proportion to the progressive commercialization. Untrammeled by dogmatic mystical thought, individual initiative frequently finds expression in local arts which were formerly closely bound to prototypes; there are, for example, figurines about 8 in. high, modeled in clay and outrageously polychromed, the work of an obscure artist in Porto-Novo. A complete collection of these can be found in the Geneva Ethnographic Museum. These squat, inelegant figures with protruding eyes are far from the conventional conception of beauty, yet they are touching in their childlike sincerity.

The pictures on the royal buildings of Agadja and Ghezo at Abomey show, in addition to a few allegories, historical and sacred scenes: emblems, human sacrifices, animals symbolizing particular kings, battles, illustrated proverbs, and so on. Because of their unrivaled documentary interest, the polychromed bas-reliefs of the Fon have been thoroughly studied by ethnologists, but their artistic value has been exaggerated (PL. 116).

Although a humble craft, the engraving or pyroengraving of gourds has been perfected to produce extremely pleasing results with beautifully balanced designs. The figural sculpture in wood (usually painted), which reveals a lack of technical skill not offset by any primitive charm, is less satisfying to Western taste (PL. 129). However, the museums in Paris, Dakar, and Abomey display some pieces of monumental sculpture that are truly impressive. The most noted examples, reserved for the kings at Abomey, are the great zoomorphic statues of the kings Ghezo and Glele, the portrait of Behanzin (Gbehanzin) armed with a sword, and the effigy to the supreme female god Mawu (Mahu), the consort of the creator Lisa. There are also some statues of symbolic animals which represent kingly attributes (lions, elephants, buffalo, wading birds, sharks; PL. 129). The guardian statuettes, such as the individual *legba*, are often made without any care, since they are exclusively for religious purposes. Like the Yoruba, the Fon use cult objects of a uniform exterior appearance, commemorative and allegorical masks (PL. 129), and votive statuettes, of which a surprising number are intended for the cult of twins.

The *ase* are metal portable altars used in the cult of kings and ancestors. They are unique works found nowhere else in the art of the Gulf of Guinea. The *ase* are made by the metalworker-jewelers of the Hutuji (Houtousji) quarter in Abomey and are composed of a head, recalling a kind of inverted cone, decorated in an extraordinary way peculiar to the ritual requirements, the whole supported by a long shaft that permits it to be planted in the earth. Depending on their form and their symbolic attributes, the *ase* may be consecrated to dead kings, to the god Fa, the master of oracles, to another spirit of the Fon pantheon who is addressed in the name of the king, or finally to personal ancestors. There are other *ase* known as *hotagati*, differently conceived, which are attached to the roofs of royal sanctuaries instead of being planted in offering places, where the *ase* receive libations of alcohol and the blood of victims sacrificed in honor of the god, king, or ancestor.

The magnificent high carved thrones are believed to be the repositories of royal power and take a central place in a ritual designed to assure the spiritual and temporal continuity of the chieftancy and of the community; most of these sacred relics are preserved in museums such as that in Abomey.

From the historical point of view, the system of Fon gods, or *vodun*, has a complex and syncretic character; the royal and pop-

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ular cults are part of a disciplined religious hierarchy under the guidance of a strictly organized clergy. The influence of the royal family penetrates all spiritual life, while some religious ceremonies take on the role of national demonstrations. From the artistic point of view the two great creators are of little interest; the statue of the "Mother of Humanity," Mahu, mentioned above, seems to be an exception. On the other hand, the gods that are the objects of popular worship and control natural forces are very frequently represented. Such are the *vodun* connected with dangerous diseases and with the elements, sky, earth, water, and thunder, or those who are the patrons of professional associations. Fa, the god of the geomancers known as *gbokono*, is interesting as the promoter of a ritual industry that makes divinatory tablets of wood, decorated with symbolic designs.

The extraordinary intensity of the religious belief of this people penetrates all their artistic activities, including the crafts. However, the craftsmen today work almost entirely for European collectors, particularly in the production of the brass statuettes made in large numbers by the associations of metalworkers in the region of Zagnanado. Inspired by traditional works or by the creative imagination of the craftsman, groups or single figures represent various animals or tiny people (sacrifices made to Heviosso, the executing of a slave, the cortege of a king). The famous hangings with appliquéd designs also have become degraded in recent years into commercial articles; they reflect with great fidelity the common subjects of the decorated walls of the palaces and temples, thus indicating an allegorical significance relating to a proverb or a philosophical expression or illustrating the famous historical events of the country.

The Yoruba, who live in the heart of Nigeria, are divided into many subgroups distinguished by important cultural differentiations. Thus some localities, such as Oyo, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ilorin, Ife, Owo, Benin City, and Iseyu (see above) have become real centers of regional civilizations without, however, ceasing to be part of a larger, relatively uniform grouping. Basically agriculturalists, the Yoruba have a dynamic temperament and an innate migratory tendency, but their present civilization is urban. Living in towns that by African standards are large and overpopulated, the Yoruba form a hardworking, very religious people, endowed with an unequaled artistic feeling. The interest of the local artist seems to be directed not toward ephemeral values (a surprising fact in consideration of the very practical, even commercial, spirit that has also developed among the Yoruba) but toward a belief in life after death. It matters little whether this conviction of the absolute, of the eternal, finds concrete expression through a cult of gods, kings, or ancestors, or whether it shows itself in a rather different way by a system of defenses against malevolent influences. The existence of countless divinatory instruments confirms this, for every human being, finding that he must depend on invisible powers, has reason to establish firm bonds with them and to take no decisive action without consulting them in advance.

A more or less direct parallel exists between the Fon *vodun* and the Yoruba *orisha*. In place of the two divine creators, Lisa the male partner and Mahu the female, are Olorun at the summit of the hierarchy and two gods associated in the work of creation, Obatala and Odudua (PL. 129); Fa becomes Ifa and plays the same role in the field of divination. The names and functions of the many Yoruba gods vary according to place and circumstance. The highly elaborated and specialized organizations of priests reflect this theological complexity. Assisting the priests in the struggle against natural disasters and the vengeance of evil spirits, as well as in the complementary function of honoring the memory of ancestors, are the cult associations such as the Ogboni, Gelede, and Egun. These exert a considerable influence on the Yoruba artist who creates the necessary ritual instruments. The Ogboni is the originator of two important artistic forms: the richly carved ceremonial drums called *agba* and the *edan* figurines, the sacred insignia of the society. The latter consist of two rods of iron on which are welded human figures, male and female, whose heads are joined by a chain. The *edan* is a secret object kept in the fastness of the sanctuary.

The *efe*, who comes directly from the underworld, is a strange masked being who drives away the sorcerers responsible for calamities and encourages the fertility of the fields and of the women by parading at night through the village together with three drummers chanting the appropriate songs. A large number of masks, sometimes as many as fifty (in couples), are used in the ritual reunions (called Gelede) before the assembled members of the society. The masks are all of the same fundamental type and are distinguished only by ornamental details which indicate their identity and their importance in the hierarchy. Their faces are painted in vivid imported colors and carry the three Yoruba scars on each cheek; sometimes they have penetrating almond-shaped eyes with white corneas. Made from light wood which decays easily and is vulnerable to destruction by termites, the *gelede* masks in museums are usually recent examples which, because of their exaggerated stylization and their often garish colors, rarely have much artistic appeal to Western taste (PL. 126). In contrast to the simplified naturalism of these masks, those of the northeastern Yoruba are notable for their excellent qualities of abstraction and composition, although they were late to appear in books on African art. In this particular group the heavy hood-masks reappear; of complicated construction and complex symbolism, they have unfamiliar generic names: *epa* (mask with a heavy superstructure; IX, PL. 355), *elefon* (a lighter type), *egun* (PL. 132), *koko* (literally, pot), *afofora*. However, as in other parts of the Gulf of Benin, each mask has another, personal name such as Olokosse or Oloko ("Master of the Bush"), Adja, Oditi, Opon, Ugura, or Olioro. It would be a mistake to confuse these works of art with the instruments intended only to terrify the profane or the neophytes, as certain authorities have suggested. Though their first use is to facilitate contact with the invisible, they can also be transformed into public entertainers. This happens frequently in the course of perfectly serious rituals, since every socioreligious initiation contains comic elements necessary for the restablishment of the temporarily disturbed psychological equilibrium.

Every *orisha*, every cult society, and certain famous temples possess special liturgical inventories with exclusive insignia: among the Fon of Dahomey, the *vodun* Lisa takes the chameleon as a symbolic animal, and the ax of Heviosso is decorated with a ram spitting fire. Similarly the Yoruba gods have their attributes: Shango the Thunder, who corresponds to Heviosso, wields a double ax (*oche*), which is an essential part of all the rites and all the statues that are consecrated to him. The great god Obatala is not directly represented but is symbolized by elephants' tusks. The attributes of Ogun are an enormous cutlass and a double bell. In considering the wooden ritual statues, one observes that the effigies of some cults are distinguished entirely by the decorative detail; for example, the temples of a river deity (Oshun, goddess of the river of the same name) contain statuettes executed exactly like the others but curiously flecked with white.

Among the Yoruba, unlike the semi-Bantu peoples of the delta of the Niger, the cult of twins is widespread. If an older twin dies, the parents are obliged to get a sculptor to make a figurine named "Ibeji," resembling the dead as closely as possible, of the same sex, and about 8 in. high. The survivor or the mother, if both twins die, then treats the statuette (or statuettes) like a living being, feeding and dressing it. In spite of their smallness, such sculptures are often fine works of art (PL. 130). On first acquaintance Yoruba sculpture produces a misleading impression of uniformity; a detailed analysis, however, not only distinguishes a great variety of local styles, some of which (like the excellent works of the Owo region) had remained unknown to experts for a long time, but also reveals the sporadic emergence of artists of strong individuality who constantly introduce new forms. In addition to the very common ceremonies of the Gelede there is a particularly picturesque biannual one in the Yoruba country, the Epa, which is a veritable review of the giant masks of the type mentioned and is an excellent occasion to see how the conventional form of the masks in a given category can vary depending on the personality of the creative artist. The *epa* masks always have two enormous faces (opposed like those of Janus on antique busts) on their lower part (the hood). With a height of as much as 4 ft. and a weight of 110 pounds, the *epa* are almost monumental works which permit the artist to express his genius freely, always re-

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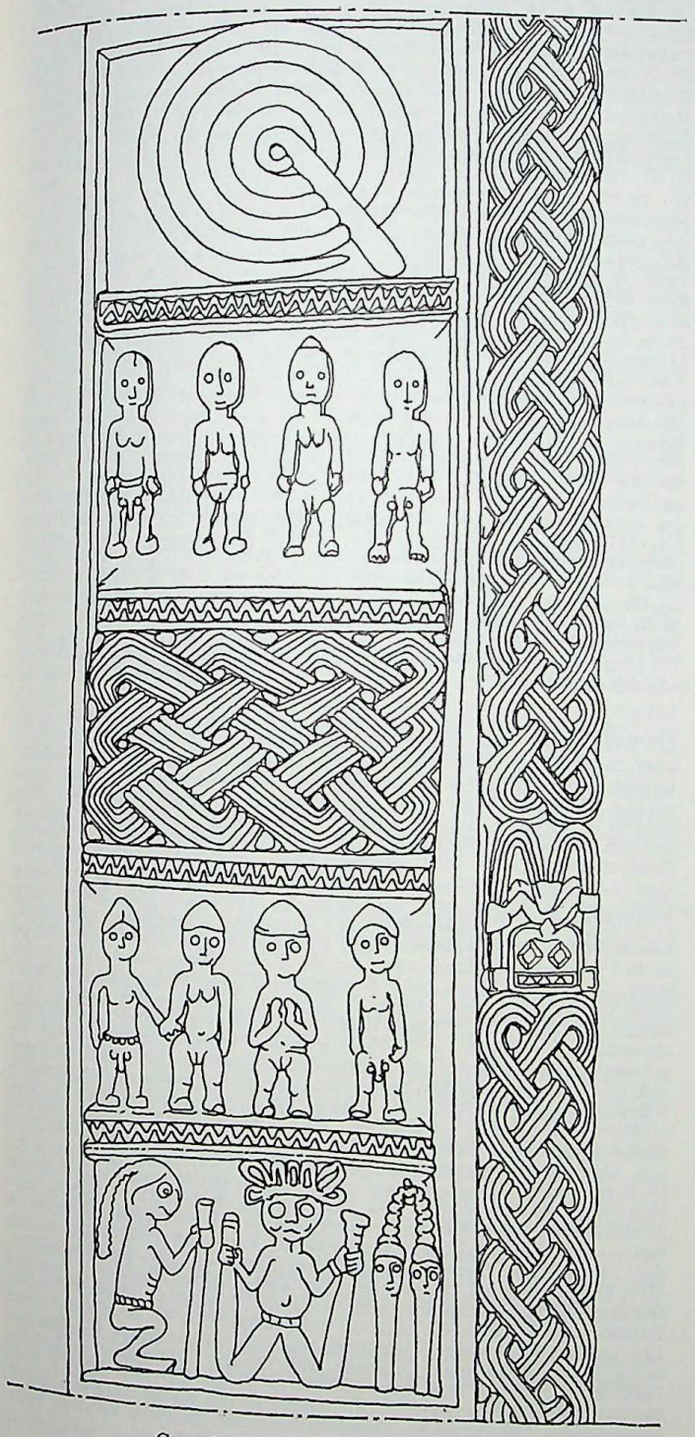
membering, however, the dancers who, in order to give life to this cumbersome apparatus, have to leap over a hillock a yard high without dislodging or injuring their masks. The Yoruba also excel in low-relief sculpture, of which three typical kinds can be mentioned: the plates made for the geomancers of Ifa, the doors (PL. 131; FIG. 245), and the carved pillars, which are



Carved door, Yoruba tribe, Nigeria.

some of the most striking esthetic creations of this civilization. (See also IX, PL. 522.)

Farther toward the southeast the Negro civilizations come to an end approximately at the delta of the Niger, where almost without transition the first outposts of the Bantu world are met in such tribes as the Ibo, the Ijaw, the Ibibio, the Efik, and the Ekoi of the Cross River, who belong to the semi-Bantu linguistic group. They have developed their own unique art forms, which reflect a more individualistic mentality. Usually freed from convention and not adhering to prototypes, these arts have a different psychological approach and create exceptionally dramatic effects. In this complex, the Ibo art seems the most expressive and the most powerful, in spite of its frequent borrowings from neighboring tribes with a more autonomous esthetic, such as the Ibibio, Ijaw, Igala, and others. The vast territory of the Ibo encompasses a great variety of carved wooden masks, the northern styles showing a preference for realistic forms, while in the south there is a distinctly abstract trend. Sometimes the mask covering the face of the sacred dancer is replaced by a carved figurine enhanced with vivid colors, which is carried on the head of the dancer during the ritual ceremony. Among the Ibo are found large human figures for religious purposes, used especially in the various ancestor cults; extremely beautiful slit drums with ornamental motifs; ceremonial benches; decorated cups and plates; and doors ornamented with traditional or modern designs. The Ibibio have created a particularly impressive mask which is used by the Ekpo cult society (PL. 132). It has a heavy but mobile lower jaw which produces interesting aural and visual effects during the rapid movements of the dance. The oldest wooden objects of the Ibibio date back 200–250 years, according to the experts; they are figurines of ancestors, made in a unique style created by a subgroup of the Ibibio, the Oron. The tribes living along the Cross River have developed certain surprising works as part of their ritual accessories. Among these are the carved heads covered with human skin (PL. 132) made by the Ekoi. These heads are striking because of their precise anatomical detail and very naturalistic coloring. They have one, two, or sometimes even three faces carried on a powerful neck and crowned by an elaborate coiffure with spiraled tresses.

Bohumil HOLAS

*Contemporary pottery of Ghana, Nigeria, and the Cross River.* Among the Ashanti of Ghana, where whole villages specialize in pottery, smoke-blackened wares are popular for both domestic and ritual use. Special kinds of pots are made for drinking, cooking, palm wine, melting shea butter, and so on. The shallow bowls for grating peppers have interiors grooved in concentric rings. Water jugs are elegantly shaped, with wide mouths and flattened globular bodies. Incised decoration is austere and is typically restricted to a band of arched lines, sometimes bordered with punched dots. The more ornate kinds of jars are made by men, rather than women, and have lids, handles, and designs representing frogs, snakes (PL. 127), and various artifacts, modeled in appliqué relief. A striking example of a ritual jug, used for pouring wine on the famous "Golden Stool," is decorated with circular panels enclosing scroll designs and a band of palmettes in low relief; the whole treatment suggests the influence of repoussé metalwork. Some of the most artistic work is to be seen in the small tobacco-pipe bowls modeled in various animal forms and made by men. In northern Ghana bands of rouletted ornament are sometimes combined with engraved wavy lines. In the Ho district the Ewe make crude clay heads with flat faces, on which the features are applied with small pellets.

The Yoruba of Ilorin color their vases with red and black slips. Other Yoruba creations are water coolers with two spouts and a looped handle, black incised bowls, tall lamps, and big tubs for dyes, decorated with rouletted ornament.

The peoples of southeastern Nigeria and the southern Cameroons are exceptional in Africa for the beauty and originality of their ceramic art, in respect to both form and decoration. The more elaborate forms are used in ancestral and other religious cults. The Ibo of Onitsha province make large pedestal and tripod vases with ringed necks and small handles; wavy ridges in red, black, and orange tints encircle the body. Their ritual jars often have a number of small mouths, which may be connected by loop handles; others are adorned with human or animal figures in high relief. A unique type of ritual bowl from the Kwale Ibo has its vertical walls topped with groups of squatting figures, well modeled in the round but with stylized features and attenuated legs (IV, PL. 206). Twin cups or bowls, joined at the rims and supported on one or two pedes-

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tals, are made by the Ibo, Ekoi, and other tribes. Although they do not make true terra cottas, the Ibo model and paint realistic figures of unbaked clay for their *mbari* houses for use in fertility cults. Some of these figures portray deities and spirits, but most are secular and are arranged in groups which vividly depict a wide range of occupations and scenes of everyday life. On the conclusion of the ceremonies they are abandoned.

Like the Yoruba and other tribes, the Ogoni of Calabar use perforated bowls for smoking and drying fish or meat over the fire. These potters incise their wares with owners' "trademarks," some of which resemble Roman letters. The Ekoi and Ijo make strikingly graceful vases both for ritual and for domestic use; they are characterized by slender tubular spouts combined with loop handles, and bodies decorated with sinuous meanders and convolutions, incised or painted, in a great variety of irregular patterns.

Hermann J. Braunholtz

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Illustrations: PLS. 107–132; 3 figs. in text.

**GUPTA, SCHOOL OF.** The Gupta period, which takes its name from one of the greatest dynasties of India, is rightly considered the "classic period" of Indian art, because of the obvious balance manifest in the creation of forms within the religious framework, the organized symbology, and the genuinely esthetic approach. Rich in remarkably varied artistic phenomena, from its first phases through its period of decadence,

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the Gupta period represents the peak of creative capacity in Indian figural art, standing equally as the inheritor of the art which preceded it and a permanent influence on that which followed. At the same time it must be considered individually for the distinctive body of art it produced, and not merely as an essential period in the complex evolution of Indian art.

SUMMARY. General character (col. 249). Historical background (col. 249). Artistic background (col. 250). Gandhara and later art of western India (col. 251). The Indian transition style (col. 252). Early Gupta art (col. 253). Classic Gupta art (under the Gupta emperors and the later Vākāṭakas) (col. 253): *Secular architecture; Hindu temples; Buddhist sanctuaries; Ideals of figural art; Sculpture; Painting.* The decline of Gupta art (col. 260): *Late architecture; Late sculpture; Late painting; Minor arts.* The end of Gupta art (col. 262).

GENERAL CHARACTER. The Gupta age represents the classic phase of Indian civilization in so far as it aspired to create a perfect, unsurpassable style of life and as its creations were imitated, as authoritative models, throughout the Hindu Middle Ages and to some degree up to the present day. It had been made ready by several centuries of stimulating contact with Near Eastern and Hellenistic civilization from the days of Alexander the Great (Indian invasion, 326 B.C.), culminating in the Kushan empire (2d–3d cent.). It was inspired by the expulsion of the foreign conquerors and the consolidation of a mighty national state, first under the Vākāṭakas, then under the Gupta emperors in the course of the 4th and early 5th centuries. Gupta civilization assumed its characteristic shape in the 5th century by borrowing extensively from the late Hellenistic-Parthian and Hellenistic-Roman world and transforming these influences into a national Indian spirit. This was an intensive new development, and it created something very original and different, indeed antagonistic to the Occidental inspirations. Under the impact of renewed barbarian invasions from Central Asia the Guptas were in the 6th–8th century superseded by a number of military dynasties. The cities and their rich middle class were ruined. Their hitherto secular civilization became part of a mythical past and was transformed into a sacred heritage to be piously handed down from generation to generation. When in the 8th century an exclusive feudal-clerical society developed, even the understanding of this tradition was lost, and instead it became the model of a medieval culture in the sense in which Christian-Roman and Byzantine civilizations where the models inspiring the Romanesque Middle Ages.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. When Alexander's invasion brought India into contact with the Western world, India was a rural country with a few towns constructed of wood and sun-baked bricks, separated by wide forest belts. Its numerous tribal territories were under the loose suzerainty of a few kingdoms. Under the Maurya empire (ca. 324–187 B.C.), the Greeks (2d–1st cent. B.C.), the Scythians and Parthians (about the beginning of the Christian Era), and the Central Asian (Tocharian) Kushans and the Scythian Kshatrapas (1st–early 3d cent.), the country absorbed more and more of Iranian and Hellenistic civilization; and under the Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties (ca. 187–75, 75–29 B.C.) of the north and the Śātavāhanas (225 or ca. 100 B.C. to A.D. 221 or 249) of the south it reshaped its own tradition, first in the spirit of Buddhism, then in that of the "Brahmanical Renaissance." The new upper class of the great cities — hereditary chiefs, officials, rich merchants, courtiers, scholars, poets, and artisans — evolved a refined all-Indian culture.

In the 2d century this new civilization entered into serious competition with that of the foreign conquerors; between the 2d and 4th centuries first the Kushan empire (from the mid-3d cent. subject to the Sassanian emperors of Iran) and then the Kshatrapa kingdom of western India were superseded by the rise of Indian nationalism, under the Nagas of northern, then the Vākāṭakas of central, India. Early in the 4th century the Gupta empire was founded in Magadha (Bihar) by Candragupta I (ca. 315–28, 320 Gupta era). Samudragupta (ca. 328–76) expanded this empire over the whole of northern and parts of central India and invaded Orissa and Andhra. His son Candragupta II (ca. 378–414) overthrew the Kshatrapa empire, invaded even the Kushan states which had slipped from the control of the Sassanians, and obtained, through the marriage of his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to Rudrasena II, control over the great Vākāṭaka kingdom of the Deccan. Even the tribes and the states that did not acknowledge Gupta suzerainty (the Kadambas, Gangas, and Pallavas in the south, Nepal, Kashmir, and Assam in the north) imitated the Gupta court and its refined civilization. Under Kumāragupta I (414–55) the empire reached its zenith, the mightiest and most glorious state and civilization to be found at that time.

Then the crisis set in. Internally there were tensions, since Candragupta II had moved his residence from Pataliputra (Patna), the old capital of Magadha, to Ujjayini (Ujjain) in Malwa, the former capital of the Kshatrapas. Externally his raid on Central Asia had weakened the late (Kidara) Kushans so much that they ceased to be a bulwark against other nomad hordes pushing southward. First, Tungus tribes under their king Muliyan (Mihiragula) invaded Kashmir and then the Indian plains. In their wake came, via Turkistan, the White Huns (also called Ephthalites). The Gupta empire was overrun; Kumāragupta had to flee. His son Skandagupta (455–67) succeeded in holding back the Huns. But under his weak successors all northern India was devastated, its cities destroyed, the wealthy middle class ruined. The power fell into the hands of the generals, who set up their own pretenders to the crown. Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman at last expelled the Huns and made himself dictator over most of the empire (ca. 525–35). The Guptas lingered on in the eastern provinces until 543–74. The Vākāṭakas, who under Hariṣeṇa (ca. 480–515) had attacked the Guptas from the rear, were in their turn overthrown by the Kalacūrīs of the central Deccan.

The period from the late 6th century to the middle of the 8th century witnessed the struggle between the military dynasties of the Maukharis of Kanauj (dominant in the 6th cent.), the Puṣpabhūtis of Thanesar north of Delhi (Harṣavardhana, 606–47/8), the Guptas of Malwa, later of Bihar (dominant under Ādityasena, late 7th cent.), and finally the Maukhari Yaśovarman of Kanauj (?–753). During all these wars nomadic tribes who originally had fought in the Hun hordes, the Śūlikas and Gujars, attacked the frontiers of India but were defeated by the Maukharis and later the Guptas and reemployed as mercenaries and frontier guards. Gujarat and Saurashtra were held by the Maitrakas; in the Deccan the Kalacūrīs were expelled by the Nalas, until the Chalukyas of Vatapi (mod. Badami) subdued the Gangas of Mysore, the Kadambas, and the Nalas and conquered the whole Deccan and Gujarat (7th cent.). In the coastal plains of the Tamil country the Pallavas of Kanchi (Conjeeveram) became a great power (ca. 574–897), extending their influence as far as Ceylon, Indonesia, and even Cambodia. With the short-lived conquest of most of India by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir (724/25–56), the overthrow of the Chalukyas by the Rashtrakutas (Skr., Rāṣṭrakūṭa) in 753, and the rise (ca. 780) of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Rajasthan and Kanauj and of the Palas in Bengal (ca. 756) the Gupta age reached its end. It had become a mere relic surviving at the royal courts. Its original area, the flourishing provinces and wealthy cities of the 5th century, had been more and more depopulated and resettled with barbarian prisoners of war and mercenaries. A new society had evolved, dominated by an exclusive aristocracy and an arrogant priesthood. By the 8th century medieval Hindu civilization had taken shape, based on the Gupta tradition, but in many ways its antithesis.

ARTISTIC BACKGROUND. Because of their intellectual and missionary character, Buddhism and Jainism (qq.v.) had hitherto been the religions of the upper class all over India. But when Buddhism also spread to Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the Far East, it became the religion of the foreign conquerors. The national revival, therefore, sought support from the popular cults by integrating them, in the manner long practiced in the Hellenistic-Roman world, with the philosophies of the leading Brahmanical sects, the Bhāgavata followers of Viṣṇu and the Kāpālika or Lākulin devotees of Śiva, as well as with the ritual of the Brahman court priests and ministers. The Kushans and

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Kshatrapas, and especially the Nagas and Vākāṭakas, had more and more turned to these syncretistic cults, mainly to Saivism. The Guptas, though tolerant of other cults, were devotees of Viṣṇu, especially in his incarnation as Rāma, the hero of the national epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and the ideal prototype of a national kingship. This implied a new direction in art: the creation of the Hindu temple and of a new, powerful figural art. And the time was ripe for such a reorientation. For "Buddhist" art, evolved from timber construction, wood carving, and clay modeling, had in the 2d–3d century reached the last possible stage of its stylistic evolution, highly involved, overdecorated, with elegant, very erotic figures in an almost illusionistic scenery. In the meantime timber was becoming rare and was being increasingly replaced by stone. But stone buildings imitating wood construction were as absurd as they were precarious. And figural art, which had grown naïve, had in the meantime encountered the very different Hellenistic canon of ideals, proportions, and types, and probably also the disparaging criticism of the foreigners.

This clash of ideas first became evident at Mathura — winter capital of the Kushans, international trade center, and a holy Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu place of pilgrimage — during the reign of Kaniṣka (late 1st?– first half of 2d cent.). In the architecture (known to us only from fragments and representations on reliefs) we still find the traditional Buddhist and Jain stupas and chaitya halls with their slim columns and rafters, rounded doors and windows, roofs, and relic shrines. At the same time, the reliefs show towers of several stories, apparently an experimental stage of the Hindu temple; and fragments of door frames have been found, generally of Hellenistic form, but decorated with Parthian floral motifs (as in early Palmyra) and with donor reliefs of Roman inspiration but Indian elaboration. In Mathura sculpture very few pieces of Gandharan or provincial Roman inspiration have been discovered. Generally their type is purely Indian, but with a new note. Instead of the naïve tradition still discernible in the works of the 1st century, there is a very conscious modeling, the evolution of an Indian canon of beauty and of proportions in contrast to the Hellenistic-Roman ideals: athletic, somewhat massive men, and women with rather small heads, languid eyes, plump necks, heavy breasts, slender waists, broad hips, and long, slim legs. Also, we now find a definitive canon of types for the Buddha and the bodhisattvas, the Jain tirthankaras, and the Hindu deities, evolved from the ancient statues of yakshas and yakshis (local genii), nagas and *nāgiṇīs* (snake godlings, mermaids), influenced by, but quite different from, the Occidental typology that the Gandhara artists had adapted for the Buddhist pantheon.

Gandhara and later art of western India. The overthrow of the Parthian empire by the Sassanians in 227 and the disintegration and subjection of the Kushan empire shortly afterward had fargoing consequences. The Parthian-Hellenistic artists (mainly of Seleucia on the Tigris), neglected by the Iranian chauvinism of the Sassanians, emigrated to Palmyra in the Syrian desert or to northwestern and western India and probably were followed by Hellenistic Syrians captured by the Sassanians and deported to the interior of Asia. To them we have to attribute the revival of Hellenistic art in Gandhara (q.v.) and its flowering under the Kidara Kushans (late 4th and 5th, locally even 7th, cent.; see KUSHAN ART), as well as the new wave of Hellenism in Central Asia and northwestern India. At Khotan and Miran in the Tarim Basin, Hadda, Bamian, etc., in Afghanistan, Harwan in Kashmir, Taxila and Agroha in the Punjab, Rang Mahal (Suratgarh, Bikaner) in Rajastan, Mirpur Khas, Thul Mir Rukan, Depar Ghangro, Sudheranjo-Dhar, Jarak in Sind, and Samlaji in Gujarat, we find, as in the best "early Gupta" seals, a very characteristic new style, more Hellenistic in some ways, more Indian in others. Its Buddhist architecture generally follows the later Gandharan type (small stupa proper on several platforms or drums); the Hindu temples seem to have consisted of a tower with a pyramidal roof, echoes of which we can trace in Kashmir and Kulu, but which experienced a late renaissance under the Maitrakas in Saurashtra (Gop, Visavada, Than). In the decoration the Hellenistic motifs are further simplified but are applied in a bolder manner, and indigenous Indian motives are added, especially the "chaitya window" arch, but broken up or reduplicated. The chaitya windows of the recently excavated Samlaji stupa (later than Viśvasena, 3d cent.) are utterly transformed by means of Roman wreaths and triglyphs, and enclose capped gable niches. The ornament (especially the leafwork) combines the grandiose linear rhythm of Parthian-Hellenistic art with Indian sensuousness. The figures combine the Tocharian dress with the curly locks of the Syrian fashion; those of the Buddha wear either the Indian (one shoulder uncovered) or the Gandharan (both shoulders covered) monk's costume. Often the divine figures (especially bronzes) are surrounded by a halo of pointed rays (*sphuratprabhāmaṇḍala*), like the Roman Sol Invictus. Their modeling first emphasized clearly defined, almost hard surfaces; later, however, it flowed over into the delicate softness of the Gupta style. It seems that this development reached its apogee in the late 4th century, when the persecution of the non-Christians in the Roman empire, inaugurated by Theodosius I, brought a last wave of refugees from the West. Unfortunately, the ruins of Ujjain in Malwa, from the time it was the Kshatrapa and Gupta capital, have not yet been uncovered.

The Indian transition style. We can follow the transition of Indian art proper both within the Kshatrapa kingdom and central India, and also in the northern Deccan and the Ganges plain. In the Jain caves of Dhank (Saurashtra) and the Buddhist ones of Dhamnar, Kholvi, and Bagh (I–III) the old timber style has been reduced to a mere ornamentation, the former pillars have become decorative pilasters without function, and the round chaitya windows are a meaningless cornice decoration, precursor of the *gavākṣa* ornament of the Gupta period. Real pillars of square or octagonal cross section, with simple brackets and horizontal lintels, have been introduced. The stupas, though still of the old hemispherical type, have become small and are placed on a high cylindrical substructure, sometimes rising in several steps. For the Hindu temple the old chaitya hall still was used — Trivikrama temple at Tagara (Ter) near Sholapur, Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla in Krishna district, and possibly also Pakkī Kuṭī temple at Sravasti (Saheth-Maheth) — but executed on a rather small scale, in brick, sometimes duplicated, with an apse at both ends (as at Nagarjunakonda), or expanded by a pillared square cult hall (mandapa). But it was more and more superseded by a square chapel, probably with a flat or pyramidal roof (a conclusion we draw from subsequent architecture, as no complete building of this time survives). Like the Buddhist stupa, this shrine was raised on one or several platforms decorated with blind pilasters and small chaitya windows: for example, the Tīlā temple at Padmavati (Pawaya), similar to the Buddhist stupas of Mirpur Khas and Samlaji. The columns of these temples bore a sort of "Maurya" bell capital, on top of which were statues of the respective deities. Of this type is the Uparkoṭ at Junagarh (Saurashtra), two stories of rock-cut underground rooms, probably a summer palace of the last Kshatrapa rulers or their conqueror Candragupta II.

Farther east the centers of art development were the Naga capitals Mathura, Pawaya, and Vidisa (Bhilsa) in Malwa, Janakhat in Farrukhabad district, Kantipur (Kantit) in Mirzapur district, Sravasti, Kausambi (Kosam), Vaisali (Basarh), and Patna in the Ganges plains, and the Vākāṭaka capitals Purika and Pravarapura (Pawnar, 6 miles from Wardha), Bhandak (caves), and Deo Baloda and Nachna-Kuthara in central India. To what extent the temple reliefs and fragments at Mathura mentioned above belong to this period has not yet been clarified. The fragments from Janakhat reveal the same Parthian decoration along with pure Hindu figures (Gaṅgā). The Tīlā temple at Pawaya has already been mentioned. Only the foundations of the Viṣṇu temple at Basarh are left. The Śiva temple of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pṛthvīsena (middle 4th cent.) at Nachna-Kuthara seems to have been rebuilt in Gupta times.

In the sculpture of this period the new style evolved at Mathura was taken up, but the problems involved were not

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really understood. In this turbulent time people appreciated only the solidity and strength, the possibilities for a new iconography. As a matter of fact, many sculptures are utterly barbarian, short, almost dwarfish, and of a stiff immobility, or squatting with knees wide asunder (Mathura, Bhinmal, Samlaji). Others are crude but strong, almost echoes of the pre-Kushan yaksha statues: Hanuman at Parkham, Narasiṃha from Besnagar, the colossi of Rup Bas (Rup-bad) in Bharatpur. Others continue the elegant late Śuṅga style (Trivikrama relief and dance scene, Gwalior, Archaeol. Mus.; Umā-Maheśvara group from Kosam, A.D. 458/59, in the Calcutta museum), or the Kushan type (Dance of Nīlañjana, Mathura, Archaeol. Mus.; Kṛṣṇa steles at Mandor), though with costumes revealing the survival of the older styles deep into the Gupta period (e.g., the statues from Pali in the Sardar Mus., Jodhpur, early Kushan style but with 6th-cent. wigs!).

Early Gupta art. The art produced under the first Gupta emperors, even during the early reign of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, seems to have been of the same type. The designs of their gold coins — modeled on Kushan and Roman prototypes — show powerful but rather plain figures, in simple costumes, to some degree still in the Kushan fashion (III, pl. 400). The same features we find in the Viṣṇu from Sonbhandar Cave at Rajagriha (Rajgir; Nalanda, Mus.), the Rāma and Trivikrama reliefs at Pasupatinatha (Nepal), the statue of Samudragupta's horse for the Aśvamedha (imperial) sacrifice (Lucknow, State Mus.), the Bodhgaya Buddha (A.D. 383), that from Mankuwar near Allahabad (448–49, provincial archaism), the Dīpaṅkara (Lucknow, State Mus.), some sculptures from Samlaji, Vala, etc., and especially the sculptures of the cave temples of Udayagiri. These 20 temples were carved from a ridge northwest of Bhilsa (Malwa) during the campaign of Candragupta II against the Kshatrapas and consecrated in his presence (inscriptions in Caves VI and VII) in A.D. 402 (additions 426). Here we find the basic concepts of Hindu mythology, Śiva lingas, Nandi, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Ādi Varāha lifting the earth from chaos, Nārāyaṇa lying on the snake of eternity (Ananta), the Churning of the Ocean, etc., powerful but simple works. However, on the whole the iconography of this period still is undeveloped and tentative.

However, after the conquest of the Kshatrapa kingdom we find a completely new style born from the synthesis of Parthian-Hellenistic, Roman-Syrian, and Indian art. This influence of late Roman art was not an isolated phenomenon, for we can trace it also in music and dance, in the new turn of classic Sanskrit literature in the works of Kālidāsa, and in astronomy (the *Romaka Siddhānta* and the works of Varāhamihira; see II, col. 74). In architecture the *templum in antis* and prostylos emerged temporarily, along with a type of decoration on temple walls that persisted for a longer time. Characteristic of this phase are the entrance door, crypts beneath the sanctuary, true arches and vaults, coffered ceilings, helical columns, indented entablatures, "conch" gables, as well as scrollwork, garlands, laurel wreaths, capitals with projecting figures, "Erotes" (*gaṇas*), "bacchantes" (*surasundarīs*), "Victories" (*gandharvas* and *vidyādharas*), "hippocampi," and "Tritons" (*gandharvas*). This new style coincided with the persecution of the heathens by Theodosius I and must be connected with it. The reaction against it was not less vehement; the foreign imports were quickly Indianized and in the end served to strengthen the Indian currents already evident in the art of Mathura. However, the influx of late Roman art motifs continued until the 8th century, transmitted apparently through the Sūrya (Sol Invictus) cult, and finally by (Nestorian) Christians.

Classic Gupta art (under the Gupta emperors and the later Vākāṭakas). High Gupta art was mainly a product of the aristocratic and capitalistic upper classes (*nāgarika*) in the great cities (*nāgara*) and, therefore, was called *nāgara*, a term later applied also to northern Indian medieval architecture (excluding Kashmir and Bengal). Its ideals were shaped by the princes and rich connoisseurs and by the courtesan-actresses, dancers, musicians, poets, and the scholars they patronized. It was thus a highly conscious art, disciplined and learned, comprehensive and elaborate. But it had strong roots in the rising folk cults and in the well-to-do lower-middle-class population.

*Secular architecture.* The towns generally were open and spacious, with groves, gardens, ponds, and artificial lakes (one of the most conspicuous features of India). On the embankments of the lakes were ghats, temples, and pleasure houses. The ponds were excavated and often framed by flights of steps. Only the center of the town was fortified, with high earthworks faced with bricks and surrounded by a broad moat (Gaṛh-Kālikā at Ujjain, Samlaji, Aihole, Sigiriya in Ceylon). The gates, flanked by projecting bastions, gave access to the main roads, generally meeting in the center of the town, at the royal palace, a temple, or a public hall (*mandapī* > *mandavī* > *mandī*; *caturaṅga*). In some cases we find also an inner citadel on some almost inaccessible cliff, as at Bhilsa, Aihole, Badami, Sigiriya (III, pl. 176), etc. The *Daśakumāracarita*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and other Sanskrit texts give us descriptions of the palaces: a fortified enclosure, many courts, audience halls for public representation (*āsthānamaṇḍapa*) "towering like cloud banks," the prince's private rooms with secret doors and passages and other precautions against conspiracies, the ladies' quarters (*antaḥpura*), and vast gardens with ponds, light wooden pavilions (some on artificial hills), and underground rooms and baths for the summer. Though lost in India, well-preserved contemporaneous examples still exist in Ceylon (Anuradhapura, Sigiriya). The palaces were constructed of wood and brick but luxuriously decorated with gold leaf, paintings, sculptures, silk, jewelry, etc. (The ancient descriptions are corroborated by later Portuguese accounts of the royal palaces at Vijayanagar.) The ordinary houses generally were laid out in rectangles around one or several courts, accessible from narrow side lanes branching off from the main road. The fortified town center was reserved for the court, the households of the ministers, princely hostages, great bankers, and other high dignitaries.

*Hindu temples.* In the time of Candragupta II the Hindu temples (*mandir*, *prāsāda*) still were very simple. Many [Sanchi XVII and XXXI, Mukunddarra and Udaipur in Malwa, Uchahara, Garhwa (?), Samlaji-Devnimori, Tigowa in Jubbulpore district] were not yet erected on a platform. The cella (*garbhagrha*) was approximately a cube (*caturaśra*) with a flat, double roof (Samlaji, Pataini Devī temple at Uchahara; in Cambodia copied at Sambor Prei Kuk and Hanchei). By the addition of a pillared porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) it became temporarily very similar to the Roman-Syrian prostylos or the *templum in antis* [Sanchi XVII (pl. 140), Tigowa, Udaipur, later Mahua near Gwalior; one partly excavated from the rock at Udayagiri]. The frame of the entrance to the cella, based on the Roman model, was, however, decorated with panels of protective godlings (yakshas), generally in couples (*mithuna*), and the square or octagonal pilasters were adorned with traditional figural capitals.

But in the course of the 5th century the Hindu temple, now generally constructed of heavy stone blocks, assumed its characteristic shape, though still far from the later elaborate type of medieval times. The indigenous tradition reasserted itself. The sanctuary was placed in the center of a broad square platform (*medhi*), first of rather modest size (35 ft. square; 3 ft., 8 in. high), but soon extended in front and growing to a length of 118 ft. and a height of 9 ft. (examples at Ahichchhatra-Kampilya in Uttar Pradesh, Bhitargaon, Bhumara, Chamba Town, Deogarh, Kotivarsha-Bangarh, Manora, Nachna-Kuthara, Nagari near Chitorgarh, Nalanda in Bihar, Pundranagara-Mahasthan, Sarnath, Sirpur in Madhya Pradesh, Sravasti, Udayagiri in Malwa). Also, at Pawaya, Ahichchhatra, and Mahasthan (west temple) several terraces were piled one on top of the other. On this platform the public could attend the religious service, see the temple dances, or circumambulate the shrine (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*). For this purpose an open mandapa was often added in front of the sanctuary [e.g., Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) at Deogarh, Mahādeo at Nagari, Temple XIII at Nalanda, Kachī

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Kuṭī at Sravasti], or the shrine was surrounded by a covered gallery for the circumambulation (*sandāra-prāsāda*) [e.g., Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara, Baigram in Dinajpur district (Bengal), Gop, Bileshwar, and Kadvar in Saurashtra (later, but archaic)]. By the side of the steps leading up to the platform (e.g., Mahādeo at Bhumara) or at the four corners of the platform (*pañcāyātana* type, first at Deogarh) subsidiary chapels for the prominent gods not venerated in the principal shrine were set up. Often also a pillar (developed from the flagstaff, *dhvajastambha*, of the village shrine), carrying an image of the deity or of its sacred animal (*vāhana*), was set up outside, as at Bayana-Vijaymandargarh, Bhitari (A.D. 456), Bilsar (A.D. 415/16), Eran (A.D. 484/85), Delhi — from Mathura, of 6 tons of non-rusting steel — Garhwa, Mandasor (A.D. 528), Kahaon (Jain, A.D. 460/61), Rajghat near Benares (A.D. 476/77), Sanchi XXVI, XXXIV, XXXV.

The sanctuary proper grew into a tower, generally of square ground plan, occasionally also with a transversal axis counterbalancing the projection of the porch (*áyatāśra* type), as in the Navadurgā temples at Jageshwar (PL. 142) and Bhitargaon; the 8th-century temples of Teli-kā Mandir and Naresar near Gwalior; the 9th-century temple of Vaitāl Deul at Bhuvaneshwar; and the temples in Farther India: Prasat Bayang and Banteay Prei Nokor in Cambodia, Mi-sön in Champa (III, PL. 193). The tower originally consisted of two (*dvitala*) or three (*tritala*) genuine stories, originally dedicated to the heavenly or esoteric aspects of the deity venerated (shrines in Buddhist monasteries, Nagari, Nachna-Kuthara, Bhumara, Manora, in Kaimur Range, Aihole, and, later, Mamallapuram and Conjeeveram in the south). But by the time of the last years of Kumāragupta (Mandasor inscription), these stories were fused into one spire (shikara) of merely symbolical character, representing the mountain of the gods (Kailasa) or the world axis (Meru, Mandara; see IV, col. 811), similar to the Babylonian ziggurat. In contrast to south India, where the individual stories (*bhūmikā*), though reduced to miniature proportions (*pañcāram*), retained their distinct shape, the stories were in classic Gupta art degraded to a mere surface ornament, as at Nachna-Kuthara (Śiva temple), Deogarh, Makanganj, Nalanda, and in Java (Caṇḍī Bhīma and Gunung Gangṣir); the top story ended in a heavy wheellike coping stone (amalaka) or, in the case of an *āyatāśra* temple, in a wagon roof. The interior of the shikara formed one corbel vault, and sometimes two, though true vaults were occasionally used in Gupta times (Bodhgaya, Bhitargaon, and, later, Mul-Dvarka in Saurashtra).

The decoration of the temple represented a fusion, a reinterpretation, of traditional Indian and Roman-Syrian motifs. The plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) consisted of a sequence of angular and rounded molding courses (*bandha*) repeating, in miniature, the general build-up of the façade, that is, plinth, wall (*harmya*), cornice (*grīva*), eaves (*chajja*), and roof (*pīḍa*). The walls had niches (*rathika-bimba*) enclosing mythological reliefs (at Nachna-Kuthara they were carved with cliff scenery), either in the center (e.g., Deogarh) or alternating with pilasters (e.g., Bhitargaon). These niches were at first square, then enclosed in round arches, at last topped by a *gavakṣa* (ornamental chaitya window). The panel friezes (*śākha*) of yakshas, nagas, and *mithunas* around the entrance (*dvāra*) to the sanctuary were combined with scrollwork (*paṭrāvalī*; in which sometimes yakshas or *gaṇas* are climbing), or "Buddhist railing" posts, or traditional "wooden" columns with cushion capitals. The lintel friezes showed scrollwork with gandharvas flying toward a "crown" (the Roman acanthus basket) or a projecting coping stone (*dvāralalata-bimba*) with the image of the temple deity or of its *vāhana* occupying the place of the Roman reliefs of the emperors, Jupiter, or Sol Invictus. The Roman corner volutes were replaced by lions rampant, then by the goddesses of the holy rivers Gaṅgā (on a crocodile, or *makara*) and Yamunā (on a tortoise, or *kūrma*), in their turn transformations of the tree goddesses (*vṛkṣakā*) of the Buddhist stupa gateways (toranas). At the foot of the door jambs figures of dwarfs (from whose navel the scrollwork was growing), snake kings (*nāgarāja*), temple guardians (*dvārapāla* or *pratihārī*), princely donors, and the river goddesses were added.

Above the massive pillared porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) was a window, as in the Buddhist chaitya halls, by which the idol was illuminated. The stories of the shikara were embellished with the figures of various deities or simply with heads looking out of the blind windows (*gavakṣa*). On top of the amalaka there stood a stone vessel (*kalaśa* or *stūpī*).

The pillars (stambha) of the porch or the hall in front of the temple were, like those of the sanctuary, originally either square pilasters ending in a highly simplified Parthian-Kshatrapa acanthus capital or in a cross bracket or were round (plain, fluted, or helical) columns ending in a cushion capital (*kumbha*). The two types were soon combined, with many variations. For example, the shaft might be composed of both square and 8- or 16-sided sections (the transition being obtained by the old Buddhist semiroundels, *ardha-cakra*); at the top it might return again to the square shape or end in a capital. The capital became either a fusion of the cushion and Doric capital, or the pot-and-foliage capital, and then a fusion of the cushion with the acanthus capital, the transition being exemplified at Bhitargaon.

*Buddhist sanctuaries.* Under the psychological pressure of Hindu theism, Buddhism had also turned into a cult of saviors (bodhisattvas), and protective deities, and Buddhism regained its prestige during the peaceful reign of Kumāragupta I and especially under the last Gupta emperors. In consequence, the chaitya hall focused on a chaitya (small stupa) disappeared. Its last examples are Caves XIX and XXVI at Ajanta (PLS. 140, 141, 454; II, 381), ruin No. XVIII at Sanchi, and the Viśvakarmā Cave at Ellora (ca. 600); these were covered all over with reliefs and paintings: the historical Buddha and his presumed predecessors teaching, surrounded by bodhisattvas and monks, scenes from his life (Avadāna) and from his previous lives (Jātakas), often mere pretexts for genre scenes of rather secular character. Also, the earlier chaitya caves at Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Karli, etc., were redecorated with reliefs of Buddhas, at times colossal, and murals.

Instead, the chaitya, or in its place the Buddha image, was accommodated in a chapel at the back of the monastery (vihara) court, which later was transformed into a mandapa. Of monasteries built in stone only ruins survive at Sarnath, Sanchi, Kusinagara (Kasia), Samlaji, etc.; the sanctuary sometimes has a second story, as in the early Hindu temples. Much better preserved are the cave monasteries (most of them erected under the Vākāṭakas and Kalacūrīs) at Bagh (III and IV), Ajanta (most of them carved out in the 5th–6th cent., though paintings were executed up to the 8th cent.), Ghatotkacha, Kondivte, Aurangabad (esp. III), etc. Their front verandas, halls, and chapels are lavishly decorated with pillars carved with jewelry, flowers, and *mithunas*; arches springing from the mouths of crocodiles (*makara-toraṇa*); reliefs of the life of the Buddha, river goddesses, and *mithunas*; and murals of flowers, innumerable Buddhas, and Jātaka scenes. The stupas grew to high towers of purely symbolical character; however, few of the 5th century have been preserved (e.g., several near Rajgir, Rāmābhār at Kasia, Dharmarājika and Caukhandī at Sarnath), as most of them were enlarged in subsequent times. Now the temple became common also in Buddhist places of pilgrimage, either a square or oblong cella on a platform (e.g., the earliest chaityas at Nalanda, the temples of Mūlagandhakuṭī and Kumāra Devī at Sarnath, Nirvāṇa temple at Kasia) or evolving from the chapels arranged on the four sides of a stupa (e.g., Paharpur, first stage). In the latter case the stupa drum was fused with the image shrine, the secondary chapels with the image niches on the temple walls; this temple tower was crowned by a small stupa, and the chapels at the four corners of the temple platform were replaced by small stupas. The most famous Buddhist temple is the Gandhakuṭī of the Vajrāsana (or Mahābodhi; PL. 133) at Bodhgaya, already in Kushan times a tower of about five stories (represented on a terra-cotta plaque found at Kumrahar near Patna), rebuilt in early Gupta times, again rebuilt by Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya in A.D. 526, by Pūrṇavarman (a feudatory of Harṣavardhana of Thanesar) in the early 7th century, probably enlarged in the 8th century,

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and restored by the Burmese in A.D. 1105, 1298, and 1880–81. It is a huge shikara on top of a platform with four corner chapels; the image is in a vault in the substructure and the platform is accessible by two covered staircases. The design (especially the genuine vaults, the rounded image niches, and huge blind chaitya windows) probably goes back to Bālāditya's reconstruction; the dimensions of the present building, however, reveal the ambitions of the 7th and 8th centuries. An exceptional case is represented by Māniyār Math at Rajgir, a small stupa dedicated to the godling Māṇibhadra and decorated with delicate stucco figures of snake gods and goddesses, the god Śiva, the demon king Bāṇāsura, a linga, etc.

*Ideals of figural art.* Under Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I the representation of the figure assumed its characteristic shape. The new ideals, utterly different from those of the Mediterranean and Semitic-Iranian world, embodied all the sensuous exuberance of a tropical country, especially an intensive love and understanding of nature, flowers, animals, the moods of the day and the season, as well as a great erotic excitability, physically and emotionally. The artistic response was expressed in a great musicality and rhythmic modeling. The flesh, the plants, animals, human beings, and gods almost seemed to be alive. There was an emphasis on erotic portrayal — languid eyes, full necks, cuplike breasts, slender waists, broad hips — but it was nonetheless healthy, frank, and natural. We feel an exuberant imagination reaching from this visible world to the depths of a universe almost as infinite in space and time as that of modern science, and expanding into spheres of thought almost as abstract as those of modern mathematics. But all this exuberance of the senses and of the imagination is kept under control by Yoga, the will to master the senses, to sublimate and refine, or even to suppress them, and by a methodology so elaborate and abstract as almost to be lost in pedantry.

Indian art theory, as evolved since Gupta times (the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Bharata, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*), regards the esthetic experience as a sort of mystic empathy by means of which man's feelings are brought into harmony with the divine. The basis of all artistic creation is the mystic evocation of the ideal prototype through concentrated meditation; implied in this experience is that every form, every color, and every object assumes a more than direct meaning and becomes a symbol, and that their interrelation becomes the expression of whole chains of associations and thoughts. The formal starting point, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (part III), is music, especially rhythm (highly elaborated in India). The common link to figural art, however, is the dance, sculpture and painting being hardly more than its fixations. The classic Indian dance (Bhāratā-nāṭyam) is much more elaborate than the Occidental ballet, inspired both by rich folk tradition and (probably) by the imperial Roman pantomime (as described by Pliny and Seneca), which, in its turn, had systematized the gesture language of the ancient Near Eastern cults. As a result, Bhāratā-nāṭyam can express not only abstract, purely decorative movements and poses but also narrate, through a single dancer, whole myths and poems, including the scenery and imagined partners and even their "unspoken" thoughts and subconscious reactions, by means of complicated combinations of poses, gestures, and expressions comparable only to the score of a modern opera or symphony.

Thus there developed a subtly systematized iconography of gods and goddesses, kings and queens, princes, ministers, Brahmans, and low-class people. In the immense pantheon which had developed, each deity was distinguished by its special group of postures, attributes, expressions, etc. The principal religious systems had absorbed many local deities, considered as majestic, benevolent, or terrible aspects of a few major gods and goddesses, in their turn the trinity and quaternity of the one godhead; others were interpreted as their incarnations (*avatāra* and *mūrti*) or family and attendants. Each of these individual types was allotted a different position in the various religious systems. In this iconography behavior, expression, and movement were characterized and classified according to *sthāna* and *āsana* (standing and sitting postures), *bhaṅga* (bend of the body), *hasta* and *pāda* (arm and foot positions), movements of the eyes, the neck, and especially the hands (*mudrā*), by means of which every slightest emotion could be expressed.

These many details again were held together by a flowing rhythm, a strict composition, a canon of proportions (*talamāna*) and of refined manners (these classified in the dance) and even of expressions of the face — at least in official art; for in the Gupta terra cottas we find a great freedom of expression, even of freakish gestures. Typical of this refinement were the carefully arranged curled hair, the delicate jewelry, and the often richly decorated transparent costumes, of a material as thin as cobwebs, which adhered closely to the body.

*Sculpture.* Sculpture was used for the decoration of temples and palaces, for votive steles, temple images, and small votive or house-shrine images. There were also terra-cotta (occasionally stone) reliefs illustrating scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the dramas and poems of Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, etc., and even grotesque or satirical harem or folk scenes (from Mathura, Kurukshetra, Chausa, Kasia, Pelwa, Newal, Kosam, etc.). Most of them may originally have been intended for the decoration of palaces. Their style generally is very free and has in common with official art only the costume of the time. Of a similar type are terra-cotta plaques from minor, mainly provincial, brick temples depicting gods, demons, and well-known mythological subjects (Sravasti, Ahichchhatra, Paharpur, etc.). Finally, the terra-cotta figurines (house idols, votive images, dolls, toys, etc.) found all over northern India, some of them prepared by means of molds, reflect the official style much more. The great bulk of the sculpture, however, is comprised of images in stone or bronze (*aṣṭadhātu* = eightfold alloy) and mythological reliefs in stone which once decorated the walls of the temple platforms; the best examples are the Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) temple at Deogarh (PLS. 226, 458, 459) and the Paṭṭharghaṭṭi temple at Nalanda.

As classic Gupta art emerged after the conquest of the Kshatrapa kingdom by Candragupta II, its early monuments are found mainly in western and central India (Besnagar near Bhilsa, Sanchi, Jhalawar, Mandasor in Malwa, Samlaji-Devnimori, Kotyarka, and Akota in Gujarat, Valabhi in Saurashtra, Brahmanabad in Sind, Bhumara and Manora in central India). At first the modeling was rather clumsy: the legs were almost like columns, the arms like sausages, the hands and feet broad, almost animalish, the chest like a log, the face broad and expressionless; in contrast the costume was daintily treated, in fine, but conventional, folds. Over the transparent loincloth or skirt (*jhaṅgikā*) another cloth was wound, forming a big loop at the hip and falling down to the feet; that of the men was twisted like a rope, that of the women spread out over one thigh; its ends, like those of the underdress proper, formed delicate zigzag folds. The hair fell down in heavy locks, when not covered by a crown; miters (*kirīṭamukuṭa*), often flattened, still are reminiscent of the (much lower) Kushan crown in Gandharan art; the halo, round or oblong, was decorated with pointed rays. But soon the modeling became more sensitive, movements gracious, the expression lively, though the bodies continued to be heavy; the hair, in distinct corkscrew curls, looked almost like a small parasol (*chatrākara*).

Under Kumāragupta the classic style assumed its definitive shape and spread over the whole empire (known examples from Kasma in Rajasthan, Bagh, Badoh, Sanchi, Besnagar and Bilsar in Malwa, Bhumara, Khoh, Garhwa, and Gwalior in central India, Mathura and Sarnath in the upper Ganges plains, Kasia and Sultanpur in Bhagalpur district in the east, etc.). The modeling now reached its apogee, always idealized and suppressing inessential detail, but anatomically sure, strong, and noble. Its masterpieces are the famous Buddha statues from Mathura and Sarnath (PLS. 134, 138, 452, 453, 462; II, 380) and the Khoh linga with the majestic face of the god Śiva, in all of which the flesh has become the vessel of an overwhelming spirituality. Both the earthiness and daintiness of the preceding style phase have disappeared. The costume has become simpler, though so transparent that the body un-



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derneath is visible; the twisted overscarf is gone, except on bodhisattva figures (PL. 135). The male hair falls down in a mass of locks (*alakāvalī*), the female hair is built up in a "trefoil," that is, two masses falling down on the sides, but forming a sort of knot on the crown of the head; a variant was the Bhramarka fashion, with loose curls falling over the forehead. On the other hand, the ornament has become much richer: jewelry and rich textile designs on the figures, miters like short cylinders decked with jewels, round halos ornamented with floral scrolls, similar scrolls and jewelry motives of immense verve covering all buildings.

The gold coins of the Gupta emperors are the most beautiful in India, equaled only by those of the Indo-Greek kings and of the Moghul emperors. Originally inspired by those of the Kushan and Roman emperors, a great variety of designs soon evolved. Some represented the emperors carrying a Garuḍa standard, battle-ax, or sword, walking under an umbrella, riding on a horse or an elephant, slaying a tiger or a rhinoceros, in the company of the empress, or playing the lyre; others showed religious symbols, such as the conch or Garuḍa of Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya (the patron deity of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta) on his peacock, the horse of the imperial sacrifice. On the reverse the Roman Tyche, sitting on a throne, a cornucopia in her hand, was first transformed into the goddess Lakṣmī or Ambikā, and at last replaced by a purely Indian type, sitting cross-legged on a lotus. These designs are less naturalistic than those of the Indo-Greeks and Kushans but excel in decorative pattern and rhythmic *élan*. After Skandagupta (A.D. 467) the coins quickly degenerated, both in monetary and artistic value. Later Hindu dynasties produced only a very poor coinage.

However, the overwhelming vitality of the time of Candragupta II and the spiritual vigor of the early reign of Kumāragupta were superseded in Kumāragupta's later years by elegance and effeminacy, and nobility became mere manners. Modeling became conventional, even pronouncedly mannered, the figures overelongated and ill-proportioned, with overthin arms and legs.

Then the empire disintegrated under the attacks of the White Huns. In the more protected east, where the Gupta dynasty lingered on until the middle of the 6th century, that soft, elegant style continued to flourish, refined, sensuous, and tired, corresponding to the ornate Gauda style in literature. In the west, which had to defend itself against the barbarian raiders, art remained simpler and stronger, corresponding to the Vidarbha style of literature. For here its center had moved southward, into the Vākāṭaka kingdom of central India and the northern Deccan, which had regained its independence when the Gupta empire began to disintegrate. Vidarbha (in Berar) was the province where its successive capitals Vatsagulma (Basim), Purika, and Pravarapura were situated, but none of these cities has survived. The world-famous cave monasteries of Ajanta (q.v.) are the most glorious monument of later Vākāṭaka art. But the sculptures of Ajanta cannot compare with any creations of genuine Gupta art. The earlier ones are of a somewhat lifeless, noble dullness. The later ones, sensuous but weak, with a predominance of juvenile types and pervaded with a passive melancholy, reflect the decadence of Gupta society.

*Painting.* Painting was highly developed. Society people (*nāgarika*), men as well as women, courtesans, and even maidservants were expected to be capable of drawing a fairly recognizable likeness and to judge the merits of a picture. Murals were common in temples, palaces, and rich mansions; even picture galleries (*citraśālā*) were known. The masses were familiar with the *yamapaṭas* that Buddhist and Jain monks as well as Hindu ascetics used for the illustration of their sermons. But very little has survived of all that: at Dengaposhi (Keonjhar district, Orissa) some paintings in a rock shelter, probably of the time of Candragupta II; some murals in Cave IV at Bagh (ca. 420–30); and murals in the Ajanta Caves XVI and XVII (end of the 5th cent.; PL. 457; I, PLS. 43–45, 47, 48; II, 381). The first (processions) still conserve the simplicity of the early classic style; the second (a procession, girls dancing a *garba* around a foreigner, two weeping women), now almost completely faded, are vigorous both in style and expression; the last (illustrations to Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, interpreted as secular genre scenes) show Gupta painting just beyond its zenith, technically perfect, but slightly overornate, effeminate, and tired. The technique everywhere is the same: a strong outline drawn on a thin layer of fine plaster, filled in with simple surfaces of vegetal or mineral colors. There is no shading, but a certain picturesque effect is obtained by a carefully elaborated overlapping of details and balance of colors. The individual figures have been well observed, though idealized; the scenery has a crude perspective in detail, but as a whole is built up, sometimes in continuing narration, as if rising on a hillside of curiously stylized cliffs.

THE DECLINE OF GUPTA ART. With the disintegration of the Gupta empire the character of Indian classic art underwent a change similar to that of the Italian Renaissance in the 16th century or of Roman art from the 3d century. Of the former numerous upper class, rich and cultured, only the courts of military emperors claiming semidivine status and an aristocracy of warring feudatories and mighty priests survived. The country was impoverished, the power of the individual princes and nobles insecure. Art had to be impressive and pompous, but quickly and cheaply executed. It became routine work, evolving well-established formulas to obtain the maximum superficial effect. But the underlying mood was rather resigned, tending toward pessimism and mysticism. What under the Gupta emperors had been a high ideal now became a canon of divine authority to be observed slavishly. Furthermore, the breakup of the empire into a number of new monarchies inaugurated the evolution of new local styles, resulting not only from the differences of local background but also from the incapacity of employers as well as artists — many risen from the ranks or even foreign barbarians (as in the late Roman empire) — to understand and appreciate the intentions of classic Gupta art.

*Late architecture.* The palaces (of which none survive) had to be replicas of the mountain of the gods, Kailasa (inscriptional evidence). The Buddhist monasteries became huge buildings, sometimes several stories high, with projecting monumental gateways (Sarnath, Sanchi No. XLV, Nalanda, Sirpur; Paharpur and Mainamati-Pattikera in East Pakistan). Also, temples and stupas had to be impressive. Either they were raised on pyramids of successive platforms, long flights of steps leading to the central sanctuary (stupas at Nalanda and Lauriya Nandangarh, Paharpur, Caṅkuṇa stupa at Parihasapura, Kashmir). Or stupas or chapels projected from the corners of their platforms (Nalanda stupa; additions to Deogarh temple; Gop). Or they were enlarged to monumental dimensions (Dhāmekh stupa at Sarnath, Kesariā stupa, renovation of the stupa at Manikyala by Yaśovarman of Kanauj; Yaśovarman's Teli-kā Mandir on Gwalior Fort; Parihasapura chaitya; central temple — now lost — at Ajanta), especially when they had to house a colossal metal image visible from a vast distance. In addition, groups of many modest temples were set up by ambitious feudatories anxious to gain the support of an influential priestly party (Deo Barnarak, Naresar, Jageshwar, Osia, Aihole).

Simultaneously, the temples became increasingly elaborate. A high shikara became the rule, at first still a succession of stories (e.g., Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur) later more and more often covered with a continuous ornament of *gavakṣas*. Their ground plans became more complicated by repeated projections and recessions of the façades, at last star-shaped (e.g., Muṇḍeśvarī at Bhabua, Bihar, A.D. 635; brick temples of Kharod and Pujaripali in Madhya Pradesh; Kherat in Malwa; Sona Tapan and Chinpur near Bankura in West Bengal, etc.). First (in the 6th cent.) the open mandapa in front of the shikara shrine was replaced by a cult hall (vimana) with three naves beneath slightly sloping roofs (Aihole in the Deccan; Lakroda in Gujarat; the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa; Jageshwar, Bageshwar, Baijnath, Dwarahat, and Palithi in the Himalaya). Then, in the 7th century, the plain exterior of this vimana was designed like a series of small chapels (Meguti at Aihole, A.D. 634, Malegitti Śivālaya at Badami; Pattadakal; early Pallava temples), or the open pillar hall (still found

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at Pathari and Osia) was closed by a balustrade (Osia; Kālīmātā and Kṛṣṇa temples at Chitorgarh). Finally, combinations of several shikara shrines into one building were attempted (Ṭhākurdvāra at Masrur, Kangra Valley; Dharmanātha at Dhamnar). But this last development found its consummation only in Greater India, in the stupa and temple on a pyramid of terraces, and some other types of this period.

Also, the decoration of the temple was elaborated more and more. The image niches and projecting chapels on the three sides (the fourth being the porch) were crowned by first one, then three, then five or more *gavakṣas* until these latter formed subsidiary shikaras. Their number increased, and they housed not only the images of the great deities (Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Brahmā, Kubera, later Gaṇésa and Durgā) but also of the guardians of the nine points of the compass (*parivāradevatā*). Around the entrance the figures of the seven planets (later nine, by the addition of Ketu and Rāhu, personifying the waxing and waning moon, i.e., the *navagraha*; see II, col. 75) were arranged, and the remainder of the wall area was decorated with scrollwork, jewelry, and minor godlings.

The Buddhist cave monasteries reached the apogee of their splendor in the early 6th century (last monasteries at Ajanta, Aurangabad, Kanheri, etc.). But as the number of monks began to dwindle, many became mere temples with or without a circumambulation passage or cella for the guardian monks (Ajanta VI, Aurangabad VI and VII, Ellora VI and VIII); in the chapel proper many statues, of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, monks, and donors, were set up. This type of monastery was taken over in Central Asia (Ming-oi, etc.) and China (Tun-huang, Yün-kang, Lung-mên). It reached its most elaborate form in the Do Thal and Tīn Thal (Caves XI and XII) at Ellora, the image-filled halls of which remind one of Far Eastern temples.

With the rise of the Saiva Kalacūrī dynasty the Brahmanical cave temple developed, originally of the same ground plan as the Buddhist cave temple (one or several cellas with or without a circumambulation passage, at the back of a pillared porch). The oldest one is the beautiful Rāmeśvara (XXI, early 6th cent.) at Ellora; next come the Nīlakaṇṭha (XXII) there and the minor caves at Elephanta; lastly (end 6th cent.) the four cave temples at Badami. The next step was that a linga shrine was placed in the center of a vast hall and of surrounding courts (oldest, Jogeśvarī Cave near Bombay, 6th cent., then the great cave at Elephanta and the Sītā-kī Nahānī at Ellora, which cover the end of the 6th and part of the 7th cent.).

*Late sculpture.* By the time of Kumāragupta I a certain mannerism had emerged in which all body forms were reduced to almost mathematical shapes. This tendency continued during the subsequent centuries, without, however, for the time being, undoing the naturalistic general impression of the figures. The 6th century, with its mixture of tragedy and heroism, developed pronouncedly "baroque" ideals. A type of superman (savior) found expression in gigantic statues: Bamian in Afghanistan, the "Great Bodhisattvas" and Buddha images at Ajanta, the huge *dvārapālas* and bodhisattvas at Jogeśvarī, Elephanta, Ellora, etc. Its female counterpart was a woman dragged down by the heaviness of her immense breasts and broad hips (e.g., Ajanta Cave I, river goddesses at the Kharod temple, etc.), as described in the then-developing Gauda style of poetry. Characteristic of these statues are the immense periwigs (*alakā*) worn by the men, which later became balloon-shaped crown-caps, and the "pot" style (*kumbha-bandha*) for the women (later terra cottas, Lakanātha from Sarnath, Sondani sculptures, reliefs in Ajanta Cave XXVI, Jogeśvarī, bust of a woman from Gwalior, etc.), and a growing predilection for excessive jewelry, innumerable pearls, and costly crowns. This latter fashion led to a reversion of the hair style in the late 6th century, the hair being bound up on top almost like the ascetics' hair style (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) and pushed into a jeweled miter. Toward the end of the century the figure type again became less exaggerated, as exemplified in Lakhamandal, Elephanta, and Ellora (PLS. 467–69). In the 7th century it became slim and elegant, even overelongated, in the east rather anemic and of an almost metallic hard cut (Siddhaikavīra from Sarnath, Samantabhadra of Nalanda), in the west soft and badly modeled (Kaman, Gaṅgā on Kangra Fort, Kanheri, late Ajanta reliefs, etc.), in the south still retaining a healthy character (Aihole, Badami, Mamallapuram, Talkad). Concurrent with this, the crowns became high cylinders, and the halos (elliptical and framed by a fringe of flames by the 6th cent.) were dragged out, like long, slim steles. In the 8th century the figures lost their sensitiveness, the costumes their delicacy, and the movements became unnaturally exaggerated (Teli-kā Mandir at Gwalior, Naresar, Masrur, Osia, etc.).

Technical competence was high, not only in stone, but also in the casting of bronzes (Brahmor in Chamba; Jageshwar and Katarmal in the Himalaya; Mainamati in East Bengal; Nalanda and Kurkihar in Bihar; Akota, Vasantgarh, and Lilva-Deva hoards in western India; Raipur, Sirpur, and Sopara statuettes in the Deccan), in many cases inlaid with gold, silver, and copper, and sometimes of considerable size. Of the colossal metal statues mentioned by the historians not one has survived. Numerous new iconographic types, mainly the religious imagery of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, were created, although many resulted from mutual borrowings and adaptations. Small-size models and sketches seem to have played an important role in this process.

*Late painting.* The same trends can be traced in the murals surviving at Bagh (Cave III), Ajanta (especially Caves I and II), Bhaja, Bedsa, Pitalkhora, Ellora (VI and XII), Aihole, and Badami (Cave IV). The "baroque" style of the 6th century (Badami, Ajanta II) was superseded by an elegant style in the murals and renovations of the 7th century, very charming and rich in inventions, though of a somewhat immature fashion-plate character, and amazingly erotic for the habitations of monks. However, in the former imperial capitals the best creations are lost, though we can get some idea of their splendor from their echo in the Buddhist murals of Central Asia and China. The last style phase, however, evidently executed by means of stencils, was clumsy: first, excessively elongated figures, almost dolls; at last, completely without proportion or expression.

*Minor arts.* Very little is preserved, except for fine seals and a few rings. But what we find depicted in sculptures and paintings reveals a very high quality, especially of textile work, jewelry, weapons, etc.

THE END OF GUPTA ART. By the end of the 6th century a breakup into the more elaborate "Eastern School" of the Middle Ages and the simpler "Western School" (under Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya of Valabhi, ca. 595–612) had set in. In the course of the 7th century quite a number of local styles began to evolve an individuality of their own. In Assam it was rather simple (Dah-Parbatiya, Tezpur district). In Orissa there was a slightly barbarian interpretation of the eastern Gupta style, Hindu under King Śaśāṅka of Gauda (Paraśurāmeśvara temple; later, Vaitāl Deul at Bhuvaneshwar) and in Khiching and Mayurbhanj, Buddhist under the Bhaumakara kings, especially Śubhākaradeva (Nalatigiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Sholapur). In Nepal the local art still existing in our time started with the sculptures of King Mānadeva and the Buddha statues on Sambhunatha hill; the exquisite bronze technique of Nepal is of late Gupta origin, though enriched by the Bengali-Buddhist (Pala) imagery. In the western Himalaya the style was mixed with Gandharan and Central Asian elements (Lakhamandal, Brahmor, Chatrarhi, the Guṃ Sūrya, Sandhyā-Devī temple at Jagatsukh, Fatehpur bronze Buddha). In Kashmir the art of the Kārkoṭa dynasty occurred; first it was late Gandharan (as at Bijbehara), then under the great conqueror Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa it absorbed the last Gupta style of Kanauj and Bihar and, with an admixture of late Roman and Chinese elements, it evolved into the medieval Kashmir style (PLS. 360, 361; Martand, Wangath, Narastan, Buniar, etc.). The earliest Gujar art occurred in Rajasthan and Gujarat (Bhinmal, Roda, Vasantgarh, Osia, etc.), with occasional Mongoloid strains. In Saurashtra Valabhi art (resuming the late Kshatrapa typology) evolved under the Maitraka emperors, represented by the tem-

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ples in Gop, Than, Kadvar, Kalasara, Sutrapada, Visavada, and Bileshwar. In Madhya Pradesh the local styles of the Somavaṃśa kings (Sirpur) and of the Paṇḍuvaṃśa kings of Mahakosala (Rāmcandra temple at Rajim) developed. Finally, the classic styles of the south, of the Chalukyas (Aihole, Badami, etc.), the Pallavas (Mamallapuram), and the Gangas (Talkad), evolved. Outside India Gupta influence made itself felt in Afghanistan, the Tarim Basin (Ming-oi, Kizil), China (Tun-huang, T'ien-lung-shan, etc.), Ceylon (Isurumuniya and royal palaces at Anuradhapura, Sigiriya), Burma (Prome and Thaton), Siam (Dvaravati, Srideb), southern Cambodia, Annam (Champa), Java (Dieng and earliest Buddhist temples), Malaya, and Borneo.

Everywhere the Gupta prototypes were taken over; at first they were slavishly copied, but they soon developed in another spirit or were misunderstood. By the middle of the 8th century the Gupta tradition had disappeared, superseded by the art of the Hindu Middle Ages. However, the latter was merely an elaboration — in the medieval authoritarian spirit — of what the Vākāṭakas and Guptas had created, ideologically as a revival of ancient Brahmanical traditions, but in reality a novel, most original, and highly refined art.

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Hermann GOETZ

Illustrations: PLS. 133–142.

**HAITI.** See AFRO-AMERICAN ART; ANTILLES.

**HALS, FRANS.** No document establishes the place or date of his birth, but there is good reason to believe that Hals was born in Antwerp between 1581 and 1585 and that his parents were Franchoys Hals, clothworker from Mechelen (Malines), and Adriaentgen van Geertenryck of Antwerp (J. van Roey, 1957). He was buried at Haarlem, Sept. 1, 1666. Frans's brother Joost, who was a painter (d. before Oct. 16, 1626), was probably also born in Antwerp; none of Joost's works have been identified. Hals's parents are not mentioned in the Antwerp census lists after 1585; it is likely that they were among the thousands of Flemings who immigrated to the Netherlands after Antwerp fell to the Spanish in 1585. The family settled in Haarlem, where Hals spent the rest of his long life. The earliest reference to Hals's parents in Haarlem is on Mar. 19, 1591, date of the baptism of Dirck Hals, the third son of the family to become a painter. According to the anonymous author of the biography of Karel van Mander published in the second edition of *Het Schilder-Boeck* (1618), Van Mander was Hals's teacher, probably only until 1603, when Van Mander left Haarlem to work on *Het Schilder-Boeck*. In 1610 Hals joined the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke.

It is not known when he married Annetje Harmansdr., his first wife. Their son Harmen (d. 1669), who became a painter, was baptized in Haarlem, Sept. 2, 1611. The record of this event gives the father as "Frans Hals van Antwerp." This appellation is found six times in the Haarlem archives, and in 1628 Hals himself signed his name that way; this is additional reason to call Antwerp his birthplace. Annetje died in June, 1615, leaving two children. The lengthy list of petty claims made against Hals by his creditors begins in 1616. During the same year (ca. Aug.–Nov.) he went to Antwerp; as far as we know this is the only time Hals left Holland during his lifetime. In Feb., 1617, Frans married Lysbeth Reyniers, who was still alive in 1675. Estimates of the number of children of the second marriage vary. Birth dates of eight are known, and at least three became painters: Frans II (1618–69); Reynier (1627–72); and Nicolaes (Claes; 1628–86). Another son, Jan (Johannes; active ca. 1635–50), whose pictures can be deceptively close to his father's (*Portrait of a Man*, 1648, Kiaer Coll., Fredrikstad, Norway), was probably a child of the second marriage. A daughter, Adriaentgen, married Pieter Roestraten, the Haarlem genre and still-life painter. Besides his five sons,

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Hals's pupils included his brother Dirck, Judith Leyster and her husband Jan Miense Molenaer, Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.), and Philips Wouwerman, and he had one pupil of genius: Adriaen Brouwer (q.v.).

Little is known about Hals's character. Only two self-portraits can be ascribed to him (how different from Rembrandt, who left a series of almost 100!). One is in the group portrait, *Officers of the Guild of Archers of St. George* (1639, Haarlem, Frans-Hals-Mus.); the other, of ca. 1650, exists in numerous versions, the best at the Clowes Foundation, Indianapolis. Neither shows the physiognomy of a man who was a combination of Falstaff and Cyrano, as 19th-century romantic critics liked to consider Hals. Hals did not leave a single drawing which could give us an idea of his private thoughts or his impression of the milieu in which he lived, and not a line written by him has been found. Some have tried to attribute to him the way of life of the merry drinkers he painted (PL. 143), but this is pure speculation. The earliest reference to Hals's conduct is a phrase written by the German painter Matthias Scheits in his copy of *Het Schilder-Boeck*; Scheits noted that in his youth Hals was "a great lover of life." Scheits probably heard this from his teacher, Philips Wouwerman, who was Hals's pupil. In 1718 Houbraken wrote that Hals was usually drunk every evening, and by the end of the 19th century his biographers accused him of being a wife beater as well as a chronic alcoholic. It is true that a Frans Hals was summoned before the burgomasters of Haarlem on Feb. 20, 1616, for drunkenness and beating his wife, but Bredius (1921) showed that the authorities admonished Frans Cornelisz. Hals, a weaver, not Frans Hals the painter; moreover, Hals was a widower in 1616 and did not have a wife to beat. Hals seems to have been a respected member of his community: in 1618–19 he was a member of the Haarlem society of rhetoricians, and he belonged to the Haarlem St. George militia company; in 1629 he cleaned and "changed" paintings from the monastery of the Brethren of St. John (possibly working on pictures by Geertgen tot Sint Jans); in 1644 he was made an officer of the Guild of St. Luke; and, most important, from the beginning to the end of his career he received commissions for portraits of distinguished Dutch theologians, professors, civic leaders, artists, and merchants.

Between 1616 and 1664 he painted six group portraits of militia companies and three of regents; no other leading Dutch painter made so many. Eight of the group portraits are at Haarlem in the Frans Halsmuseum. The ninth one, *The Company of Captain Reynier Reael*, is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Hals was called to Amsterdam in 1633 to make it; the honor was a singular one and the honorarium was high. He was chosen above the fashionable Thomas de Keyser and young Rembrandt, who had established his reputation as a leading portraitist a year earlier with the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*. Hals was to receive 66 guilders for each figure portrayed. (When Rembrandt was at the height of his fame he received about 100 guilders from each patron he represented in the *Night Watch*.) Hals failed to finish this picture, and it was finally completed by Pieter Codde (Bredius, 1913).

Hals had financial difficulties all his life. Even during the 1630s, when he enjoyed his greatest popularity, he was sued by his landlord, his butcher, and his shoemaker; in 1635 he failed to pay 4 stuivers to the Guild of St. Luke. By the 1640s he was receiving fewer commissions; this was the time when a considerable part of the Dutch public began to acquire a taste for the work of portraitists like Bartholomeus van der Helst, who could give his sitters a Van Dyckian air, and Hals did not follow the new mode. However, there were still those who preferred his subtle understatement to the ostentatious display of manners and clothes which was the specialty of the more popular portraitists, and he continued to receive important commissions. During the 1640s he painted four members of the Coymans family, one of the leading families of Haarlem; in 1643 Paulus Verschuur, the director of the largest textile mill in Rotterdam, posed for him (New York, Met. Mus.); and ca. 1649 he painted his most famous sitter, Descartes.

A list of the extant portraits Hals made during each decade of his career is instructive: in the 1620s, about 25 single portraits, 2 militia group portraits, 1 life-size family group, and 1 life-size double portrait; in the 1630s, about 65 single portraits and 3 militia group portraits; in the 1640s, over 40 single portraits, 1 regent group portrait, and 2 life-size family portraits. Between 1650 and 1666 he painted approximately 40 single portraits and two group portraits of regents. Hals's loss of popularity during his last years should not be exaggerated. After all, fewer commissioned portraits by the young Hals are known than by Hals the septuagenarian and octogenarian; only about ten single portraits and one militia group portrait can be dated between 1610 and 1619. The total number of extant portraits made in the course of more than a half century is about 195. Making all allowances for lost and unidentified pictures and for the vagaries of taste, the inescapable conclusion is that one of the most facile artists who ever lived was simply not very productive even when he was at the peak of his fame. Rembrandt, whose life was about twenty years shorter, made more than twice as many portraits as Hals.

The last decades brought additional difficulties. In 1642 his imbecile son Pieter was placed in solitary confinement because he was dangerous, and in the same year Hals and his wife asked the civic authorities to send their daughter Sara to the workhouse to help improve her lax morals. In the 1650s Hals's financial situation worsened — his meager possessions and five pictures were seized in 1654 by a baker in payment for an unpaid debt — and during the last years of his life he was apparently destitute. The guild exempted him from the payment of dues in 1661 because of his old age; in 1662 the burgomasters of Haarlem awarded him a yearly stipend of 150 guilders; and two years later he was given three wagonloads of peat and a 50-guilder increase in his subsidy. But for at least a short time before his death Hals was suddenly affluent: in 1665 he was able to act as guarantor for his son-in-law for the large sum of 458 guilders, 11 stuivers, possibly because of money received for his *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse* and *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse* (both 1664, Haarlem, Frans-Hals-Mus.). He died in 1666 and was buried at the Cathedral of St. Bavo, Haarlem, on Sept. 1 of that year.

An acceptable canon of Hals's work has not been published. C. Hofstede de Groot (1910), W. von Bode and M. J. Binder (1914), and W. R. Valentiner and K. Voll (1923) all endorsed about 300 paintings as authentic. Their lists include some school pieces and copies. The entry of "verschijden copijen naar Hals" in an inventory made of paintings owned by Heyndrik Willemsz. den Abt in 1631 (Haarlem Municipal Archive, St. Lucas Guild 196) is a cautionary reminder that Hals's pictures must have been copied almost as soon as they were made. However, the reduction of Hals's *œuvre* to 109 pictures by Trivas (1941) is far too radical. Recent study indicates that about 240 of Hals's pictures are extant. As we have seen, about 195 of these are portraits; except for a *St. Luke* and a *St. John* rediscovered in the U.S.S.R. in 1959 (I. Linnik, 1959), the rest are genre pictures. Seventeenth- and 18th-century inventories and catalogues cite a few additional religious pictures (Hofstede de Groot, 1–8), a *Vanitas* and *Five Senses* (Hofstede de Groot, 9 and 10), the tondos *Boy Drinking* and *Boy with a Flute* (formerly Schwerin, Staat. Mus., perhaps part of a series of the *Five Senses*), and a *Landscape* (Hofstede de Groot, 447). Hals's portraits range in size from a life-size group of 19 militiamen (1639) to exquisite tiny portraits made as models for engravers; most of them, however, are single half-length or three-quarter-length life-size pieces. Only one is a full-length life-size portrait (*Willem van Heythuysen*, ca. 1625, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Coll.). Hals's whole development can be seen at Haarlem, but he is well represented in most of the principal museums of the world. The United States is particularly rich in his works, with almost one-third of his *œuvre*. Not a single print by Hals is known. What is even more extraordinary is that generations of connoisseurs have not been able to turn up a single preliminary drawing for a painting. The drawing *Portrait of a Man* (London, Br. Mus.), called by Van Regteren-Altena (1929) a preparatory study for a portrait in The Hermitage (Leningrad), appears to be a copy of the painting. The handful of other drawings that have been ascribed to Hals are also un-

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convincing. It seems inconceivable that Hals never made preparatory studies. Probably some of his small painted portraits should be classified as preliminary sketches, though these small studies are also rare. The meager evidence indicates that most of the time Hals must have attacked his canvas directly.

There are other riddles. What Hals did before he was 25 or 30 years old (the age depends upon the birth year one accepts) remains a complete mystery. Perhaps these were *Wanderjahre*; or perhaps, like some other artists who lived a long time, he was a slow starter. The *Portrait of Jacobus Zaffius* (1611, Haarlem, Frans-Hals-Mus.) is his earliest extant dated picture, and his development, from this work up to the end of his long life, can be traced with the aid of dated portraits. On the basis of stylistic evidence a few pictures can be placed a year or two earlier than 1611: e.g., *Man Holding a Skull* (Birmingham, Eng., Barber Inst. of Fine Arts) and *Portrait of a Woman* (Derbyshire, Eng., Chatsworth Settlement). Their sober character and stiff poses show Hals's debt to painters like Cornelis Ketel; but what is more important, they already show evidence of the fluent brushwork which is Hals's hallmark. If the *Banquet in a Park* (ca. 1610; formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Mus., destroyed in World War II) was painted by Hals — and it is difficult to think of another artist who could have painted the picture — it indicates that at the beginning of his career Hals painted genre scenes of "gallant companies" that evolved from the Prodigal Son and Banquet of the Gods pictures of David Vinckeboons and the Haarlem mannerists, Van Mander, Hendrik Goltzius (q.v.), and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. A few years later a new generation of painters working in Haarlem (W. Buytewech, E. van de Velde, and Dirck Hals) developed the "gallant company" picture into a special branch of painting; but Hals's métier was portrait painting, and as far as we know, during the rest of his long career he never again painted a genre picture lacking a portrait-like character.

His *Banquet of the Officers of the Guild of Archers of St. George* (1616, Haarlem; PL. 144) is the first monumental landmark of the golden age of Dutch painting. The entire work exults in the healthy optimism and strength of the men who had helped establish the new Dutch republic. There is no precedent in the long history of Dutch group portrait painting (cf. A. Riegl, 1931) for the impression of immediacy he achieved or his forceful characterization of all 12 sitters. Even the still life on the damask tablecloth is a spectacular measure of Hals's new vision, and it makes those painted by the contemporary Haarlem still-life painters, Floris van Dyck and Floris van Schooten, appear dry and naïve. However, the picture's ties with the past should not be overlooked. The composition is an elongated version of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem's *Banquet of the Officers of the Guild of Archers of St. George* (1599, Haarlem); the change gave Hals's patrons elbowroom — something the sitters for Dutch group portraitists had never before enjoyed. Like his predecessors, Hals was able to introduce only a slight suggestion of air and atmosphere around the heavy black figures. A convincing diffuse light entered Hals's pictures only in the 1620s, the decade when he made an even more decisive break with the mannerist tradition of late-16th-century Dutch painting. Hals's predilection during the 1620s for plein-air effects and a light tonality shows that he was impressed by innovations that Caravaggio's Dutch followers H. Terbrugghen and G. Honthorst (qq.v.) brought back from Italy. His debt to the Utrecht Caravaggists is most evident in his half-length life-size genre pictures (PL. 146) of musicians, drinkers, actors, and laughing children. But there are also significant differences: he was not at all interested in their experiments with the dramatic chiaroscuro produced by artificial light; the expressions of his subjects never freeze into grimaces, and the subjects never look like costumed models posed in a studio. The vitality and spontaneity which characterize Hals's portraits were perfected in his genre pictures. It is clear that almost all Hals's extant genre pictures were made during the first half of his career, but it is difficult to establish a precise chronology for them because only one is authentically dated: the *Fruit Seller* of 1630 (Bridgnorth, Eng., Viscount Boyne Coll.; the still life in it was painted by Claes van Heussen, and he dated the picture). The date of 1623 on the so-called *Yonker Ramp and His Sweetheart* (New York, Met. Mus.) does not appear to have been inscribed by Hals himself, but on the basis of stylistic evidence that date is acceptable. Moreover, it is hard to correlate the genre pictures with the dated portraits because the former were always executed with much greater freedom then the latter. Hals never tried to hide his brushwork in his genre paintings; on the contrary, his unmistakable touch is discernible in all his pictures. An examination of even his commissioned portraits done in the traditional smooth manner shows that he added touches of broken color to them when they were finished in order to introduce his own style. During the last decades of his life he virtually ceased to make genre pictures. His brushwork, however, became bolder and more economical, and the slashing strokes that were once reserved for paintings of fisherboys and screeching women were used for commissioned portraits of respectable burghers and their wives.

Hals reached the height of his popularity during the 1630s. This period marked a shift toward a greater unity and simplicity in his style; the bright colors of the 1620s gave way to more monochromatic effects. A change in fashion helps account for the new sobriety; during these years the stately black regent costume replaced the multicolored and richly embroidered clothes of earlier decades. The dignified character of the *Regents of the Hospital of St. Elizabeth* (1641, Haarlem, Frans-Hals-Mus.) typifies the pictures Hals made in his last decades. By the middle of the 17th century Dutchmen were not so aggressive as their fathers had been. It is no accident that group portraits of militia companies were painted hardly anywhere in the Netherlands after 1650. The bravura of an earlier generation was replaced by a generation concerned with consolidating its gains. Hals's late penetrating portraits have the same restraint that characterizes the majestic works Rembrandt painted during this period. To be sure, Hals never had Rembrandt's productivity, depth, or universal range, but he did have Rembrandtesque moments; and conversely, Rembrandt had Halsian moods. This is overlooked in the comparison made so frequently between the young Frans and the mature Rembrandt. After 1640, portraits of sitters wrapped in sober introspection became more frequent than smiling ones. The classic frontal pose he gave his patrons helps account for the new dignity; deep olive greens and silver grays replaced the warm yellow ochers of the 1630s; his pictures became darker, and even the flicker of light on black costumes was reduced, until finally, as in Hals's masterpieces of the *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse* and *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse*, we are conscious only of white linen, hands, faces, and — one is tempted to add — souls.

Hals never lost his delight in the viscosity of oil paint, and he kept until the very end of his life his unsurpassed surety of touch, which could simultaneously draw, model form, define texture, and create lively spatial and surface accents. None of his pupils grasped the revolutionary aspects of his *alla prima* technique, and his contemporaries were blind to it — or, at any rate, they were mute about it. Neither Huygens nor Vondel mentioned Hals in their writings; Sandrart, who knew the Dutch art scene well, did not think him worth even a thumbnail biography. A century later Reynolds acknowledged that not a single painter had Hals's ability to capture the character of a sitter, but he thought it unfortunate that Hals did not have the patience to finish his pictures. Hals was a discovery of the 19th century. Courbet and the impressionists saw the qualities of his tonal painting and brushwork, and they were the first to dare rank with the greatest Western artists the man who had been dismissed by earlier critics as a mere "face painter."

SOURCES. S. Ampzing, Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland, Haarlem, 1628, p. 371; T. Schrevelius, Harlemias, Haarlem, 1648, p. 383; A. Houbraken, De groote Schouburgh, I, Amsterdam, 1718, pp. 90–95; J. C. Weyerman, De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-schilders, I, The Hague, 1729, pp. 352–57; A. van der Willigen, Les Artistes de Harlem, Haarlem, 1870; A. Bredius, discussion and transcriptions of documents, Oud Holland, XXXI, 1913, pp. 81–84, XXXII, 1914, p. 216, XXXV, 1917, pp. 71–73, XXXIX, 1921, p. 64, XLI, 1923–24, pp. 19–31.

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Seymour SLIVE

Illustrations: PLS. 143–146.

**HANDICRAFTS.** The word "handicrafts" refers to useful or decorative objects made by hand or with tools by a workman who has direct control over the product during all stages of production. The term also indicates the methods of production. Its meaning is close to the significance of "minor arts." Because of the tendency in much of the history of handicrafts to repeat and imitate models and prototypes, modern critical terminology has also used the expression for a qualitative evaluation of certain examples of painting, sculpture, and architecture; in this use the term indicates that these products have not succeeded in reaching the highest levels of art but are rather documents of the average output of a period.

The diversity of handicraft techniques, materials, trading practices, and producing organizations in the various civilizations makes certain general statements difficult. Aspects of specific handicrafts may be studied more closely in the following articles: AUTOMATA; CERAMICS; COINS AND MEDALS; ENAMELS; FEATHERWORK; FURNITURE; GLASS; GOLD- AND SILVERWORK; INLAY; LACQUER; METALWORK; MOSAICS; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; PUPPETS AND MARIONETTES; STAINED GLASS; STUCCO; TAPESTRY AND CARPETS; TEXTILES, EMBROIDERY, AND LACE.

SUMMARY. General considerations (col. 269). Antiquity (col. 271). Western Europe (col. 273). Non-European civilizations (col. 278): *India; China; Islamic civilization.*

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. While handicrafts include many activities which normally do not form a subject of esthetic evaluation and which serve to satisfy exclusively practical needs (e.g., the work of tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, masons), almost every kind of handicraft has furnished high-quality products that may be considered true works of art. Handicraft products vary markedly in materials, techniques, and the skill with which they are executed. Economic factors that may affect the production of handicrafts include demand and the means of the consumers.

The distinction between handicrafts and industry is based not only on differences in techniques but also on economic ends and methods of organizing labor. The term "industry" generally applies to production involving large quantities, limited concern with quality, and collective rather than individual output. However, since the industrial revolution and the changes in construction techniques through science, the quality level of industrial production has risen considerably. While art in contrast to industry — until modern times, at least — could be considered as production designed to yield the highest possible quality with a sacrifice of quantity, in handicrafts as opposed to both art and industry the relative values of quantity and quality are different in many ways. The general law that quality is inversely proportional to quantity has some validity for handicrafts as well as for art, however — the goal of handicrafts being the unique, as opposed to the mass-produced. A theoretical distinction between art and handicrafts (which has led to a social distinction between artist and artisan) has been made only since the Renaissance. (However, there was some awareness of the possibility of a theoretical distinction as early as the great ancient civilizations.) Various changes in the Western European world indicate that these theoretical distinctions were not fully made until after the period of maximum prestige and diffusion of handicrafts.

Between the 11th and 14th centuries, handicrafts were principal components of the structure of European society: They were a chief source of the cultural development of the cities, thereby furnishing the basis of municipal autonomy; they gave rise to active trade in merchandise and thus to a vast network of cultural relations; and they promoted indirectly the creation of great masterpieces of architecture, painting, and sculpture. If such masterpieces are compared to other products of the same technical level which answered particular and immediately practical requirements, the need for a clear distinction between the spiritual and the utilitarian becomes apparent. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were aware that Giotto and Simone Martini were not merely superior artisans and that the forms of their art were outstanding more for human content than for refinement of execution. In the 15th and 16th centuries the distinction was given a deeper theoretical basis. But the separation of handicrafts from the fine arts was not only a matter of the history of thought; it was also connected with changes in political, economic, and social systems and with the evolution of science and technology. This separation was a long and involved process and one which is not yet completed (see below, *Western Europe*).

Handicrafts, or at least their highest expression, were for a long time subject to the directives of the courts and the great centers of religious culture. Only in the late Middle Ages, with the affirmation of the liberties of the cities, did handicrafts acquire independence and constitute the basis of a bourgeois class able to exercise concrete political influence. However, when the signories brought into existence a new kind of political power, the princes sought interpreters of an elite culture in the individual personalities of artists, rather than in the collective personalities of artisans. The growing stratification of classes by social function and economic means led not only to a prolongation of the economic role of handicrafts but also to the formation of many new branches of handicraft activity, which became more and more specialized. Finally, several kinds of activity were required to produce a single object.

The fate of handicrafts seems to have been linked with the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the cities, that is, with the clear division between town and country. Handicrafts add to the value of material the value of human labor and make possible the accumulation of wealth by the city dweller; the country dweller can accomplish this by the ownership of productive land. If the finished handicrafted piece is to constitute a transmissible heritage, its value must not depreciate with the passage of time, and it must be durable; production as a whole must tend to retard changes in taste. Such necessities strongly influence the organization and technical development of handicrafts. The value of an object is in part correlated with patient, detailed work — with the complexity and difficulty of production. In contrast to industry, which always tends to simplify forms, handicrafts tend to complicate them, sometimes even whimsically, or to attain extreme refinement in the choice and preparation of materials.

In the history of handicrafts, the need to protect against competition has led artisans to use secret processes and to emulate the products of others. In certain tribal societies specialized craft groups are under the protection of magico-religious regulations which preserve artistic secrets and transmit them to the initiate. In urban societies, in the course of generations, the activities of an individual workshop frequently gave impetus

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to the formation of other workshops linked to the first by family ties. A given city might become specialized in a particular type of production, and protection of a shop's business would become part of the larger process of fostering the production of a whole city or even a whole state; thus there arose legally constituted professional associations of various categories of artisans, which protected the general conditions of the market, set up rules of competition within the different categories, and favored the exchange of experience as well as improvement in the quality of production. This general trend explains how the techniques of handicrafts multiplied through the accumulation of work experience, without use of the discoveries of science; it must be kept in mind, however, that in the centuries when handicrafts truly flourished, science, which was then merely systematic and speculative, did not readily lend itself to practical application. When science assumed an experimental character, handicrafts were undergoing a crisis. At that time artists were seeking contact with science in order to analyze nature rather than to serve utilitarian ends. The limit of handicraft techniques can clearly be observed during the scission of artistic activity in the Renaissance and baroque periods, when supreme efforts were made to raise quality handicrafts to the level of art; these strivings succeeded only in substituting the ideal of elegance for ideals of the beautiful, of ingenuity for talent, and of the arbitrary and capricious for creative originality. It was then that handicrafts broke their own traditions and accepted cautiously some discoveries of science and mechanics, always bringing them into line with the accustomed procedures of the shop. Handicrafts branched out into ever-greater technical specialization and were transformed into luxury art to serve the demands of the richest and most conservative classes of society. There soon arose new methods of organizing handicraft work, and concentration of the means of production resulted; at the same time the first manufacturing establishments were begun. The replacement of handicrafts by industry, even in high-quality production, has been accelerated, but handicrafts still survive. Their cleavage from higher artistic activities had serious repercussions both on the average quality of the handicraft product and on the development of architecture and representational art (see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS; EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS). In the 19th century John Ruskin and William Morris (qq.v.) made pleas for a revival of quality handicrafts and even of medieval guilds of artisans. The supporters of a real introduction of handicrafts into the framework of industrial production have based their arguments on the need for the experience of the artisan (see INDUSTRIAL DESIGN).

Handicraft products are now considered valuable material for the reconstruction of the esthetic history of civilization; their historical cycle has been almost completed. From the evaluation of individual objects historians have gradually passed to general evaluations, recognizing the creative nature of the production. The output of primitive cultures and that of a spontaneous and popular character have been reevaluated on the basis of esthetic considerations.

In addition to the great branches of handicrafts, related forms of activity which do not have commercial exchange as an end in itself often are artistically interesting. In this sphere are included buildings of certain types (see ARCHITECTURE); utensils, tools, and furnishings used by farmers and fishermen in their work and at home; domestic handicrafts (lace, embroidery, etc.); and some forms of folk art (q.v.). Rural handicrafts, which may be either related to or independent of urban handicrafts, are disappearing with the elimination of certain traditional distinctions between town and country and with the spread of industrial products in areas far from centers of production.

ANTIQUITY. Within the first agricultural societies, handicrafts probably constituted a specialization of agriculture and related activities; from these early societies we must exclude, however, those of the first prehistoric period (see PREHISTORY), in which the relation between handicrafts and art cannot be expressed in the critical terms appropriate to later cultures. (The connection of handicrafts to agricultural activities is suggested by the Semitic root *hrs*, "to plow," from which the word for artisan is derived in many Semitic languages.) In all primitive societies the origin of handicrafts has been considered an act of divine revelation; this has helped give the community of artisans an esoteric character, accentuated by rules safeguarding professional secrets. With the development of urban life, the various handicraft specialties became concentrated in their own quarters of the city. (This was true of the different regions of the ancient, medieval, and modern worlds.) When the first urban agglomerations arose in Mesopotamia around great temples, artisans were added to the staff of the temple and produced the articles necessary for worship and occasionally even participated in religious ceremonies. Later, when secularization of the state took economic monopoly away from the great sanctuaries, the artisans acquired a certain independence and could sell their products on the market or work on order, generally for the royal household. (Slaves worked side by side with the artisans.) Comparable phenomena may be observed in the different civilizations of the ancient Near East.

* *

In ancient Greece and Rome artisans were men engaged in manual activities, including occupations considered fine arts. The famous passage in Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, III, 10) that presents Socrates' theories on absolute beauty mentions, without establishing any hierarchy of merit, the painter Parrhasios, the sculptor Kleiton, the corselet maker Pistias, and an anonymous painter of hetaerae. Artisans were considered indispensable for everyday life but, nevertheless, enjoyed very little esteem. The *technitai* and the *artifices* (craftsmen), whether citizens, metics, or slaves, were always regarded as inferior to philosophers, politicians, and warriors. Not only did Aristotle exclude craftsmen from citizenship (*Politics*, 3, 3, 2: "The best form of state will never admit the artisan to citizenship because the artisan class works with its hands for the community in the same way in which a slave works for his master"), but even authors who appreciated the educational and political worth of the arts, such as Plutarch (*Pericles*, 2) and Lucian (*Somnium*, 9), disparaged the artist as one who lived by the work of his own hands. In Sparta and the aristocratic communities citizenship was denied to artisans, and only metics and slaves might pursue the arts. However, in the more democratic societies such as Athens, all citizens, metics, and slaves could practice the various trades; furthermore, the evaluation of the products of arts and handicrafts was not influenced negatively by the low social prestige of their producers. When the Greeks praised the *banausos* (craftsman) who created a work of higher art, they magnified his work, which would remain an eternal document of a superior craft, but at the same time they separated it from the human personality of the author, who always remained merely a *banausos*. In Rome this attitude of approbation was lacking, a fact which Cicero (*Tusculanae disputationes*, 1, 4) lamented: "If Fabius was praised because he painted, might perhaps we not have also had at Rome artists to place alongside Parrhasios and Polykleitos? *Honos alit artes* [honor nourishes the arts]." In Rome that *honos* was absent — the honor or praise which alone could stimulate the artisan to become an artist. Gradually the lowly status of artisans in both Greece and Rome caused them to unite to protect their livelihood and defend their interests — in *koina* in Greece and in *collegia* or *universitates* in Rome. These associations were powerful and well organized in the Hellenistic period. At least as early as Diocletian, the communities of artisans were under tight control of the central power; provision was made for artisans' associations in the legislation of Theodosius. There were, however, more slaves than free artisans under the Roman Empire.

Every ancient locality boasted some outstanding handicraft of its own. Thus Athens and Corinth had no rivals in vases and bronzes; Babylonia, Tralles, and Phoenicia were famous for leather goods; Egypt, Phoenicia, and — under the Roman Empire — the valley of the Rhine excelled in glass; Samos, Aegina, and Etruria were outstanding for jewelry. Even minor inhabited centers had their own characteristic products; in Etruria, for example, tomb paintings were important at Tarquinia, tripods at Vulci, alabaster reliefs at Volterrae, and cano-

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pic urns at Clusium (Chiusi). These specialties often survived even after the Empire had been destroyed.

Silvio Ferri

Western Europe. The handicrafts of the very early Middle Ages were based on Roman handicrafts. Producing generally mediocre work, the craftsmen followed changes in taste determined by the creative activities of greater artists. The same motifs were used again and again, as in the many mosaic floors done in both East and West. Ivory carving and the casting of silver and bronze objects were entrusted not to individual artisans but to associations or groups of freemen or serfs. Each seignorial community, with its artisans, could boast of a kind of productive self-sufficiency.

The burdensome taxes of the Byzantine Empire made it difficult to obtain raw materials; because of the need for considerable initial capital, there arose workshops of artisans, especially in the East. Numerous shops grouped together in their own quarters according to their specialties: the glass blowers near the Gate of Glass on the Golden Horn, the bronze smelters in the Chalcographia between Hagia Sophia and the forum, the gold and silver smelters in the Mesé (the main east–west street of Byzantine Constantinople), and goldsmiths and weavers near the imperial palace. Except for the state silk workshops, the enterprises were privately owned, and the masters were united in associations. Apprenticeship lasted two years, the master often paid by the apprentice's family for his teaching. Prices were fixed by law, and large fines were imposed for increasing or decreasing them. Artisans attached to the service of the palace and the monasteries produced religious objects.

In the West, the economic reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, which bound freemen to their place of habitation or indirectly prevented their passage from one trade to another, led to the growth of hereditary trades; this growth was further favored by the barbarian invasions lasting from the 5th to the 9th century. Barbarian jewelry, both ornamental and religious, was distinguished from local works of art because of its homogeneity of ornamental motifs. The surviving examples come mostly from tombs. Barbarian jewelry was probably spread by the tribes themselves, or perhaps, as is indicated in a text in Lyons (*CIL*, XIII, 1945), by colonies of Eastern merchants in the West.

The closed economic system of the Middle Ages led, in the West, to a development of local handicrafts; all the needs of the local feudal nucleus were met by a group of artisans through their various specialties. The great monasteries, which were also organized during this same period in self-sufficient communities, similarly had their own artisans, who were originally converts or monks. Because of increased demand, monastic artisans later came to include serfs and freemen. Within this economic system, in which trade was quite limited, there arose traveling artisan organizations such as that of the *maestri comacini*, which was composed of masons furnished with building tools and able to build structures on traditional models. These masons were accompanied by stonecutters, who had the job of sculpturing capitals and making presbyterial furniture. However, those handicrafts which required more precious raw materials always remained attached to the abbeys and the courts.

In the Romanesque and Gothic periods, changes in social and political conditions led to overproduction within the closed economies. Meanwhile the lay artisans were detaching themselves from the great monasteries. With the movement toward urban centers the growth of handicraft associations was stimulated; indeed, these had never completely disappeared. Ordinances and statutes regulated apprenticeship, prices, and wages, supervising the special interests of the different occupations and preventing free competition as well as providing material and spiritual assistance to their members. As a rule, an individual had to belong to an association in order to practice its trade. However, an artisan freely entered and left a workshop, and, if he wanted, he could move with his work companions to another location when a job was completed. Within the workshop the activity of the artisan was subject to the artistic direction of a master builder — generally an architect — who gave orders, divided and supervised the work, and left much of the actual execution to individual initiative; the entire administrative and financial responsibility belonged to an agent or overseer. Sometimes individual artisans or entire workshops were transferred from one organization to another; thus styles were spread over great distances in the Middle Ages. The demands of the great public works and the trade in manufactured articles, first with nearby centers and later with more distant ones, led the artisan to keep improving the quality of his products; there was some specialization and division of labor. Medieval documents of cathedral workshops offer a clear picture of the use of specialized craftsmen such as masons, carpenters, stonecutters, glass blowers, mosaicists, tinsmiths, cabinetmakers, and bronze smelters. As a rule, the more eminent artisans worked in their own shops. Information on professional handicraft associations is furnished by statutes preserved in considerable number, of interest for their information on the internal organization, privileges, and spiritual obligations of members. Worthy of note is the record in the *Livre des métiers de Paris* that Estienne Boileau, provost of the merchants of Paris from 1258 to 1268, placed goldsmiths in the first rank of the six bodies of masters in Paris; goldsmiths' work he felt, was the most noble because it served the king.

Handicraft production in the Middle Ages everywhere reached the level of great art; there even existed a superiority, lasting until the Renaissance, of the so-called "minor" arts over the "fine" arts. The beauty and costliness of the objects produced by craftsmen contrast with the humble anonymity of their makers. Centers of production changed according to the period and the specific art, although often located close to import routes or sources of raw materials. In the Early Christian period, for example, weaving shops were numerous in Syria, the terminal area of the silk caravan route from China. Many shops for ivory carving were found at Antioch and Alexandria, near the centers of ivory production. Egyptian bronze-lamp works were not far from the copper mines of Cyprus. However, such strategic location was not always necessary; imported raw materials could be transported without too much difficulty. Early Christian ivory-carving shops existed in Milan, Rome, and southern Gaul; weaving shops were found in Egypt. Byzantine handicrafts had their seat in the capital city, and only much later did there develop a limited monastic production; this was true even of the great monasteries of Byzantium itself — for instance, the Monastery of the Studion or those of Mount Athos. Jewelry of a barbarian type appears to have been widespread, but its centers of greatest production were the courts of kings and dukes — in Italy, for example, at Pavia, Cividale, and Spoleto. In the Carolingian period, the largest centers for both jewelry and ivory carving were monastic communities; in these the cultural activity of the time was concentrated. Other large centers included Tours, Metz, Lorsch, Reims, and, for a short time, Rome and Milan. Later, centers of production proliferated; they can best be studied according to the raw materials and techniques they used.

Handicraft products, especially those of small size, could be transported readily, and traffic in such items helped to diffuse stylistic tastes rapidly and to open new markets. Thus ivories and tin ampullas and devotional objects made in the East spread the themes of Syro-Palestinian iconography in the West during the Early Christian period. The great silk caravan route served to introduce into European markets not only Chinese but also Sassanian handicrafts, particularly fabrics, metalwork, and pottery. Byzantium — through its conquests, direct contact with subject peoples (including the Slavs), and official relations with the Carolingians and the Ottonians — spread its handicrafts widely by land and sea. However, the really broad diffusion of Byzantine handicrafts in the West came after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Islamic handicrafts, such as glass, metalwork, pottery, ivory, and cloth, were the objects of trade soon established between the two opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Earlier, rapid commerce in small handicrafts had been kept alive along the routes used by pilgrims to reach the Holy Land or such European shrines as Santiago de Compostela. Soon after A.D. 1000, handicrafts of small size and modest

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cost were being transported along several routes: the great Frankish route which reached Rimini through the Saint Bernard and Mont Cenis passes and which continued down the Adriatic shore; along the route from Rimini to Rome; and along the four roads from the east of France to the Pyrenees. Workshops were established at Limoges, located on one of the direct routes to Spain; from that country, at least in the early period, there were imported vitreous pastes for the manufacture of enamels.

Guglielmo MATTHIAE

As has been noted, with the rise of cities handicrafts were no longer exclusively in the service of court and clergy. Workshops produced also for a new secular society of merchants and bankers, while the guilds, whose role remained essentially an organizing and protective one, participated more and more in the artistic and political life of the city. But the workshop, which in its group undertakings may have been an excellent form of artisan organization, contained the seeds of disintegration in the first affirmation of individualistic aspirations; eventually the artist was to be separated from the artisan in a crisis of the traditional organization of production. The division between artists and craftsmen did not take place, however, until the beginning of the 16th century; throughout the 15th century the artist (painter or sculptor) still kept to the way of life and method of work of the artisan. In many shops, even in those of the most famous masters, orders were accepted for works on the borderline between handicrafts and art, as for the decoration of furniture. A new esthetic consciousness was favored by the development of Humanistic theory and by the formation of the signories; the artist put himself at the direct service of a prince and became a courtier, art expert, and free intellectual.

It is significant that while Cennino Cennini subordinated art to science and regarded his treatise on painting as a technical handbook for the artisan, Leon Battista Alberti (q.v.) defined painting as a science and took up Horace's theme of *ut pictura poesis* ("as is poetry, so is painting"). From Alberti's time until the end of the 18th century, almost all art treatises argued in behalf of the fine arts, trying to separate from crafts the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture in order to raise these three to the status of liberal arts held by poetry and music. The clear distinction of rank, both theoretical and social, between the fine and minor arts based the fine arts on science, history, and invention and the minor arts on hand labor, practice, and imitation. Leonardo da Vinci considered painting a liberal art, but not sculpture, which was too fatiguing and mechanical. In the 17th century the English thought only the painting of miniatures and water colors fit for a gentleman because these arts did not dirty the hands. The separation of art from handicrafts was to be advanced by the 16th–17th-century transition from the idea of art as science to art as poetry. The manual and technical aspects of artistic creation, still respected in the 16th century, were later on set apart and depreciated more and more.

The emancipation of artists from the guilds led to the formation of the first art academies created on the model of the literary ones [e.g., the academies of Bertoldo di Giovanni, Leonardo da Vinci (qq.v.), and Baccio Bandinelli]. In Rome it was Michelangelo who forswore the traditional shop and the principle of collaboration associated with it, and who persuaded Paul III to exempt Roman sculptors by decree from the jurisdiction of the guilds. In addition, the Accademia dei Virtuosi was established; in 1593 the Accademia di San Luca was revived. The latter, while welcoming gilders, embroiderers, and engravers, gave hierarchic supremacy to painters, sculptors, and architects. In Florence, Vasari promoted the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno. In 1570 Florentine painters were exempted from membership in the guild of doctors and apothecaries; sculptors were similarly exempted from the builders' guild. Examples of handicraft products that are close to the fine arts are found in the work of the goldsmith Cellini (q.v.) or the miniature painter Giulio Clovio. Tommaso Garzoni (*La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, Venice, 1585) indicates the multiplicity of handicraft specializations (most of them very humble) and how varied and broad was their terminology.

Because of the shift of interest from ornament to the meaning of the image, the decorative arts as well as handicrafts underwent radical renovation. The ideal of monumentality and the importance given to so-called "history" painting in the principal classical formulas supplanted the medieval taste for beautiful material and abstract decoration: mosaics gave way to frescoes; bronze took the place of ivory; woodcuts replaced miniatures; enamel work declined to become a mere decorative accessory. Pottery, made in imitation of painting, included display pieces as well as useful objects. When, at Urbino, Raphaelism gave way to genre, a certain decadence became apparent. Even ivory work and tapestry declined because of their attempts to emulate sculpture and painting; the decorative arts were subordinated to the fine arts by virtue of imitating them and using their inventions or design.

From the 14th century onward, handicrafts had developed — at least in some areas — to the point where they depended heavily on capital and on the market. It is sufficient to recall that Florence about 1400 contained 84 major silk factories, which employed 15,000 workers and exported cloth to all Europe, from London to Constantinople. Florence was also in the forefront for the quality of its furniture and pottery. In 1474 the city had 84 workshops for engraving and inlay, 54 marble workshops, 44 goldsmith and silversmith workshops, and dozens of shops of painters and sculptors. Growth of international trade and capitalism, by accelerating mechanization, favored the trasformation of handicrafts into industry. Mechanization was introduced first into textile manufacture; competition existed among the textile factories of Lucca, Siena, Genoa, Milan, and Venice. (In the 16th century Venice annually exported cloth and textile worth 10 million sequins, or zecchini, and sent an amount worth $1^1/_2$ million to the rest of Italy.)

Medals were an original creation of 15th-century Italy; the development of smelting and accurate execution guaranteed artistic esteem for the products of such artists as Pisanello, Matteo de' Pasti, and Luciano Laurana. In the 16th century, use of the pendulum press hastened the decay of the art of making medals, while still permitting new esthetic possibilities in coins.

Mechanization of printing put an end to hand copying and hand illustration of books. Woodcutters, engravers, and miniature painters were employed in the decoration of pages. As early as the 15th century the first secular ateliers appeared, and they produced playing cards and sacred or profane pictures which in technique and style were perfectly adapted to the use of printed characters. Copper engraving was to serve for centuries to illustrate books and to circulate the visual arts much more widely; often copper engravings reached high levels through the work of great artists. In the 16th century, bookbinding ceased to be the work of goldsmiths. Its decoration was stamped with a roller on leather; in general, decoration became less costly, though it was not devoid of esthetic effect.

Industry made use of artists, calling upon them to design models for tapestries (e.g., Raphael's tapestries woven in Brussels), cloth, pottery, carved floors and ceilings, and furniture. This division of the plan from its execution is evidenced by the usual signature with the inscriptions *invenit* and *excudit*. The artist not only ceased to execute the work himself but also was ignorant of its techniques; therefore esthetic quality was almost always dependent on the interpretation of the executors in their stylistic translation of the plan, according to the nature of the material and the particular handicraft technique.

The great commercial importance of much production caused competition among the various European states in order to overcome foreign monopolies. The first large-scale attempt to nationalize and regulate all artistic industries took place in France, where in 1599 the king granted the Milanese Turati the means to open factories for spun gold in Paris; in 1607, the king favored the creation of royal manufactures. Later, in 1662, Colbert joined them to the Manufacture Royal des Gobelins, expanded in 1667 into the Manufacture des Meubles de la Couronne. Colbert's attempt was a grandiose one — to organize handicrafts

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according to industrial principles, at the same time regulating the esthetic aspect of production through the dictatorship of the painter Charles Lebrun. The fact that designs were confided to artists such as Vouet and Lebrun explains the influence of monumental baroque on the handicrafts of the 17th century.

The French royal factories, distrusted by the old guilds, soon became the most important factories in Europe. Until that time the best handicrafts had always been destined for the courts and the aristocracy, but in the 18th century the number of customers grew larger; the *bourgeoisie* was on the rise, and the aristocracy was giving up its great palaces and living in apartments which required furniture of small dimensions and small decorative objects. The rococo was a new triumph of the taste for beautiful material, stylization, and ornament. Ivory and enamel returned to favor and were used in France, Vienna, Dresden, and London for snuffboxes, jewelry cases, and toilet objects; mirrors, crystal, porcelain, precious woods, and marbles were also prized. The most varied handicraft specialities were utilized for furniture; besides the traditional inlaid work in exotic woods, ivory, marble, stone, and bronze, Boulle work was originated in France under Louis XIV, together with lacquered and painted furniture. Wide use was also made of decorative ceramics and cameos. Thus painters, tapestry makers, carvers, and bronze workers worked together in the execution of a single object. Rococo decoration was conceived by architects and painters as a harmonious synthesis of various handicrafts — furniture, mirrors, tapestries, and stucco; painting was limited to coverings and panels — that is, to simple decorative elements of the whole. It is significant that Watteau's master, Audran, was a decorator. The influence of tapestry work and porcelain on the painting of Boucher and other rococo painters is noteworthy. Catalogues of ornament also were compiled. Until the work of Albertolli and others in the 19th century, these catalogues exercised considerable influence on taste; they were authentic handbooks of handicrafts, while also favoring that standardization which characterizes industrial production.

Although luxurious handicrafts triumphed in France, where the *bourgeoisie* was weak, in more economically progressive England, as early as the 17th and 18th centuries, products were developed which were genuinely utilitarian and inexpensive, in anticipation of modern industrial output. The weight of economic factors in determining production activity became greater than in the past. A crisis occurred in gold- and silverwork (flourishing again in 18th-century taste), which came to a head in 1722 as the result of wars and the bankruptcy of the financier John Law in 1720. This crisis brought enormous advantages to porcelain, which was less costly than silverware and soon became stylish. At the end of the 17th century, the production of fine earthenware was thriving in England and Holland, and imports from China and imitations of Chinese ware increased greatly. In 1709 the process of making hard porcelain of the Chinese type, which required kaolin, was discovered at Meissen, Saxony; this discovery led to a struggle to monopolize the raw material.

The old craft associations with their privileges had become a conservative element; though protected by the kings, they were disliked by the new bourgeois class. In an attempt at reform the king of France, with the Edict of Turgot in 1774–76, suppressed the handicraft guilds; they were subsequently reestablished, again dissolved during the French Revolution, reestablished once more, and finally abolished by Napoleon in 1806. It was inevitable that they would be sacrificed to the new economic principle of free trade. This turning point in handicrafts became apparent about the middle of the 18th century and was due in part to increasing demand (which caused a gradual decline in quality), but chiefly to the growth of industrial production. In England the modern factory, incorporating many machines and laborers, was organized by the capitalist. Everywhere technical progress favored utilitarian production of glass (especially in Belgium) and the working of iron. The new textile industry made great strides forward and even succeeded in producing carpets and tapestries by machine; in these, however, industry imitated craft models, producing debased versions for mass distribution.

Thus the split between artistic creation and productive activity became more pronounced. Artists felt estranged from both industrial production and handicrafts, which were no longer a creative force, and considered themselves the defenders of the idealism of art against utilitarian materialism; a new concept arose, that of the "artist-priest," who was not an artisan but who was disdainfully isolated from society or in conflict with it (Schiller, Schelling, Coleridge). When Prince Albert promoted a show of artistic industrial products in London in 1851, Ruskin denounced the mediocrity of Victorian products, blaming the factory and the machine, which deprived the workman of an intimate relation with material and form. William Morris even spoke in favor of a rebirth of medieval handicrafts with their guilds; he founded a center of production (painting, engraving, metalwork, furniture, etc.) which had great importance for the formation of Art Nouveau (q.v.). In the last years of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, there occurred throughout Europe an apparent revival of handicrafts; but since this was essentially a reaction of intellectuals against industrial mechanization, the movement hastened rather than delayed the historical decline of crafts. Not only were the products of these elite crafts so expensive that they could be bought only by the wealthy classes, but industry speedily repeated in cheap materials the types created by artists; this gave rise to a uniform and almost universally diffused style. Although the reaction to industrialism did not cause a true revival of handicrafts, it did serve to point out the problem of achieving quality in industrial production. Laborde, Semper, and Muthesius maintained that machines were not necessarily incapable of producing objects of high esthetic quality; they could do so if properly used. Later developments in this field belong rather to the history of industry than to that of handicrafts, which is now perhaps almost over (see INDUSTRIAL DESIGN).

After the disappearance of the shops and handicraft guilds, other means of providing for the training of masters were needed. In France, in 1794, the Ecole Polytechnique and the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers were established. The second half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th saw everywhere the establishment of professional schools to train the creators of forms as well as technical directors, art teachers, and specialized workers. After World War I, Walter Gropius (q.v.) founded the Bauhaus at Weimar, which had as its goal the preparation of a class of artist-planners for industry. A constant concern was always the safeguarding of the esthetic culture and experience historically linked to handicrafts, so that this culture and experience might not be dissipated by industrial technology or undermined by the economic goals of capitalism. The historical example of handicrafts was counted on and deliberately perpetuated, not only to improve the esthetic quality of the industrial product but also to furnish a moral lesson to industry on the obligation to strive for quality. Such an approach was significant in the German *Werkbund* (1907), similar English institutions, and the first phase of the Bauhaus. The same approach, fundamentally a moralistic one, as well as the desire to demonstrate art values as absolutes which can be reached through the most simple, traditional, and at times even archaic technical processes, have led various modern artists (e.g., Picasso and Matisse) to produce pottery, tapestries, cloth and jewelry. In Aubusson, France, a tapestry factory directed by Jean Lurçat was established for the purpose of showing that modern forms can be expressed through traditional techniques. However, in these 20th-century examples there is no question of reviving a dead system; rather, individual attempts have been made by artists aware of the need to seek in all the creative forms of mankind the history of esthetic experience.

Luigi SALERNO

NON-EUROPEAN CIVILIZATIONS. *India.* In order to understand the handicrafts of the Orient, esthetic and religious attitudes must be considered; such attitudes often inspired even the most humble handwork. In Vedic and Hindu India, every creative expression was believed to be derived from religious inspiration. Creative expression was considered in some way a

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manifestation of life, which in itself was felt to be holy. Painting, sculpture, music, the dance, architecture, and the decorative and applied arts were linked to one another; a vision of man and the universe as an integrated whole prevailed. The value and esthetic quality of the work of art, whatever it might be, were further determined by the spatial proportions, by principles which might be called geometric, and by an elaborate symbolism of color. The science of proportions (*pramāṇa*), which was based on relationships of length, width, and thickness, was applicable not only to architecture and sculpture but also to objects such as jewelry, weapons, beds, ritual earthenware, and ornaments. Because every color with its full range of shades corresponded to definite emotive themes, the choice and distribution of colors were treated as carefully for the minor arts as for the more complex arts. Color and proportion determined the visible structure of the object, which theoretically acquired life and meaning only by being permeated with rasa (Skr., *rasa*) — that is, only in so far as it was able to give rise to an esthetic emotion (see ESTHETICS).

The principal products of Indian handicrafts were stone-, ivory-, enamel-, and metalwork, baskets and mats, wood sculpture, jewelry, pottery, and cloth, including printed and embroidered fabrics. The characteristics which handicraft traditions assumed in India appeared solidly established in the cultural centers of the Indus Valley civilization of the 3d–2d millennium B.C. Three basic trends were gradually elaborated: The first, reflecting popular attitudes, was characterized by a conception of life and work which was agricultural and reflected the familiar and unchanging forms of the village, the social unit typical of India; it was in the village where the depository of an uninterrupted tradition of decorative skill survived. The second trend, which may be called "classic," was elegant, sophisticated, full of ideological conceptions, and rich in symbols and myths; it reflected the great sources which fed it — the temple and the court. The third trend was tied to commerce and the export of products to the markets of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

In the first of the above-mentioned currents in Indian handicrafts, anonymity prevailed. A lack of interest in the material value and durability of the produced work was also evident. Massive clay figures (horses, elephants, human beings) were shaped on the occasion of religious ceremonies and were later left in fragments along the roads; paintings full of poetry, painted on walls by the women of Mithila in connection with marriage ceremonies, were later covered by a coat of plaster. It is almost impossible to trace the chronology of this spontaneous art, which is separated from the great cultural currents and does not involve economic interests. In contrast, we can note the presence in northwest India of signatures on works of a higher level belonging to the second trend, such as the famous Kanishka reliquary signed Agesilas (Agiṣala, or 'Αγεσίλαος).

The grammarian Pāṇini uses the term *śilpa* (craft) in referring to organized artisans. The concept includes — without any special distinction — the crafts of barbering, carpentry, laundering, dyeing, dancing, painting, pottery making, weaving, tailoring, and arrow making. The artisans traced their origin to Viśvakarma, architect of the gods; they united in free guilds known as *śreṇi*. At one time the exclusive character of individual trades was not rigidly defined, but the son ordinarily followed the occupation of his father. With the later development of Indian society, a strict separation of castes and of occupations arose, and the hereditary basis of handicraft organization was firmly established. The handicraft guilds became powerfully organized bodies, with a sphere of activities locally defined. The son of an artisan grew up in the atmosphere of the workshop and, in continuous contact with living traditions, unconsciously acquired familiarity with the forms, symbols, and techniques of the trade. The heritage of knowledge, passed on from father to son and from teacher to pupil, was also transmitted by means of diagrams, sketches, and formulas composed in Sanskrit verses.

The Indian artisan was both a designer and an executor; the customary distinction between art and handicrafts had no meaning, though the term *śilpin* (craftsman; cf. above, *śilpa*) means something closer to "artisan" in a broad sense than to "artist." In any case, the artist who conceived the Maheśamūrti group at Elephanta moved along the same traditional line as the minor decorators and the stonecutters who carved the caves of Elephanta. The Indian artisan learned from tradition the elements of his formal expression, his symbols and designs, data concerning geometric and proportional values, and an awareness of functions; but he was not inaccessible to foreign influences. The various invasions of India brought with them skilled artisans as well as technical innovations, and a mutual exchange of artisans took place between India and northern Asia. Under the Moghuls there originated the royal *karkḥana* (workshops) for the needs of the emperors and the courts. With these workshops new elements intervened to modify the old handicraft experience. In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, a work by Abū'l Fadl 'Allāmī in which the royal workshops of Akbar are described, mention is made of the *naskṣa bandha* (designers of cloth), who arrived in India from the handicraft centers of Iran. The function of designer then became separated from that of executor, and with the passage of time the artisan became merely an executor. A fundamental change subsequently took place in the conception of the object: in the old tradition the object was seen as a structural whole; but in the courts of the Moghul emperors the accent was shifted from structural design to elements of execution such as calligraphy, enamelwork, and inlay devoted to decoration of surface and richness of detail. A break between handicrafts and the arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture then occurred. In some isolated centers in southern India, temples and religious communities continued to protect the old handicraft traditions, but these declined rapidly in the rest of India.

In the *karkḥana* of the Moghul emperors, jewelry, enamelwork, marble carving, jade and ivory carving, engraving on silver, and brocade weaving flourished; objects of great refinement were created, their calligraphic design inspired by a characteristically Moghul love for gardens and hunting scenes. With the decadence of the royal courts, the *karkḥana* lost their original character and became centers of large-scale production designed to satisfy the demand for curios and exotic objects for foreign markets.

From very remote times, trade relations existed between the cities of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. As far back as 3,000 years ago ivory objects, embroidery, and colored cotton were shipped on Indian vessels to Babylonia and the court of King Solomon. Indian muslins were very highly prized at the courts of the Roman emperors, where they were referred to as being "woven of air." Carved ivory and fragments of jewel boxes of the Gupta period (6th cent. of our era) have been found at Begram (anc. Kapisa), Afghanistan. For centuries the Near and Middle East, Africa, and the courts of Europe continued to order the products of Indian handicrafts. But as a result of industrial development, the growth of the middle classes in the West, and the subsequent enlargement of the handicraft market, demand turned toward more inexpensive products. Handicraft associations formed in the cities and, exclusively concerned with products for export, lost all contact with the original decorative tradition; their wares became mechanical and devoid of originality.

Pupul JAYAKAR

*China*. A history of Chinese handicrafts — meaning the whole of the products of the various techniques — is identical with the history of Chinese art. Painting, however, was the only representational art in China to have been considered art in local treatises. The Chinese regarded painting as a vehicle of thought. Nonetheless, they looked upon objects which Westerners consider handicrafts (e.g., jade, ceramics, textiles) as sources of intellectual enjoyment and not merely stimuli to hedonistic pleasure. The intrinsic value of the materials employed by the craftsman was highly prized, and a symbolic and esthetic value was attributed to the objects themselves.

A hierarchy of the arts was, however, an inevitable reflection of the social hierarchy. At the base of the former was the particular skill involved and the more or less noble function

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of the object produced. There are texts in which the nobility of painting is clearly exalted as a spiritual activity, distinct from the trade of the glazer or the mason. Sculpture was always less exalted in China — a handicraft rather than an art because of the fatiguing manual labor required to produce it. While the names of famous painters are almost infinite in number, the names of famous sculptors are very few.

The professional artisan, a person who worked on order and for others, appeared at the time of the Shang dynasty (16th–11th cent. B.C.); from that dynasty comes the first signed lacquer. The *Chou-li* ("Ritual of Chou," a work written possibly in the 3d cent. B.C., referring to the period of the Chou dynasty, 11th–3d cent. B.C.) speaks expressly of the *t'ao-jên*, or terra-cotta makers, and tells us that at court there was an official charged with supervising production. The *Chou-li* also reveals that in the social hierarchy artisans constituted the fifth class of workers; further, the text tells us of the existence of rigidly fixed and inviolable technical and formal standards, which opposed any innovations in tradition.

The advent of Buddhism increased commercial and handicraft activities at the expense of agriculture. The spread of Buddhist communities caused the appearance and growth of various trades: architects, statue makers, painters, goldsmiths, and copyists, who were called upon to work for the needs of the cult. By the beginning of the T'ang dynasty the faithful acquired statues which were kept in their own homes, often for the purpose of magic; previously statues had been used only for dedicating at places of worship. The newer practice favored the development of handicrafts in small objects and flourished especially in the 7th–8th century of our era. In 714 an imperial decree forced the closing of artisan shops in which alcoholic beverages were sold; these shops also cast Buddhist statues or copied sacred texts. Other centers of activity, besides these shops, were the various Chinese monasteries of Central Asia.

From the beginning of the imperial dynasties in China, it is probable that the more important handicrafts were placed under supervision; however, the existence of real state handicrafts is documented only with the first imperial porcelain factories of the Ming period (14th–17th cent. of our era). All productive activities had a typically handicraft character. Architecture, almost always in wood, decorated with paintings and polychrome ceramics and revealing exceptional typological rigidity, has shown a tendency to survive through the centuries, and almost all forms have maintained themselves to our day. The same tendency to survival, with a perpetuation of forms, occurred in the techniques for working various materials such as wood and bamboo, clay, precious and base metals, skins, jade, ivory, glass, stone, lacquer, and silk. In the history of this enormous and varied production — prized in Europe at almost all times, from the Middle Ages to the 18th century, with its taste for *chinoiseries* — three categories of products can be distinguished: One category aimed at satisfying ritual purposes and often achieved the level of a minor art. Another category attempted to satisfy utilitarian needs, and through the centuries has consisted of production by a large rural class that provided for its own needs by building houses and hand weaving cloth for personal attire. The third category sought to satisfy the demand of the imperial courts and the wealthier classes and therefore followed a more clearly esthetic line. Contacts with the West gave rise to handicrafts designed for foreigners.

In the 19th century Western mechanical civilization was introduced to China and Japan. This led to a distinction between arts, crafts, and industry. At the same time, existing traditional production remained in vogue, especially favored by the foreign demand for products considered typical.

*Islamic civilization.* In the pre-Islamic world distinctions between handicrafts and art were quite difficult; they resolved themselves practically in the critical evaluation of the works — in the fixing of a scale of esthetic values to be recognized from case to case, aside from any distinction of genres. Later, the Islamic world excluded, as the contemporary esthetician Bishr Farès points out, "any hierarchy among the various arts with all that it would imply in distinct disciplines according to the material and the destination of the works." The Islamic world did, however, attribute to architecture and to calligraphy a *de facto* prevalence, also extended to miniature painting. The reasons behind this developing esthetic approach become quite clear when we consider how deeply religious and metaphysical conceptions have pervaded all the artistic manifestations of the Islamic world. Iconoclasm — which among other things explains the absence of monumental sculpture in Islamic culture — constitutes only a partial manifestation of the influence of Islamic religious thought on art; furthermore, iconoclasm was chronologically late, geographically variable, and discontinuous. Much more profound has been the very deep conviction of the transience of things, a sense of impermanence at the base of those currents of Islamic thought which are less deeply pervaded by Aristotelianism. Such a metaphysical orientation has produced a particular vision of space as well as a desire to express or to represent the unknown, the incoercible, the changeable — those elements which belong to the sole reality that is God. Islamic philosophy has thus pushed naturalism and realism in art to a secondary place and given rise instead to the ornate and to the arabesque. In short, it has produced a particular taste of a decorative character which, although it does not preclude the reaching of high artistic levels, eliminates the possibility of stabilizing those hierarchies among the arts which have been accepted in India and in China and affirmed in the West with the Renaissance.

The Islamic artist signs his work, whether it be a miniature, a rug, or a piece of pottery. Although, as the 20th-century writer Aga Oglu observes, in Islamic thought man is a weak creature who owes everything to the divinity, the artist is not able to attain the complete depersonification of the Hindu, who considers himself only the docile tool of divine creation; rather the Islamic artist feels that he operates on a particular plane and, though he does not admit it, is able to consider his own work as a creative act. Thus the signature of the artist remains in Islamic works of art, although the works are often accompanied by expressions of modesty in connection with the insignificance of man. A characteristic concept of Islamic culture is that the materials used in art should possess no intrinsic value (which in turn stems from ideas of the impermanence of things); however, this concept is subject to certain limitations: It is quite true, as the contemporary writer Louis Massignon has pointed out, that "Islamic art prefers to use malleable, humble material, without thickness, such as a flowing dress, a fusible metal," and that "art elevates itself above the material as a kind of reflection"; but this does not preclude the appreciation of work in precious or costly materials. The ceramic goblets of Nishapur, while they present ornament and characteristic stylizations of Islamic Iran, nevertheless can be considered as the transposition — in less precious material — of the figures with which the Sassanid silver goblets were decorated. The technique and material are thus at the service of an ornamental effect, despite proscriptions concerning the use of precious and rare metals.

The position of artisans and artists — clearly separated from men of science, as is proved by an anti-Christian text mentioned by Aga Oglu — was rather low during the first centuries of Islamic civilization. Works of art and technology were considered inferior to pure thought, though it has been noted that the Ommiads, who were genuine Arabs, decidedly encouraged arts and handicrafts. It has also been recorded that foreigners were occasionally to be found among the artisans of the Islamic world and that the Islamic artisans often belonged to religious sects which were not at all orthodox. Toward the middle of the 4th century of the Hegira (ca. A.D. 970), artisans who were gifted with such qualities as to make them artists assumed greater importance through the formation of guilds (*aṣnāf*); the guilds were closely connected with the sect of the Karmathians, which arose among the non-Arab subject populations of Islam. We find traces of this social question in the *Rasa* of the Ikhwān al-Safā, an eclectic school strongly influenced by Hellenistic thought. From the text of the *Rasa*, which contains a section entitled "Sharaf al-Sanā'i" ("The Supremacy of the Trades"),

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a certain attitude appears that can be summarized in the words of G. E. von Grunebaum (*Medieval Islam*, 2d ed., Chicago, 1953, pp. 216–17): "The crafts . . . differ in virtue when considered from these five angles: (1) the material on which they work: here goldsmith and perfumer have the advantages; (2) the product they achieve: the makers of complicated instruments like the astrolabe rank highest; (3) the urgency with which their work is needed: this viewpoint favors the weaver, the farmer, and the builder; (4) utility for the general public: bath keepers and scavangers are vitally important for the weal of the city; (5) when taken per se, as skills, without regard to utility, etc., prestidigitators, decorators, and musicians are justified by their accomplishments as such."

* *

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NOTE: The following have contributed to the article in areas of their special competence: Sergio Bosticco, Piero Corradini, Giovanni Garbini, and Taiji Maeda.

**HARDOUIN-MANSART, JULES.** See MANSART.

**HEBREW ART.** See ISRAEL; JEWISH ART.

**HELLENISTIC ART.** The term "Hellenistic age" generally refers to the period extending approximately from the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) and the subsequent dismemberment of his huge empire to the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.), which sealed the fate of Ptolemaic Egypt, the last of the kingdoms of his successors. In this age, the civilization and art of Greece were widely diffused in the East and acquired a cosmopolitan aspect favoring the emergence of characteristics and orientations that were to prove decisive for the achievements of Rome and of all the West.

SUMMARY. Concepts and chronological limits (col. 284). General considerations (col. 286). Architecture (col. 289): *General characteristics; Types of monuments; a. The temple; b. Monumental altars; c. Propylaia; d. Porticoes, basilicas, and libraries; e. Theaters and meeting halls; f. Halls for popular assemblies (bouleteria, ekklesiasteria); g. Palaestrae, gymnasiums, baths, fountains; h. The lighthouse of Alexandria and the clock tower of Andronikos; i. Houses; j. Commemorative and funerary monuments; k. Cities and city planning.* Sculpture (col. 312): *General considerations; Phases, directions, and schools; Historical development; a. The traditional currents of the early Hellenistic period; b. The "simple style"; c. The "baroque"; d. The eclecticism and classicism of the late Hellenistic period.* Terra cottas (col. 346). Painting (col. 347): *The problem of Hellenistic painting; Schools and styles according to the literary sources; General characteristics; Copies, derivations, and reflections of Hellenistic pictures in Romano-Campanian figure paintings, with descriptions of various Hellenistic pictures; Genre subjects and still life; Landscape; Portraiture; Systems of wall decoration.* Ceramics (col. 366). Gold- and silverwork (col. 373). Gems and glyptics (col. 378). Coins (col. 380): *Macedonia; Kingdom of Lysimachos, including Thrace, Crimea, and western Asia Minor; Pergamon; Syria; Egypt; Minor Hellenistic kingdoms; City coins.* Glass, textiles, rugs (col. 386).

CONCEPTS AND CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS. The term "Hellenism" appears infrequently in ancient literature, employed in various, sometimes contradictory, senses; for example, it denotes imitation of the Greeks, the use of styles and language purely Greek, the use of the koine rather than pure Attic, and paganism. In modern use the word does not convey any of its ancient meanings. It appears for the first time in modern historiography in the *Geschichte des Hellenismus* of J. G. Droysen (1877–78), who derived it, perhaps incorrectly, from a passage in the Acts of the Apostles (6: 1) which differentiates the Hellenists (Ἑλληνισταί) from the Jews of the Christian community, that is, those who spoke Greek from those who spoke Aramaic. Thus, any Palestinian of non-Greek descent who spoke Greek was considered "Hellenized." According to Droysen, Hellenism is the culture developed by peoples brought into the orbit of Greek civilization by Alexander's conquests and their sequel. The scope of the definition excludes contemporaneous civilization in Greece proper and in countries Hellenized previously. But this exclusion, accepted by many historians since Droysen, breaches the fundamental unity of Hellenistic civilization, the very unity that binds it to the Greek world of the 4th century B.C. Although Greece proper and the countries Hellenized before Alexander did not form part of the new social and economic structure (based largely upon Eastern models) of the newborn "Hellenistic" kingdoms, they nevertheless continued to act, albeit in secondary roles, on the political stage of the civilization they had fostered. Droysen's terms imply a distinction between the history of Hellenism, that is, the history of the countries Hellenized after Alexander, and the history of the Hellenistic age, which would cover those countries as well as the rest of the Greek world. In the field of art history least of all can we accept a limitation that permits us to speak of Hellenism only in connection with art forms deriving from the Hellenization that took place in countries such as Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and not of an Attic, Rhodian, Anatolian — still less of a Sicilian or Italian — Hellenism; for these were among the more active and fruitful regions, and produced art forms more truly Greek and of greater universality.

It is appropriate, therefore, that the term "Hellenistic culture" be applied in referring not only to the defined, circumscribed phenomenon of the progressive Hellenization of the eastern world, but, by extension, to the entire epoch characterized by this process, up to and including the last phase of the Greek world, which has for some time been improperly designated by the terms "Alexandrian age" and "Alexandrianism," an implicit attribution to Alexandria of a function it certainly did not have, that of being the principal center of inspiration of the period.

The chronological limits of the Hellenistic age indicated above (323–31 B.C.) are all but universally accepted. Variants suggested by scholars for the date of the beginning of the Hellenistic age include: 336 (the year of Alexander's accession to the throne); the beginning of the 4th century B.C.; 306 (the

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year of the formation of the new kingdoms); 280 (marking the stabilization of the Hellenistic world, with the three great dynasties — the Antigonids in Macedonia, the Seleucids in Asia, the Ptolemies in Egypt — securely in power). The end date is advanced by some scholars to 146 B.C., the year of the creation of the province of Macedonia, by others to 86 B.C., the year of the fall of Athens. In the political field the dates 323–31 B.C. can be accepted without serious objections: the death of Alexander initiated a new, long period of Greek history, and the Battle of Actium made Rome the center of the ancient world. The adoption of these dates raises more serious doubts in the field of art history, for here artistic events whose dates are not verifiable may have as sharply determinant a character as do political and military events in their sphere. However, there is no need to alter the acepted dates as they have come to be transferred from the field of political history to that of art history, so long as it is borne in mind that their value is largely conventional and practical; in this way the unfortunate errors in historical evaluation that have sometimes resulted from a too rigid and enthusiastic adherence to them can be avoided.

The date 323 signifies not so much the beginning as a particularly important stage of the development that led from the ideals of the 4th century (see CLASSIC ART) to those of the Hellenistic age, and it can be advanced or set back without creating serious misunderstanding. The end date, 31 B.C., signals the transition from Hellenistic to Roman art, but since the term "Roman art" has mainly a chronological significance, this transition has little bearing on style. The assumption that a monument of the Roman age, whether it be found in Italy, Syria, Egypt, or anywhere else in the Roman world, expresses Roman rather than Hellenistic ideals is unjustifiable. The history of the art of the period does not echo that of politics or war. The irresistible thrust of Roman power to the east that culminated with the victory at Actium was accompanied by no analogous thrust of Roman art and culture capable of gradually replacing or dominating Greek art and culture. There is no transition from a Hellenistic art to a Roman art in the strict sense of the word in Greece after 146 B.C., nor in the East after the successive constitution of the provinces of Asia (133), Bithynia (74), and Syria (62), nor in Egypt after it passed from the rule of the Ptolemies to that of the Roman emperors. Each of these regions, while feeling to a greater or lesser degree the effects of the modes and currents originating in the new capital of the world, remained within the great artistic climate of Hellenism and the local traditions. It is with these traditions that so much of the Roman art in the East — from the many portraits of the Fayum to the sculptures of Palmyra, to the architectural monuments of Baalbek, Petra, Dura-Europos, Palmyra, and other sites — is bound up (see ROMAN ART OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE). Thus in the sphere of art, and of culture in general, the Roman phenomenon was quite the reverse of what it was in the political sphere — and the Romans themselves were well aware of this: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit" (Horace, *Epistulae*, ii, 1, 156). The art and culture of Greece, which had been reaching Rome for centuries by way of Etruria and the western colonies, flowed to Rome during the Hellenistic age in ever stronger currents. The successive conquests of Sicily and Magna Graecia, of Greece and Asia Minor, of Syria and Egypt, filled Rome as never before with Greek artists and works and fashions (see HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART). The art produced in Rome after the Battle of Actium, and even much earlier, was Greek or Hellenizing art, in great part owing to the activity of Greek artists, which for a very long time overwhelmed or benumbed creative impulses more congenial to the ancient Roman temperament. Until the second half of the 2d century of our era, the art of the Imperial age remained in the Hellenistic tradition, not as a mere passive recipient and imitator of forms but as the heir to dynamically developing Hellenistic tendencies and ideals, as seen in portraiture, continuous narrative relief, spatial illusionism, landscape, painted wall decoration, impressionistic rendering of forms, and architectural features. This art, which can be said to have been Greek art in the service of Rome — or Greco-Roman — did have new and original aspects, but it was never antithetical to the Greco-Hellenistic genius. No matter how many components are discovered in it, the predominance of the Greco-Hellenistic cannot be denied. Not only did Hellenistic art have one of its chief theaters in the Italy that was in the process of Romanization; it centered there, to live longer and prosper more than it had in the rest of the Hellenistic world in the course of the two preceding centuries.

The farther removed one is from the *Orient oder Rom* controversy and other disputes that postulate a clear break between Hellenistic and Roman art and set East and West in opposition as fundamentally different cultural worlds, the more apparent is the necessity of reconstituting a unity so heedlessly broken up. The historic role that Rome played in revivifying Hellenistic culture and in disseminating Greek art must be acknowledged. In this respect Rome took over the function of the Hellenistic kingdoms: as they had stimulated the diffusion of Greek art in the vast regions of the East, Rome brought Greek art to the West, thereby transmitting this inheritance to the modern age.

The year 31 B.C., then, may be taken to mark the phase in which Rome became the center of artistic production in the Mediterranean world but not to mark the end of Hellenistic art. Not until the 3d century of our era, or slightly earlier, did newly predominant stylistic ideals seem to transcend Hellenistic ideals. But even then it cannot be said that Hellenistic culture was submerged — its figural tradition was to live on tenaciously until the end of the ancient world and then, with other elements, to merge with the Byzantine and Western art of the Middle Ages. Before the neoclassic "rediscovery of Greece" in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it was the Roman elaboration of Hellenistic art, not classic or archaic Greek art, that the modern age looked to as the antique.

The perpetuation of Hellenistic artistic traditions and tastes in the Roman age and beyond accounts for the expressions "Hellenistic-Roman," "Hellenistic of the Roman age," "Hellenistic-Byzantine." Medievalists and Byzantinists use these terms, as well as the simple "Hellenistic art," to refer to late-antique and early medieval stylistic modes that are really of the Greek tradition.

The difficulty in defining "Hellenistic" as applied to style is apparent. It is vain to attempt to define Hellenism in terms as precise as those applied to other great styles — to Gothic, the baroque, the rococo, impressionism, and the rest. Rather, we may distinguish two applications of the term "Hellenistic" — a more limiting one, set over against "classic," and a broader one, paralleling "Greek" as referring to a Grecism that combines in itself the experience of classicism, of Hellenism properly so called, and also of the Roman age as heir and continuer of Hellenism. The limiting definition draws attention to that aspect of Hellenistic art which moves away from the measured and the ordered, from the forces of tradition, from the idealization of spiritual content and of form characteristic of the classic in the strict sense, and moves toward an art of contrasts, of more thorough and accurate observation and representation of nature: hence the variety of moods, of individual character, of realism in the human figure and its natural surroundings. In this sense of our definition, the classicizing tendencies of late Hellenism, though still of the age called "Hellenistic," no longer represent true and characteristic Hellenistic taste; in Roman art — aside from popular indigenous currents — there can be distinguished both Greek classicizing and truly Hellenistic tendencies. As for the broader application of the term "Hellenistic," it is a matter of finding a definition that will cover all classic and Greco-Roman art. Such a definition was offered in 1955 by Bianchi Bandinelli: "the artistic forms preserving the essential organic unity of structure which was fundamental to Greek art and to its naturalistic bent" — as distinguished from the schematization or ornamental use of organic form and its distortion for expressionistic ends which are characteristic of the new ideals of the late-antique period (q.v.).

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. If, broadly speaking, in its political and cultural aspects the Hellenism of 4th-century Greece was in its infancy, nonetheless it is clear that in many respects it differed profoundly from the Grecism of the preceding period.

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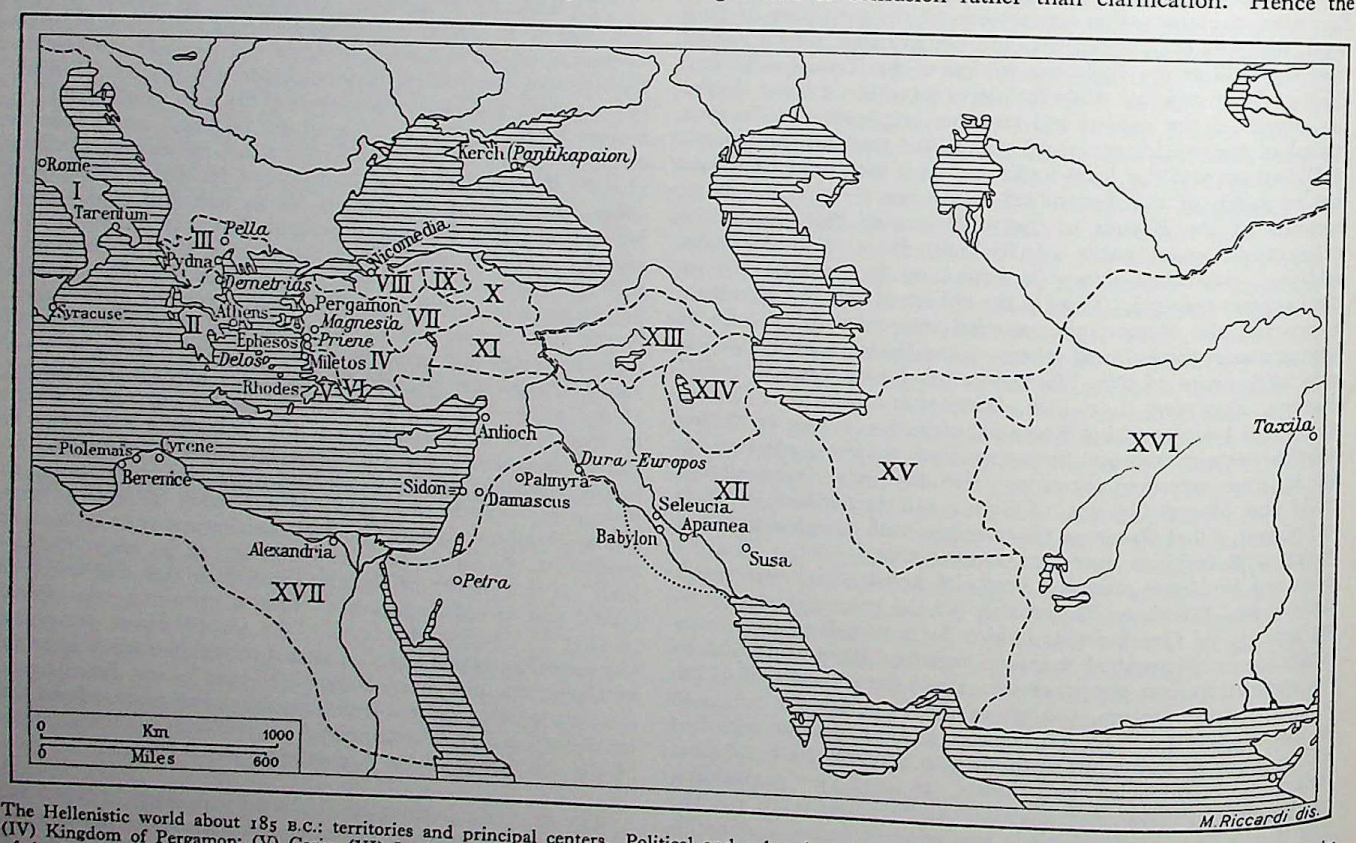
With the establishment of the great kingdoms, the Greek cities lost their political predominance and became contested satellites. The new Hellenistic state bore no resemblance to the old Greece of the polis. The sovereign was supreme. The concept of the citizen more as a creator than a participant in the life of the state was a thing of the past. Yet the new regime accelerated the development of the individualism that had taken hold by the 4th century; cultural specialization, virtuosity of technical achievement, and the internalization of spiritual life proceeded at a comparable pace. The Hellenistic man was a citizen of the world. The narrow limits of the city-state gave way to the vast boundaries of the *oikoumene*, to the political ideal of Alexander and the Diadochi of the fusion of the races; great new metropolitan centers arose thronged with restless crowds of natives, Greeks, Macedonians, Jews, and foreigners of every description. The diffusion of the Greek tongue, in the form of the koine, was world-wide; Greek culture was universalized, affecting and being affected by every country it entered. Eclecticism in art was born. Under princely patronage scientific research and the arts flourished, benefiting from the establishment of such institutions as the Mouseion and Library in Alexandria. The science of philology was born and developed rapidly; the sciences entered a most fruitful period. In religion the weakening of faith in the old Greek gods of Olympos opened the way to an influx of exotic religions.

With the decline of the great ideals of the past, poetry, when not erudite or courtly, turned to the particular: genre subjects, romantic impressions of nature, and amorous sentiments were the preferred themes and types. Similarly, philosophy turned from abstruse metaphysical problems to a largely religious concern with the spiritual life of the individual. Stoicism and Epicureanism, more especially, with Cynicism, represent the main directions taken by philosophical thought; significantly, they also had great success with the Romans.

Historians do not agree in their interpretation of Hellenistic culture — its uniformity, the role of Eastern elements in its formation and development, its intrinsic significance. In point of fact, because of its remarkable extent in time and space and the heterogeneity of its constituent elements, the Hellenistic world, if fundamentally unified, reveals a clearer and more profound differentiation from region to region than is commonly realized. Especially in the field of art, Hellenism had different aspects in Athens and in Alexandria, in Egypt and in Asia; furthermore, in Egypt and in Asia it varied from place to place according to whether Greek culture was rooted or ephemeral. Eastern influences, too, had different effects in different areas of culture and in different countries of the Hellenistic world. To be sure, in the determination of the structure of the new society and in the sphere of religion, Eastern influence was stronger than in the field of art, it we consider that certain manifestations of Greco-Oriental eclecticism — for example, Greco-Egyptian and Greco-Buddhist art, which grew out of limited contacts — only rarely achieved universality. It is a fact, on the other hand, that in its most vital form Hellenism remains predominantly Greek and that however much it was affected by the contacts with the East, there is no aspect of Hellenistic life which does not have its own precedents in that period of ferment and crisis in Greek life that was in evidence by the 4th century: the crises of the polis and of religion, the first penetration of Eastern doctrines, the orientation of spiritual life toward individualism, technical virtuosity, universality of culture, naturalism, even realism. To find precedents for Hellenism in the classical age is not necessarily to gainsay its originality. All that has been said about its general characteristics — the high level of so many of its creations in the field of art, the vitality and staying power that enabled the directions of its thought and art to continue beyond the end of the Hellenistic age — indicates how mistaken such a disparaging judgment would be.

The interpretation given above of Hellenism and its spatial and temporal range would seem logically to call for an account of Hellenistic art according to centers and regions and extending through the greater part of the Roman period, especially in the East. This would be difficult to achieve, given the incompleteness of scholarly studies in the field and the serious gaps in our knowledge of Hellenistic art, and such an approach might lead to confusion rather than clarification. Hence the




The Hellenistic world about 185 B.C.: territories and principal centers. Political and cultural areas: (I) Italy; (II) Greece; (III) Kingdom of Macedonia; (IV) Kingdom of Pergamon; (V) Caria; (VI) Lycia; (VII) Galatia; (VIII) Bithynia; (IX) Paphlagonia; (X) Pontos; (XI) Cappadocia; (XII) Kingdom of the Seleucids; (XIII) Armenia; (XIV) Media Atropatene; (XV) Parthia; (XVI) approximate area of the Kingdom of Bactria; (XVII) Kingdom of the Ptolemies.

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account of Hellenistic art that follows adheres to current practice in the field and is arranged in historical and typological sequence.

ARCHITECTURE. *General characteristics.* Uncertainties in the present state of knowledge concerning Hellenistic architecture are due in part to the grave loss of monuments, in part to the lack of development of this field of study. Perhaps because the architecture has been less understood than any other branch of Hellenistic art, it has most often been labeled decadent. Coming as it did between the severe splendor of the architecture of the classic age and the bold innovations of the Roman age, Hellenistic architecture might appear arrested in tired and corrupt forms, its traditionalism in singular contrast to the rich and creative new sculpture. But if the standard applied is the aims and achievements of Hellenistic architecture itself, and not those of classic architecture, the verdict is at once reversed: a vital and mature art is revealed — rich in contrasts, containing the seeds of innovation, an art whose study is essential to an understanding of the historical position of Roman architecture. Admittedly, there is a strong conservative or traditional element, but this is not so great as it was in the preceding age (the contrary is perhaps nearer the mark) and does not impede the trend to innovation. In the contrast between the one and the other, Hellenism inscribed, even in architecture, a decisively important chapter of the history of art.

The traditional orders of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian continued to be employed (PL. 150), but in a manner at once carrying on the process of development begun in the preceding era and affirming the peculiarly Hellenistic need for novelty and variety. Even if the Hellenistic architects no longer understood the Greek architectural orders — especially the Doric — in the purity of their original form, and combined the orders indiscriminately, they arrived all the same at felicitous solutions of their own. The Doric column, continuing to diminish in entasis, grew slim and rigid. The lower third of the shaft was often smooth and unfaceted rather than fluted, and the number of triglyphs over the intercolumniations increased variously. The Ionic order, because of its slenderness and elegance, made a stronger appeal to the taste of the times and was extensively used; the preferred base was the so-called "Attic" type; the shaft appears in a variety of forms; and a frieze, with or without reliefs, is almost always present above the architrave. Often there is a fusion of Doric and Ionic elements (Ionic entablature on Doric columns or vice versa; egg-and-dart on Doric capitals) or Corinthian and Doric elements (Doric entablature on Corinthian capitals). Likewise, in the two-storied porticoes which were common in this period the Doric is frequently employed for one story (generally the lower) and the Ionic for the other. Characteristic of the Hellenistic age is the expanded use of the Corinthian order (Corinthian capital with Ionic elements), which makes its appearance on exteriors as well as interiors, following a trend prefigured as early as the 4th century B.C. (choragic monument of Lysikrates; X, PL. 156). Roman architecture was to inherit and make wide application of this exterior use. The Corinthian capital offered architects the greatest possibilities of varying the earlier types by playing with the number and distribution of elements as well as with the plant forms themselves. Among these they often interpolated figural elements such as human and divine heads and busts, protomas of animals or of fantastic beings. Alongside the more traditional capitals appear many new and singular forms: capitals of exotic character (palm shapes, aquatic plants, mixed Egyptoplant forms in the lateral parts or in the channels between the Corinthian styles); Ionic capitals with more or less stylized volutes (in a round building at Ephesos all the elements of the Ionic capital were directly supported by rich plant motifs); capitals with volutes diagonally arranged; capitals ornamented with a necking of rosettes; capitals flanked by two bulls' heads on the architrave. The large rosette is often introduced as a motif in metopes of the Doric frieze, and in the Lesser Propylaion of Eleusis metopes and triglyphs carried even less congruous motifs. In entablatures of the Doric and Ionic orders the bucranium motif is often made use of, as is the frieze with bucrania and garlands; both are widely adopted elsewhere as decorative motifs. Sometimes column shafts rise from clusters of palm or acanthus leaves. The column on a pedestal, which was afterward to achieve wide currency, was introduced, and the applied half column became popular; these two motifs were to be much used in Roman architecture.

From the combination of three-quarter columns, half columns, and quarter columns with piers, new forms of supporting elements were born. The so-called "ivy-leaf" pier was formed by setting a corner pier between two quarter columns; the pier (or column) with an ellipsoidal section resulted when two half columns were applied to opposite faces of a rectangular pier; the rectangular pier was also joined with three-quarter columns on two opposing sides. Wider doorways with architraves often incorporated applied columns and piers in new combinations. Fairly frequent was a singular use of half columns applied to the rear faces of the central and lateral jambs, to adorn the interior of a doorway rather than the front.

Hellenistic architecture is conservative in its predilection for the straight line both in the plan and in the elevation. Reluctance to adopt and exploit the curved line can be discerned in the case of buildings in which curvilinear elements are present in the plan or elevation but are contained and concealed in external, rectilinear forms [the building with apses below the Pergamon altar, the Bouleterion of Miletos, the Hieron of Samothrace, the small theater of Pompeii, Macedonian tombs, the Didymaion (Temple of Apollo at Didyma) near Miletos, the gates with architraves in front of the vaulted rooms of the gymnasium in Pergamon]. This reluctance persists into the Roman age, as the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian agora bears witness. On the other hand, Hellenistic architecture also reveals a distinct interest in curvilinear elements: its circular buildings, vaulted gates and passages, apses, and perhaps even domes are prototypes of the great vaulted architecture of the Roman period. The tholos with columns, a type introduced in the preceding period, continued in use and spread to new areas; the tholos on the *thalamegos* (state barge) of Ptolemy IV of Egypt (described by Kallixeinos, as quoted in Athenaeus, v, 205d), the tholoi in the decorative schemes of Pompeian Style II painting, the so-called "Temple of Vesta" (or "of the Sibyl") in Tivoli (PL. 201), and the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis of Athens may be cited. A new version of the circular building made its appearance with the Arsinoeion of Samothrace — a high, unarticulated wall is crowned by a simulated gallery of Doric pilasters on the exterior and Corinthian half columns on the interior. In monumental funerary, commemorative, and utilitarian structures (e.g., lighthouses), circular shapes were often superimposed on cubical and polyhedral forms (the round building at Ephesos, the lighthouse of Alexandria, the tower of Taposiris, etc.). Meanwhile, in several areas there spread a type of tomb with a tumulus on a high, walled ring, often architecturally articulated (the so-called "tomb of the Christian woman" in Algeria; I, PL. 18). The curvilinear element appears in apses (the Hieron of Samothrace; the building below the Pergamon altar; Tomb 3 in the necropolis of Mustafa Pasha in Alexandria, FIG. 306), in exedrae with statues (exedra of the Serapeion in Memphis, the Alexandrian nymphaeum well known from a papyrus of the 3d century), and in the niches of façades [the gate of Perge; a structure at Todi; the sanctuary at Praeneste (mod. Palestrina, PL. 199); the gate of Mithradates at Ephesos], all of which anticipate, once again, motifs and tastes of later ages.

Vaulting was in wide use for covered passages, ramps, stairs, aqueducts, foundations (in Pergamon, Didyma, Perge, Samothrace, Aigai near Myrina in Asia Minor; in the cisterns under the 3d–2d century basilica in Pompeii; in Macedonian, Alexandrian, and south Russian hypogea). In a Pergamene tomb a cross vault is used, and in an Alexandrian hypogeum there was, perhaps, a domical vault. The great Alexandrian hypogeum of Wardian, dug out of living rock, which has in its central area evidence of a large circular room covered by a dome, may perhaps be dated to the Hellenistic age; there is a comparable example in Naples, where in the subterranean Tomb of the Virgins a ring of columns supports a domed roof over the circular central room. This type of covering occurs



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but rarely in the Hellenistic age (the Stabian Baths and Forum of Pompeii, the Temple of Mercury at Baia, and perhaps the baths of Oiniadai). The pseudo-dome of Mycenaean type is perpetuated in tombs of Thrace and southern Russia. Rows of arcades on piers with a primarily structural function, made to be concealed from view, are known in Hellenistic (substructure of the Stoa of Eumenes II in Athens) and also in Roman contexts, where the structural and decorative functions are combined (Praeneste, the Tabularium in the Roman Forum, and related architecture). The dike (Heptastadion) that joined Alexandria to the island of Pharos must have contained a long row of arcades, a device which was to gain great popularity in Roman usage (exteriors of theaters, amphitheaters, basilicas, etc.). Examples of wall painting in Pompeian Style II (Villa of the Mysteries) and of pre-Augustan Pompeian dwellings (houses of Meleager, the Labyrinth, the Silver Wedding) prove that late Hellenistic architecture even used arcading (rows of arches springing from columns). This motif was to be resumed and developed much later in Roman architecture (the forum at Leptis Magna, the palace of Diocletian at Split), and in Early Christian architecture, and was to be launched again with a new clarity of expression in early Renaissance architecture. There are reasons for thinking that the motif may have been Alexandrian in origin. Finally, the arch is employed in the interior doors of buildings and in entrances to specific enclosures (the principal gates of Dura-Europos, as early as 300 B.C.; the doors of the Ekklesiasterion and the lower gymnasium of Priene; the entrance to the agora of Priene and to the terrace of the upper theater of Pergamon; the door of the Stoa of Attalos in Athens; and the gates of Perge and Assos). The frequency with which arched spaces are reproduced in the late Hellenistic funeral steles of Asia Minor is conclusive evidence that the arch was more common than the surviving monuments suggest. Apsidal niches covered with basin or shell shapes were also used, if sparsely, in the Hellenistic age (the example of the upper Peirene fountain in Corinth dates from about 237 B.C.); they were to be used extensively later. Even the technique of baked brick, used widely by the Romans in the Imperial age, has Hellenistic precedents, which suggests to some that the technique is of Eastern origin (palace of Nippur, Mesopotamia; late Hellenistic structures in southern Italy).

It bears stressing that even as regards monumental types (see below), Hellenistic architecture was far from wasting into a tired conservatism. The taste for the façade prospect, for axial disposition, for symmetry, and for scenographic effects are all distinctive qualities of Hellenistic architecture that herald later developments. The autonomy that made the classic building an almost sculptural work, intended to be viewed from all sides, is not characteristic of the Hellenistic building. Coordinated with other, neighboring buildings, related to the surrounding space, and sometimes to the landscape, it is often conceived to be viewed primarily from the front. This led to axial and symmetrical disposition: temples were placed in the center or at the far end of porticoed squares accessible only from one side (Temple of Mamurt Qal'e near Pergamon; sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia ad Maeandrum; Temple of Asklepios on the upper terrace of Kos, etc.). It also led to the concept of great rectangular areas with porticoes on three sides and a wide entrance stairway on the fourth and of great monumental complexes with terraces accessible by long flights of steps placed on the axes (sanctuaries of Asklepios in Kos, Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, Athena at Lindos, in Rhodes). On the Acropolis of Pergamon the terrace construction was adapted to the special conditions of the terrain with manifest variety and freedom: the rising terraces unfold fanwise about the pivot formed by the terrace of the theater. The increased interest in the façade as prospect also encouraged the articulation of walls by columns, piers, and false or real doors, and the practice of repeating the interior articulation of the building in the façade by such means as horizontal cornices, piers, and false colonnades (Bouleterion of Miletos, Arsinoeion of Samothrace).

All that has been said indicates how alive and how productive of important innovations was Hellenistic architecture. Entire metropolises, such as Alexandria and Antioch, and innumerable cities established by Alexander and the Diadochi and their successors in the vast regions of the Hellenized East are virtually unknown today. Of many others our knowledge is fragmentary or is limited to the Roman age (Ephesos, Miletos, Aphrodisias, Palmyra, etc.). This alone is enough to lend weight to any traces of the existence of architectural forms profoundly divergent from the bulk of those that are known to us. To be sure, such forms, despite the many new elements they present, remain faithful to the spirit of clarity, sober elegance, linearity, and equilibrium peculiar to the tradition of Greek architecture. But certain signs force upon us the suspicion, however arbitrary this may appear, that there is an entire aspect of Hellenistic architecture which remains unknown: some of the magnificent and unusual architecture appearing in Pompeian Style II wall painting at least in part derived from real architecture (broken pediments, the strong and animated plastic modeling of the walls with columns on podia or pedestals, large consoles, architectural motifs in the center of other similar motifs, alternating triangular and curvilinear pediments, rare polychrome materials, and the profusion of decorative metalwork among the architectural elements); the depiction in landscape paintings and stuccoes of the 1st century B.C. of religious structures with concave façades, often in series, corresponding to nothing in the extant architecture of the period; certain rich and *mouvementé* architectural elements of Petra, of the palace at Ptolemaïs, in Cyrenaica, and of the mausoleum near Capua known as "La Conocchia" (given the generally accepted dating of these monuments in the Hellenistic age); and finally the fact that some parts of the magnificent and sumptuous architectural complex of the Acropolis of Baalbek seem to date from the Augustan or Julio-Claudian age. The aspect of Hellenistic architecture represented by these monuments can best be characterized as paralleling the widely documented baroque style in Hellenistic sculpture, an aspect that must have constituted the prototype of the Roman "baroque" architecture of the 2d century of our era.

Turning to problems of space, there is no question that there was a sharper awareness of them in the Hellenistic phase than classical architecture displays. Despite the timid and unsure use of the arch and the vault in Hellenistic architecture, and the modesty of its achievements in enclosing unbroken expanses of interior space as compared to Roman monuments, it is clear from the handling of the pseudodipteral temple that a new sensitivity has profoundly modified the peristyle of the Greek temple. The Arsinoeion of Samothrace, notwithstanding its conical roof, encloses in its ring a broad interior space, and the Alexandrian tomb of Wardian, which may belong to the 1st century B.C., has a large rectangular intermediary room and domed main room on axis with the open court. These examples of the taste for unbroken interior space are forerunners of later achievements in the Roman age. But more numerous and explicit are the indications of the Hellenistic feeling for exterior space, which is manifest in the enclosing of great open spaces and in the coordination of buildings with one another and with their surroundings. It was this sensitivity that gave rise to many of the characteristics which have been mentioned above: the widespread use of public areas enclosed by porticoes and peristyles; the organic coordination of urban complexes; the well-planned terracing of city and sanctuary; and the predilection for axiality, symmetry, and façade prospects.

Although the differing characters of the various centers of production are not yet completely understood, it is certain that Hellenistic architecture had its own particular idiom in Greece and Asia Minor, in Syria and Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in North Africa, and in Italy. The best-known of these areas is the Aegean-Anatolian, represented by islands such as Delos, Kos, Samothrace, by the kingdom of Pergamon, and by the cities of Priene, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, and Miletos. Athens and the rest of Greece proper can be related to the Aegean-Anatolian area partly because a number of monuments erected in Greece in this period were donated by monarchs who gave their names to architectural monuments of Asia Minor as well, and partly because Aegean-Anatolian architecture remained particularly faithful in spirit to the traditions of the architecture of mainland Greece. Italy is equally rich in archaeological material, with

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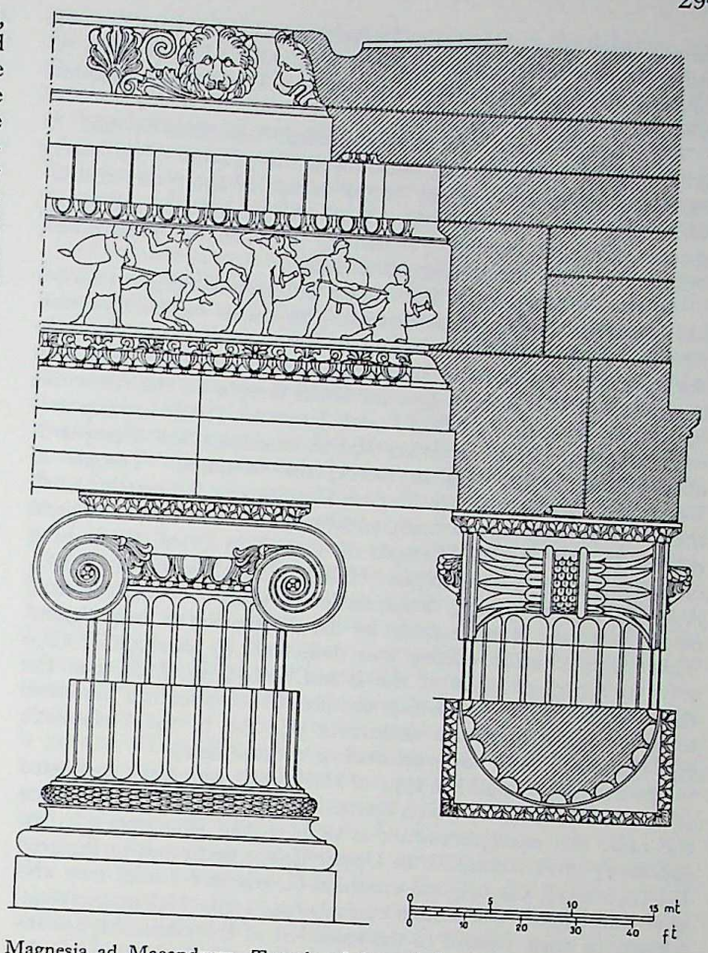
centers in Sicily, Magna Graecia, and, most notably, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Latium, where Hellenistic architecture had special distinguishing characteristics. In Latium and in Rome there are manifestations so distinctive and so new as to constitute not only an interesting chapter of Hellenistic architecture but the introductory chapter to the great work which is Roman architecture of the Imperial period. There are many gaps in our knowledge of the other centers, but work in the field and the critical study of known monuments are constantly illuminating new aspects and problems of Hellenistic architecture in Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica, and we can look forward to a fuller knowledge of the entire subject.

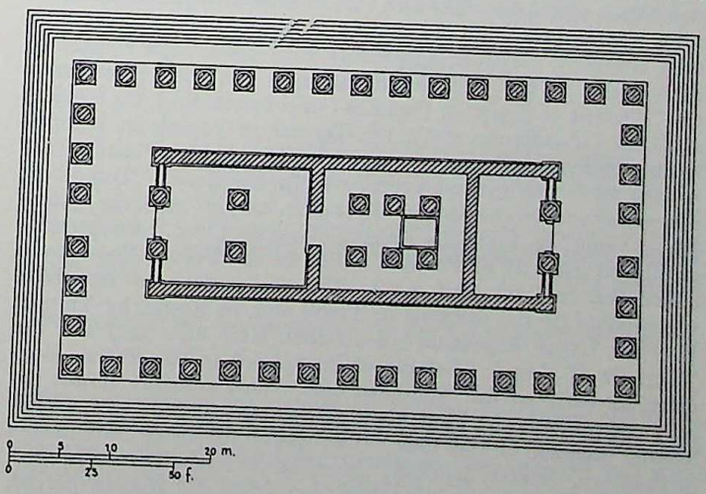
Hellenistic architecture offers ample evidence of continuity in the development from Greek to Roman art. The more obvious aspects of this continuity, decorative motifs and the architectural orders, are not so important for the subsequent development of Roman architecture as some original Hellenistic features that served as antecedents to Roman forms: types of structure such as the basilica, the circular mausoleum, the commemorative arch, and the nymphaeum; the modifications introduced in theaters and dwellings; the unified conception of monumental complexes; the tendency to axial disposition, symmetry, and frontality; the first tentative ventures in varying the uses of the arch, the vault, and even the dome; the taste for monumental town planning and also for the particular baroque expressions, already mentioned, that somehow, in architecture, seem alien to the more authentic Greek taste.

*Types of monuments. a. The temple.* In general, the temple is the building form that remains most faithful to tradition: the peripteral style for major temples, the prostyle form and, less frequently, the *templum in antis* for minor ones. However, even in this area Hellenistic architecture also produced a form that can be considered new and that is one of its triumphs. The pseudodipteral temple, a dipteral form in which the intermediate ring of columns between the cella and the external peristyle has been eliminated, had been known in Greek architecture in Sicily and Kerkyra (Corfu); the Hellenistic contribution was to adopt a new scheme of proportions embracing plan and intercolumniations, so that the cella was enclosed by a wide and airy pteroma. This innovation is linked with the name of the architect Hermogenes (variously dated, from the end of the 3d cent. to the second half of the 2d), who was actually merely its advocate, and perhaps, in his lost writings, its expositor. Hermogenes' principal work is the Ionic Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (FIGS. 294); an earlier work of his was the Ionic Temple of Dionysos at Teos in Asia Minor. Examples of the Hellenistic pseudodipteral temple include, in the Ionic order, the Temple of Aphrodite at Messa (Lesbos) and the Temple of Apollo Smintheos in the Troad, both perhaps antedating the temple at Magnesia; the Temple of Apollo at Alabanda constructed by Menesthes (2d cent. B.C.); the temple of Ankyra (2d cent. B.C.?; later called the "Temple of Roma and Augustus"). Corinthian pseudodipteral examples include the Temple of Hekate at Lagina (2d–1st cent. B.C.) and the Temple of Zeus at Aizani (Phrygia), a well-preserved, wholly Hellenistic work dating from well into the Roman age (ca. A.D. 125). The colossal Temple of Apollo at Didyma, near Miletos, built on the site of an earlier structure, is also assigned to the Hellenistic age (PLS. 147, 150); begun in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. by the architects Paionios of Ephesos and Daphnis of Miletos, it was finished only at the beginning of our era. This sumptuous hypaethral temple of dipteral type with 120 Ionic columns is in the Asia Minor tradition of the colossal temple, which was still active in the 4th century (Sardis, Ephesos). A late Hellenistic Ionic temple (46 B.C.) is the peripteral structure dedicated to Apollo Chresterios near Aigai (between Kyme and Myrina in Asia Minor). One of the earliest examples of the Corinthian order is the peripteral Temple of Zeus Olbios near Olbia (Cilicia), from the beginning of the 3d century B.C., but the most important is the Temple of Zeus Olympeios in Athens (PL. 149; I, PL. 404), erected by Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.) on the site of a Doric temple built by the Peisistratids. Not finished in Hellenistic times, the temple was worked on under




Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, elements of the architectural order (*from Lawrence*).

Augustus and completed and consecrated under Hadrian, so that the dating of the surviving elements is uncertain. The architect was Cossutius, doubtless a Romanized Greek; according to Vitruvius (vii, Preface, 15), he built the temple up to the architrave. Among the other Corinthian temples of the Hellenistic age are numerous examples from the late republican period (temples of Apollo and Jupiter, 1st cent. B.C., in Pompeii; many elements of the two sanctuaries at Praeneste, besides the round temples mentioned below). In the Roman age the building of Corinthian temples was widespread in Asia Minor. Among the examples of temples with mixed architectural orders are the so-called "Temple of Peace" at Paestum and the small




Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, reconstruction of the plan (*from Robertson*).

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temple of the upper market at Pergamon (2d cent. B.C.; prostyle and tetrastyle on a small podium, with Doric-like capitals on columns of Ionic type, a Doric frieze, and Doric-Ionic elements in architrave and cornices).

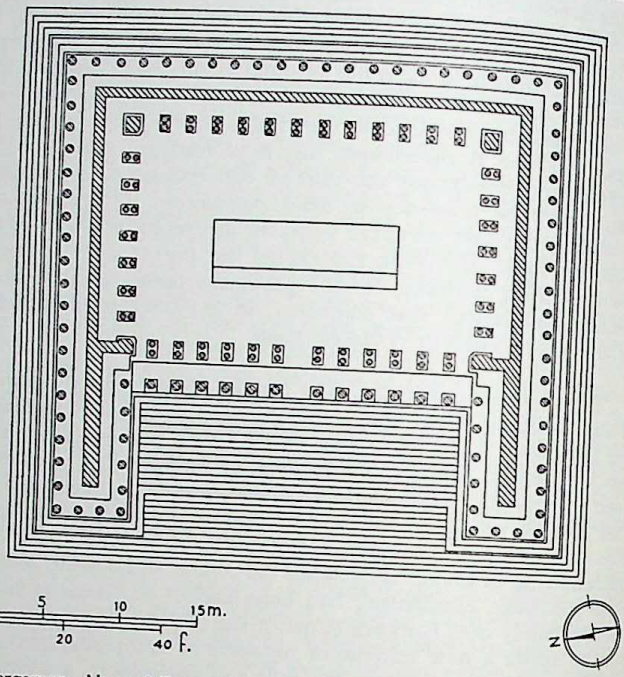
The Doric temple in the Hellenistic age can be said to have outlived its greatness, continuing the process of stiffening and slenderizing so contrary to the nature of the order and already so marked in the 4th century B.C. None of the many known examples (Delos, Pergamon, Troy, Kos, Samothrace, Lykosoura, etc.) merits special mention.

In the Hellenistic age the use of the circular temple (tholos) with peristyle continued to spread. The shrine on the Egyptian state barge of Ptolemy IV must have been of this type. The only example which has been preserved in Greece dates from the beginning of the Roman age: the small temple on the Acropolis in Athens dedicated to Roma and Augustus (Ionic monopteral without cella). The surviving Italian examples are Temple B of the Largo Argentina in Rome; the so-called "Temple of Vesta" (Corinthian) in the Forum Boarium in Rome; the small tholos at the top of the main sanctuary of Praeneste; and, most outstanding of all, the "Temple of Vesta" in Tivoli (beginning of 1st cent. B.C.), a jewel of pure Hellenistic architecture (PL. 201). A special type of tholos, designed for an unknown but certainly sacred purpose, is represented by the Arsinoeion of Samothrace. This large, circular edifice was dedicated by Arsinoë II (270 B.C.) to the great gods of the island. More unusual than the tholoi with pteromata, in fact unique, the Arsinoeion is related to other types of round structures popular in the Hellenistic age (funerary and commemorative monuments).

In a class by itself is a type of Hellenistic sanctuary dedicated to the cult of a ruler, which seems to have come to Rome from the east. An example occurs as early as the 3d century, in the sanctuary of Hermoupolis in Upper Egypt dedicated to Ptolemy III (246–221); the original complex (Doric and Ionic) may also have had superb Corinthian capitals (PL. 150). Hellenistic precedents, in turn related to the tradition of the pharaohs, are indicated for the sumptuous Alexandrian edifice known in the sources as the "Kaisareion" (Caesareum; later as the "Sebasteion"); this vanished structure, begun by Julius Caesar and completed by Augustus, had among its features propylaia, temples, porticoes, works of art (Philo, *De legatione ad Gaium*, xxii, 150, 151). The Kaisareion of Antioch, which has also vanished, was built a little later than that of Alexandria. It is very probable that a building found at Cyrene, and known by the name of Kaisareion, belongs to this series. A very wide, four-porticoed, Doric structure with two propylaia, small temple in the center, and adjacent basilical building (perhaps added later), it was of the end of the Hellenistic age and was perhaps originally dedicated to Octavian rather than to Julius Caesar.

Within the orbit of Hellenistic temple architecture — in view of the slender elegance of forms and the elements of elevation — may be placed a number of Italic temples of the late republican age, despite the fact these almost always remain faithful to the local tradition of a temple on a high podium, sometimes with complete peristyle, sometimes with colonnades limited to three sides. They include, to mention the most significant, the "Temple of Peace" at Paestum (3d–2d cent. B.C.), the temples at Gabii (3d–2d cent. B.C.), the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii in its 1st-century forms, the three temples in the Forum Holitorium in Rome (3d–2d century B.C.), the small "Temple of Hercules" at Cori (beginning of 1st cent. B.C.; PL. 201), the "Temple of Vesta" in Tivoli (beginning of 1st cent. B.C.), the pseudo-peripteral Temple of Fortuna Virilis in the Forum Boarium in Rome (ca. mid-1st cent. B.C.). The tholos type of temple is represented by the example in Tivoli and, in Rome, by Temple B of the Largo Argentina (3d–2d cent. B.C.; FIG. 397) and the "Temple of Vesta" (Temple of Portunus?) in the Forum Boarium, as early as the Augustan age. What remains almost totally unknown is the Hellenistic temple architecture of the Hellenized regions of the East. The many surviving monuments of Palmyra, Gerasa, Baalbek, Suwaida, Amman, Dura-Europos, and elsewhere are for the most part from the Roman period, and in the unusualness of many of their forms they raise once more the recurrent problem of the place occupied, within the orbit of local Greco-Hellenistic traditions, by influences from the East, often very strong, and from the Roman West.

*b. Monumental altars.* A typical and, in a sense, original expression of Hellenistic religious architecture is the monumental altar within a sacred enclosure, known from examples in Syracuse (altar of Hieron II, 269–215 B.C.), Priene, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Samothrace, Kos, Lykosoura, and Pergamon (reign of Eumenes II, 197–ca. 159 B.C.; FIG. 296; PLS. 172–174). The Pergamon altar is the most imposing and the most important because of its great richness of decoration; the immensity of its proportions, the position on the high podium, the height and width of the entrance staircase, and the splendor of the decoration combine to invest this monument with exceptional grandeur. The effect is somewhat diminished, however, by the slender and elegant Ionic colonnade and by the rectilinear simplicity of the architrave and cornices, which contrast singularly with the agitated movement and the strong mannerism of the light and shade effects in the great gigantomachy frieze that occupies so prominent a place in the elevation. The two Ionic altars of Magnesia and Priene can be considered reduced imitations of the Pergamon altar; they have been attributed to Hermogenes.



Pergamon, Altar of Zeus, reconstruction of the plan (*from Lawrence*).

*c. Propylaia.* A type of monument that is traditional in the Hellenistic period is the propylaion, a monumental entrance to a sacred or secular area or enclosure, or even to a single structure, usually enriched with colonnades on one or two fronts, often with widened central intercolumniation. In certain propylaia there are more or less vivid reminders of the Propylaia of the Acropolis of Athens (III, PL. 337, FIG. 665), which was directly copied in the Roman age (2d cent.) in the Great Propylaion of Eleusis. Numerous examples of this type of monument have been found — at Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Delos, Samothrace, and Pergamon, to name a few of the sites — some rather simple, others of a pronounced monumentality, some with a traditional Doric, others with an Ionic or Corinthian colonnade. Notable representatives of the type are the propylaia of the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, added to a preexisting structure; the propylaia of the sanctuary of Samothrace, erected under Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.); the propylon of the Bouleterion of Miletos (FIG. 302), donated by Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.); the Lesser Propylaion of Eleusis, built about the middle of the 1st century B.C. by Appius Claudius Pulcher; and the two

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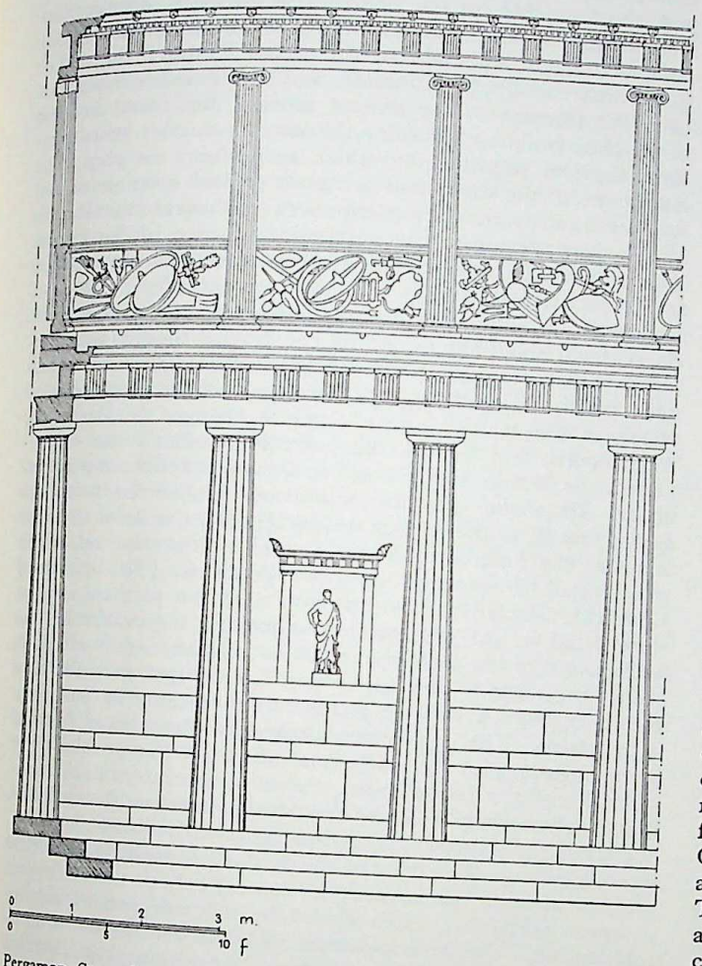
monumental gates of Ephesos, one from the end of the 2d century B.C., the other dated 4–3 B.C. by an inscription in which two freedmen of Agrippa dedicate the structure to Augustus.

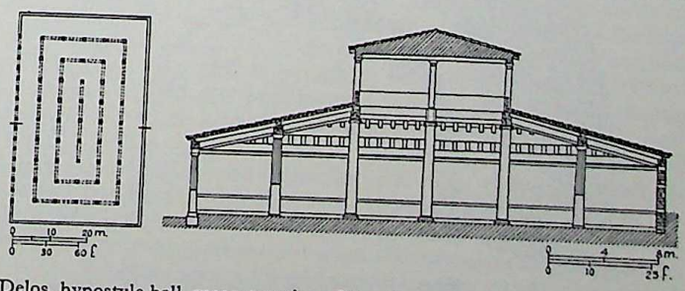
*d. Porticoes, basilicas, and libraries.* The Hellenistic age has been justly termed the age of the portico. Wide use was made of this architectural feature in a variety of forms: as a freestanding structure, as an enclosure of public squares (agoras) and of sanctuaries, and as an interior element of public buildings and of dwellings. An abundance of porticoes is, in fact, the salient characteristic of such urban complexes as Miletos, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Pergamon (FIG. 297), Delos, and Priene. The fashion passed from Greece to Italy; thus the extensive use of porticoes was characteristic of Hellenistic Pompeii. Particularly in the eastern ambient the street flanked by porticoes was used, as we know from examples of the Roman period that definitely seem to imitate Hellenistic models. Among the porticoes dating from the 3d century B.C. are the long portico of Antigonos II Gonatas in Delos (the so-called "Portico of the Horns"), and the porticoes of Philip V of Macedon in Delos and Megalopolis.



Pergamon, Stoa of Athena, reconstruction of the elevation (*from Lawrence*).

A distinctive type of portico is the one called "Pergamene," examples of which are found not only in Pergamon (e.g., in the precinct of the Temple of Athena) but also in various places in Greece, having been donated to Greek cities by Pergamene monarchs (stoas of Attalos I in Delphi, of Eumenes II and Attalos II in Athens). The Pergamene portico is two-storied, the lower level having Doric columns, the upper, Ionic columns of elliptical section, with stone transennae (often decorated in relief) between them, and with Doric-Ionic elements in the entablature; a row of columns, for the most part with palm-leaf capitals, divides the interior into two aisles. The most famous porticoes are the stoa of the sacred precinct of Athena, in Pergamon (FIG. 297), which also served as a frontispiece to the Library, and the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, which had a row of shops in the rear. The Stoa of Eumenes II at the foot of the south slope of the Acropolis (dated, according to some scholars, to the 2d century of our era) was supported by a wall at the rear of a long substructure of terraced arcades. It fulfilled the additional function served by the portico *post scaenam* of a place of entertainment, offering shelter to the spectators at the neighboring Theater of Dionysos.

In cities situated on hills there developed a type of market portico especially suited to irregular terrain, a type comprising a series of structures standing on more than one plane. Generally the upper portico, with a colonnade, opened on the agora, and the lower ones, in the form of corridors with lines of shops or warehouses in the substructure of the terraces, opened on the levels below (Assos, Aigai, Alinda). A similar system is seen in Pergamon (PL. 148). Covered, colonnaded galleries of one or more aisles widely influenced, and frequently determined, the planimetric conception of individual buildings. With increasing frequency, the portico appeared as a principal constituent of palaestrae, gymnasiums, meeting halls, houses, and villas. The porticoes of the Theater of Pompey in Rome and of the large theater in Pompeii (later used as barracks for gladiators), suggest that the use of the portico *post scaenam* as described by Vitruvius (v, 9, 1) became widespread in the Hellenistic age. The so-called "Portico of the Bulls," erected in the sacred precinct of Apollo in Delos in the first half of the 3d century, is in reality a sanctuary (the Pythion), but its elongated plan suggests a portico. The long gallery, perhaps built on the occasion of a naval victory, had a sunken floor designed to receive a warship as a votive gift. The building contained an *adyton* with an altar, and was preceded by a tetrastyle Doric propylon. To this category of porticoes may be assigned another Delian construction, the so-called "hypostyle hall" (ca. 210 B.C.; FIG. 298), a large building, rectangular in plan, which served as a meeting place and trading center for merchants. The building is open only on the long southern side and is filled almost entirely by two concentric peristyles that supported a clerestory and a slanting roof. Some scholars derive the design of the hypostyle hall from classical Greek buildings (the Telesterion of Eleusis, the Odeion of Perikles in Athens), while others view it as an Alexandrian form, related to the Egyptian hypostyle hall tradition. The Delos building is thought to foreshadow, however modestly and tentatively, the fully developed basilica with entrance façade on one of the long sides, which was to undergo a profound transformation in Roman architecture from the 2d century until the age of Caesar, becoming amplified into the harmonious grandeur seen in the elevation of the basilicas of Porcia (184 B.C.), Fulvia-Emilia (179), Sempronia (170), Opimia (121), and Julia (46). Another type of basilica, of which there is a very interesting example in Pompeii, is the basilica with the forum entrance, in the form of a colonnaded portico with five passages, in one of the short sides of the building (FIG. 396). Linked to



Delos, hypostyle hall, reconstruction of the plan and section (*from Lawrence*).

different traditions from those of the Delos building, the Pompeian basilica, which was roofed — not hypaethral, as was once thought — consists of a large rectangular hall divided into three aisles by a peristyle of 28 Corinthian columns. In the center of the wall opposite the entrance was the podium from which justice was administered. The building itself, which served as a

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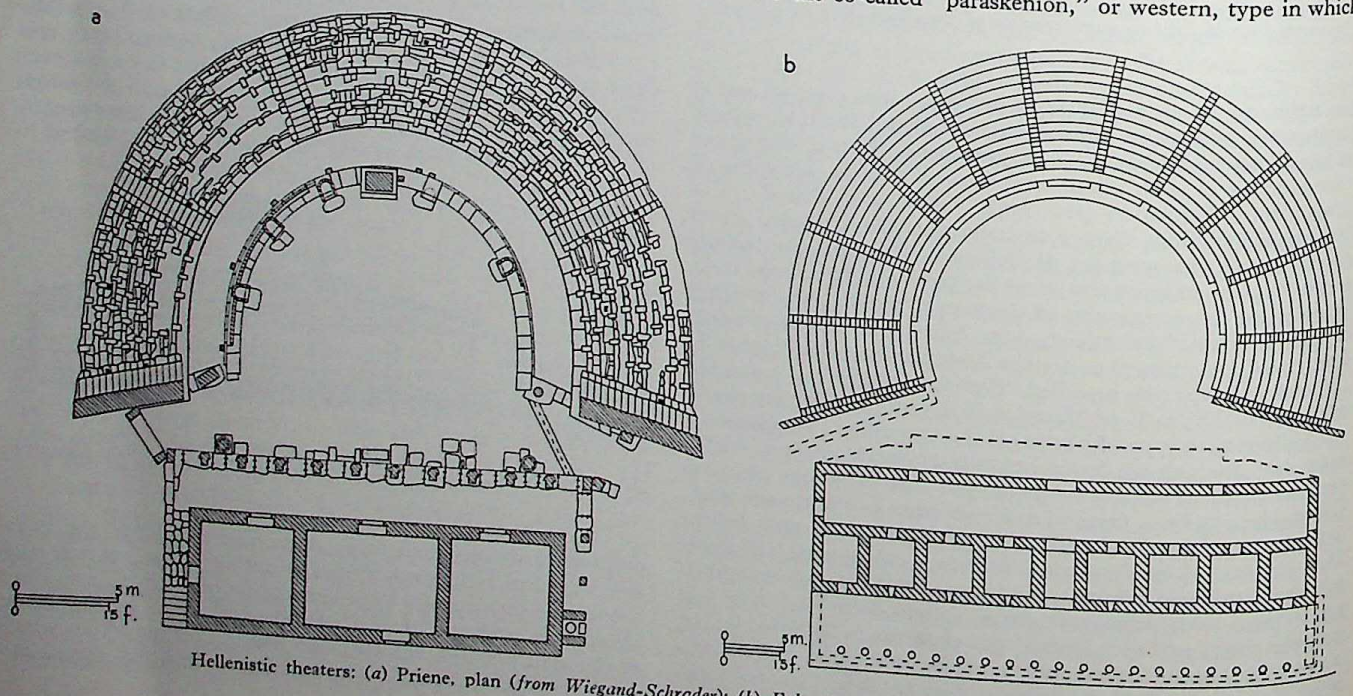
meeting place for public affairs, was built in the second half of the 2d century; the portico in front of the building, the chalcidicum, may be earlier.

It has long been believed that the Italic and Roman basilica may be Greek in origin. The basilica with entrance on one of the long sides has a precedent in the hypostyle hall of Delos (FIG. 298), and the Pompeian type has a precedent in the much earlier two-aisled building in Thera; there is also the evidence of the term "basilica," which is thought to derive from the Stoa Basilike (or Basileios) in the Agora of Athens, a building whose function as judicial seat of the archon is parallel to one of the functions of the Italic basilica. Another, more valid etymology links the name "basilica" to the royal porticoes of eastern Hellenistic cities, structures that may have influenced Italian architecture either directly or through the Greek colonies in southern Italy. In any case, it should be emphasized that the basilica of Pompeii is not only the earliest example of this type of building but is an architectural manifestation wholly Hellenistic in taste, proportion, and in all details of its elevation.

A type of structure that because of its growing importance must have assumed new forms in the Hellenistic age is the public library (Alexandria, Pergamon, Antioch, Pella, etc.). Of the earliest and most important example, the Library of Alexandria, erected by Ptolemy Soter (323–285), only limited information has survived. Strabo (xviii, 1) tells us that the Mouseion, which contained the Library, had a room for banquets, an exedra, porticoes, and streets; we have no way of determining which of the elements constituting the building, or complex of buildings, made up the actual Library. Another celebrated Hellenistic example, the Library of Pergamon, is better known. Modest in size, and thus not likely to have been modeled on the Library of Alexandria, the Library of Pergamon was a rectangular structure with three small rooms and a large hall of honor, which contained a podium around its walls, perhaps for statues, and a prominent pedestal for a copy of the *Athena Parthenos* of Phidias (III, PL. 385). Faced with such a scarcity of original material, this field of research must turn to the more numerous surviving libraries of the Roman age to determine the extent to which these preserve features of their Hellenistic predecessors.

*e. Theaters and meeting halls.* Among the most important of the theaters dating originally from the Hellenistic age are those of Priene (FIG. 299), Delos, Ephesos (FIG. 299), Segesta (FIG. 301), Acre, and Tyndaris (3d cent.); Delphi, Oropos, Pergamon (PL. 148), Teos, Thasos, and Pompeii (2d cent.); Termessos and Pompeii (small theater, 1st cent. B.C.). Earlier theaters that were remodeled in this period include those of Athens, Eretria, Epidauros (III, PL. 340), Tegea, and Syracuse (PL. 55). The general changes made in the Hellenistic age are best observed in the Theater of Priene and the large theater of Pompeii.

The transformation from the classic to the Hellenistic theater involved gradual changes in the orchestra, the cavea, and, most notably, in the structure of the *skene*, changes that were bound up with new trends in the drama. With the decline of tragedy and the rise of the New Comedy, the role of the chorus was sharply curtailed, and the orchestra, which had been the fulcrum of the ancient theater, diminished in favor of the stage building, affording the actors a suitable raised platform (*logeion*, *pulpitum*) on which to perform the play. The alterations of the cavea and orchestra created a variety of new functional and spatial relationships between them and the elements of the skene, owing in part to the introduction of the *logeion*. The variations in the skene, of greater interest, took place in three steps: between about 310 and 300 B.C., movable *proskenia* of wood were introduced in theaters of the old type; in the second phase, from about 250 on, newly constructed theaters were provided with a permanent wooden proskenion with a low colonnade; finally, after about 200, masonry took the place of wood wherever the terrain allowed such a change. In Pergamon, Megalopolis, and Sparta, the portable wooden skene was retained, the sections being stored in *skenothekai* between performances. Once the dramatic action was transferred to the logeion, that is, to the roof of the proskenion, the skene structure acquired the function of a background for the stage set, which was erected on a second level, the *episkenion*. (The opinion of Dörpfeld, that after the introduction of the proskenion plays were acted in the orchestra, thus making the proskenion the background of the performance, is no longer generally accepted; see Bieber, 1939.) The episkenion, it is thought, may also have passed through a wooden phase before reaching its final form in masonry. The proskenion presented a rectilinear front of piers, columns, or half columns joined to piers, which were generally of the Doric order. Some of the intercolumniations (one or three) were reserved for passage between the orchestra and the skene structure, while the others were filled with painted wood paneling. The front of the episkenion presented a varying number of large openings, from three (Priene) or five (Oropos) to seven (Ephesos), often closed by movable painted scenery (*thyromata*). The principal types of skene that should be noted here are the so-called "paraskenion," or western, type in which




Hellenistic theaters: (*a*) Priene, plan (*from Wiegand-Schrader*); (*b*) *Ephesos*, completed plan (*from Lawrence*).

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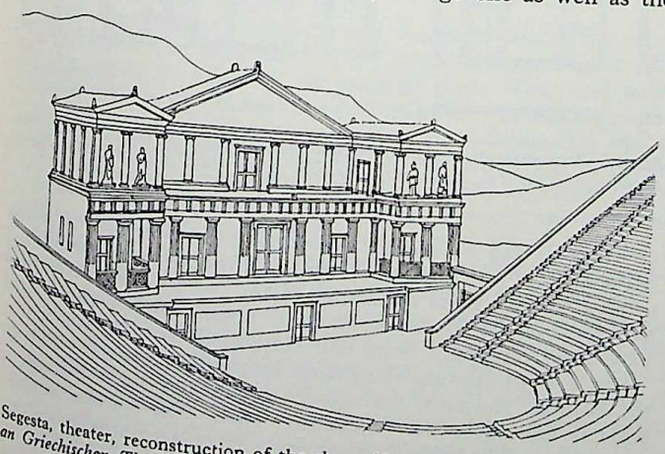
the lateral projecting masses of the skene of the older theaters are retained and the logeion is inserted between them (Thera, Pompeii, Segesta); the ramp, or continental, type, in which the logeion is accessible from the orchestra by means of two ramps placed at the far ends along the line of the skene structure (Epidauros); the eastern type, in which the skene has a straight wall, a prolonged paraskenion, without lateral closing sections, in some cases extending to the sides of the skene structure, in other cases surrounding it completely (Priene, Delos); and the type in which the proskenion has the true colonnade of the advanced Hellenistic (Thasos, Piraeus, Thera, Magnesia ad Maeandrum).

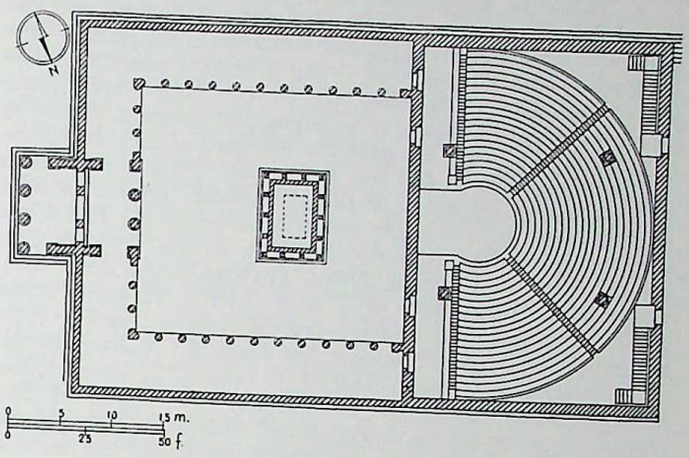
In a comparison of the Hellenistic theater with the Roman, the main characteristics of the latter that emerge are the following: (1) in most cases the cavea did not rest on a natural slope but was supported by a system of arcades and was enclosed in an external ring; (2) the Roman cavea was not in the form of a horseshoe but of a semicircle; (3) the parodoi dividing the cavea from the skene were no longer open walks but were vaulted passageways beneath the extensions of the cavea and served to join into one unit the two parts of the theater, cavea and skene; (4) the logeion of the skene was lower and deeper; (5) the front of the skene was sumptuously decorated with columns (often of more than one order), niches, and statues, and was generally provided with five doors. According to some views, this Roman type of theater was directly derived from that of Greece; others find it a new architectural expression. There can now be no doubt that the Roman theater, like other expressions of Roman art, is in the line of descent from Hellenistic forms. The written tradition informs us that the first permanent theater in Rome, erected by Pompey in 55 B.C., was modeled on the theater of Mytilene, and the testimony of Plutarch on this point (*Life of Pompey*, xlii, 8, 9) is so explicit and detailed that we cannot but accept it. With some variations, the Roman theater is composed essentially of the same elements as the Hellenistic theater. The principle of containing the cavea within an external architectural structure had frequently been embodied in Greek bouleteria and odeia (Athens, Miletos, Pergamon). We find it a little after 80 B.C. in Pompeii, in the small theater, a covered odeion, which also incorporates the system of covered paradoi. The columned *frons scaenae* can be said to have advanced beyond the embryonic phase in the architectural façade that the Hellenistic theater achieved with the introduction of the episkenion and proskenion with columns, false columns, and doors. The union of cavea and skene was the end result of the process of *rapprochement* of the two elements that began with the changed function of the orchestra. It is important to note that in Pompeii in the republican period there were two theaters, a large one as well as the



Segesta, theater, reconstruction of the skene (*from H. Bulle, Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern, Munich, 1928, pl. 25*).

small one just mentioned, both of which had, among their typical Hellenistic features, elements that were to be characteristic of the Roman theater. In the large theater, constructed about 200 B.C., a skene having slanting paraskenoi like those at Segesta (FIG. 301) was succeeded, toward the middle of the 1st century, by a rectilinear skene with five openings and a logeion of the Hellenistic type; and in the Augustan age there followed the most radical transformation in the "Roman" direction, the lowering and widening of the logeion and the creation of a proskenion with curvilinear and rectangular niches. The presence of a portico behind the skene (Rome, Theater of Pompey) is further evidence of the continuous evolution of the Roman theater from the Hellenistic type.

In the late Hellenistic age there began the construction in permanent form of another type of building for spectacles, one




Miletos, Bouleterion, completed plan (*from Robertson*).

originating exclusively in the Italic environment — the amphitheater, a huge elliptical structure with stepped seats, intended for gladiatorial and wild-animal combats. The earliest surviving example, in Pompeii, dates from shortly after 80 B.C. and represents the type that rests on an embankment; later this Pompeian example was to be flanked by another amphitheater, built completely of masonry.

*f. Halls for popular assemblies* (*bouleteria, ekklesiasteria*). Structures designed to house popular assemblies are known in many localities of the Hellenistic world (Notion, Assos, Priene, Thasos, Miletos, Messene). Priene and, most notably, Miletos offer outstanding examples. The Ekklesiasterion of Priene has the form of a small rectangular theater enclosed by a surrounding wall and is roofed (3d cent. B.C.). The more complex and unusual Bouleterion of Miletos (FIG. 302) is later, having been built by Antiochos IV Epiphanes (who had donated its like to Antioch). It was a spacious rectangular structure comprising a Corinthian propylon, a large rectangular court with a Doric portico on three sides, and fronted by a two-story façade, the main part of the building, in which was enclosed the meeting hall, with stepped seats arranged in a semicircle and a ceiling supported by four Ionic columns. This structure, thought by some to be one of the more important achievements of Hellenistic architecture and a milestone in the history of European architecture, is belittled by others as a hybrid, an infelicitous compromise between exterior and interior arrived at by fitting a curvilinear into a rectilinear form. It seems fair to acknowledge a certain conflict between the conception of the ground plan, dominated by the principle of axiality (propylon, portico, cavea), and that of the elevation, in which the main part of the building is unexpectedly disposed according to an axis transverse to that of the monumental complex. Nonetheless the Bouleterion has a crystalline harmony of proportion, an exquisitely Greek and Hellenistic grace; it is an interesting example of correlation between internal structure and external façade.

A type of construction that seems to have spread particularly in the late Hellenistic period was the guild building for businessmen, who met to pursue their calling in fixed commercial centers. Such, for example, were the agora of the Italians (or Hermiasts) and the agora of the Poseidoniasts, both in Delos. The first, erected about 130 B.C. by the guild of Italian merchants in Delos, who had Hermes as their patron, was a quadrilateral approxi-

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mately 3,900 by 2,730 ft. with a central peristyle court. Within, it had a series of exedrae, while outside there stood rows of shops. The agora of the Poseidoniasts, built in 110 B.C. by the Syrian merchants of Berytos (mod. Beirut), who had Poseidon as their patron, was of more modest proportions; it also had a central, Doric peristyle with rooms for various purposes (storage rooms, meeting halls) and a sacred enclosure with four chapels dedicated to Greco-Syrian divinities and to the goddess Roma.

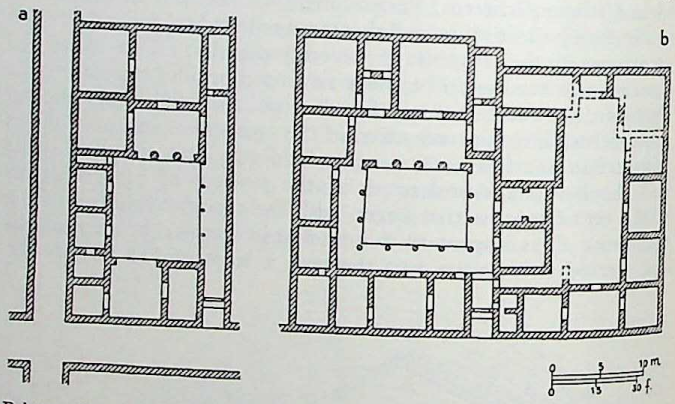
*g. Palaestrae, gymnasiums, baths, fountains.* As early as the end of the 4th century, and throughout the Hellenistic age, the structures designed for the physical education of the young — the gymnasium and the palaestra — had a distinct character. The gymnasium, properly speaking, was an open place where young men exercised, particularly in wrestling and jumping, as well as with the javelin, while the palaestra consisted of enclosed rooms for wrestling, boxing, and the pankration. Often the palaestra was considered an annex of the gymnasium, sometimes even identified with it. Palaestrae and gymnasiums of the Hellenistic age are known from examples in Priene, Eretria, Miletos, Pergamon, Pompeii, Olympia, Delos, Epidauros, and other sites. Generally they consisted of a wide interior peristyle, about which were distributed various rooms such as exercise halls and porticoes for entertainment and dressing. Noteworthy are the palaestrae of Olympia (end of 3d cent. B.C.), which follow Vitruvian specifications (*De architectura*, v, 11), and of Epidauros, the gymnasiums of Priene and Miletos (the plan of the latter recalling, in concept, the Bouleterion), and the unusual triple gymnasium in Pergamon, extended on successive terraces of the middle city with individual sections for boys, for youths from eighteen to twenty years, and for adults. In Pompeii both the Doric-porticoed Samnite Palaestra, to the north of the large theater, and the important complex of the Stabian Baths and adjacent palaestra belong to the Hellenistic period. The latter structure, which goes back to the first half of the 2d century B.C., but which only in the course of the 2d and 1st centuries took on the various elements that were to become canonical in the great baths of the Roman Imperial age, presents, in a very advanced stage, that union of palaestra and bath establishment which in the Greek world was only timidly broached. The public bath is a type meagerly documented in the Hellenistic art of the eastern Mediterranean: Kolophon, Athens, Gortyna, Taposiris (?), near Alexandria, and Oiniadai, in Acarnania. The most interesting, the baths in Oiniadai, which date from the 2d century B.C., show the three principal elements of the Roman bath — frigidarium, tepidarium, calidarium.

As a structure in its own right the public fountain assumed richer and more varied forms in the Hellenistic age. The simpler and more traditional type had a surrounding wall on three sides and a colonnade at the front with a second, interior row of columns or piers (Pergamon, Ialysos, Sikyon, Cyrene); the usual architectural order was Doric. The fountain house of Miletos, dedicated by a Queen Laodike — probably the wife of Antiochos II Theos (reigned 261–247 B.C.) — is of the Corinthian order with a double row of columns. In the fountain of Ephesos, of the simpler type, a large rectangular niche with two columns between the *antae*, and in the fountain in the agora of Magnesia ad Maeandrum, which had twin rows of columns and a blind arch rising on the back wall, the Ionic order was used. But the Hellenistic age certainly was also familiar with the more ornamental type of nymphaeum (often conceived as the architectural façade of a natural grotto consecrated to the nymphs) which was to be so favored in the Roman age, both in the East and in the West. We have an account from the very threshold of the Hellenistic age of a nymphaeum with porticoes before a grotto of stalactites at Mieza, in Macedonia, to which Aristotle customarily took his pupil Alexander (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vii, 3). According to the evidence of a papyrus of the time, the type of fountain with rectilinear front elevation was supplanted as early as the 3d century B.C. in the Alexandrian area by the type with an apse, featuring polychrome materials and colonnaded exedrae with statues between the columns. Given the present state of knowledge of Hellenistic architecture in the East (Syria, Pisidia, Pamphilia, Ionia), it is impossible to establish whether, or to what extent, the imposing nymphaea of the Roman age in these areas, with their *mouvementé* façades enriched by columns, niches, and sculptures, may have developed from earlier Hellenistic examples of similar baroque taste.

*h. The lighthouse of Alexandria and the clock tower of Andronikos.* The construction of that great public monument, the lighthouse on the little island of Pharos at the entrance to the port of Alexandria, must have been completed by the beginning of the 3d century B.C. Of colossal proportions (over 440 ft. in height), this work, which remained standing throughout antiquity and into the Middle Ages — inspiring not only other lighthouses of the ancient world but also certain aspects of funerary architecture (tower of Taposiris etc.) and even, it is thought, the Islamic minaret — is known only through coins, a Roman glass from Begram, and medieval drawings. The Pharos, as it came to be known, was regarded by the ancients as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The work of the architect Sosistratos of Knidos, it consisted, almost certainly, of a cubical base, an intermediate octagonal part, and a cylindrical upper part decorated with figures of Tritons and crowned with a colossal statue of Poseidon (or of Ptolemy I Soter).

Another unusual public edifice is the water-clock tower (the so-called "Tower of the Winds"), erected in Athens in the middle of the 1st century B.C. by Andronikos of Kyrrhos (Andronicus Cyrrhestes). An octagonal structure with conical roof, it has representations of the winds, in relief, decorating the exterior of the upper part (PL. 149).

*i. Houses.* The study of Hellenistic dwellings is based mainly on the well-known groups of houses in Priene (FIG. 304), Delos (FIG. 305), and Pompeii (FIG. 402), on the large single, noble or royal dwellings in Pergamon, Palatitsa, Ptolemaïs, Nippur, and Arak el-Emir, and on a description by Vitruvius (vi, 7) of Greek houses of the late Hellenistic period. To these may be added, because of their special form, the noble dwellings




Priene, plans indicating the successive developments of the house: (*a*) Plan of 4th–3d cent. B.C.; (b) plan probably of 2d cent. B.C. (*from Lawrence*).

or villas of the Pompeian countryside in their earliest phase. Missing from our documentation, and the lacuna is particularly serious, are the royal residences in the two great capitals of the kingdoms of the Diadochi, Alexandria and Antioch, which must have been especially large and sumptuous structures.

In the 3d century the Priene house (FIG. 304) was built on the earliest, simplest, and most traditional plan; it belongs to what is known as the "megaron" type. The nucleus consists of a hall with vestible *in antis* opening on an uncovered court; a long lateral corridor affords access to the outside, and there are a number of smaller rooms. In some houses the beginning of the transition from court to peristyle can be recognized. In one case the fusion of two adjacent houses created a more complex type of dwelling than usual, with double court. This transformation (2d cent.) seems to have come about through the influence of the later Hellenistic style, which, according to Vitruvius, favored precisely such houses with double courts. The Delian houses (FIG. 305), for the most part of the 2d century B.C.,

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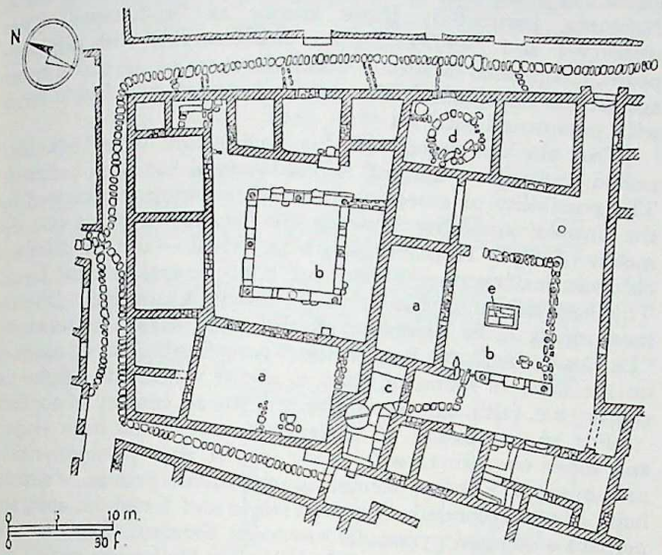
represent, on the other hand, the adoption and development of a type of dwelling with a central nucleus in a peristyle about which the various rooms are distributed and to which access is gained through a corridor. Sometimes an upper story is added to the first story, either as part of the same dwelling, with access by interior entrance staircase and with a gallery around the peristyle; in other cases the second story is added as an independent dwelling with separate staircase. Among the Delian houses note should be taken of the House of the Hill and the House of the Masks. The first repeats in its simple clear plan, with one



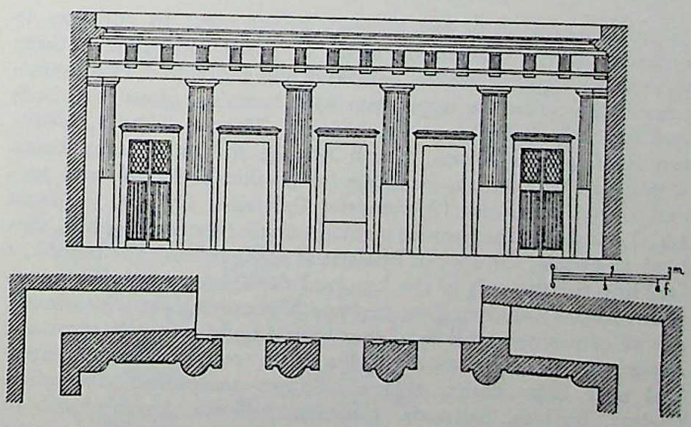

Delos, plans of houses: (*a*) Triclinium; (*b*) court; (*c*) bath; (*d*) shop; (*e*) altar (*from Lawrence*).

of the wings of the very wide portico extending the whole length of the building, the type of 4th-century house with *pastas* known at Olynthos. It had an upper story with gallery running round the peristyle and rooms perhaps treated similarly to the lower floors, decorated in the style designated Pompeian Style I. The House of the Masks, on the other hand, presents a more complex type of dwelling in which it is possible to discern the late Hellenistic house as described by Vitruvius, with a part reserved for men, another reserved for women, a section intended for guests, and comfortable living quarters (large dining room, library, art gallery, etc.).

The monumental subterranean tombs of Alexandria, surely reflecting contemporaneous types of dwellings, repeat either the megaron (or *oikos*) or the peristyle plan. The royal palaces discovered on the Acropolis of Pergamon were large houses of the peristyle type, unusually modest, notwithstanding the elegance of the decoration. Houses of the Delian type with peristyle have also been found at Dura-Europos, Olbia, Sidon, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (anc. Glanum, France), and elsewhere. The remains of a palace of the 4th century B.C. at Palatitsa, in Macedonia, show a deep vestibule and a wide peristyle surrounded by various rooms decorated in part by mosaics. At Ptolemaïs, in Cyrenaica, there is a large palace thought to have been erected for the local representative of the Egyptian monarch. The original structure seems to go back to the 3d century B.C.; the remains are dated 2d–1st century B.C. by one authority (G. Pesce, 1950), but others, though recognizing Hellenistic-Alexandrian traditions in the palace, advance its date to the 1st century of our era. The palace has a narrow and elongated rectangular plan consisting of an axially disposed succession of a great columned hall, a spacious peristyle, and a grand dining hall. Numerous other rooms are distributed at the sides. The plan recalls certain Alexandrian hypogea, as well as the Flavian palace on the Palatine and a building of the Roman period excavated in Jericho; in all these, reflections of Alexandrian architectural types can be seen. In the northern part of the Ptolemaïs palace there were quarters, including an atrium with peristyle, intended for the superintendent of the palace and the service personnel. The palace also had an upper story. While the proposed reconstruction of the southern façade of the peristyle, which has a central part (a wide opening and an upper story) raised above the two wings with double-ordered porticoes, is still in the better-known traditions of Hellenistic architecture, the proposed reconstruction of the northern side presents an aspect of baroque magnificence that seems to anticipate much later forms. Above the Corinthian colonnade and rich entablature with its spiral frieze runs a crowning element, purely decorative, with three strongly projecting niches — the two lateral ones with triangular pediments, and the central one with mixed (curvilinear and straight) pediments — situated between Corinthian columns on pedestals built out from the wall, and with unusual half-moon acroteria. If the proposed reconstructions are reliable, and if these architectural forms are Hellenistic and not later modifications (as has been suspected), the palace at Ptolemaïs reveals baroque architectural tendencies and tastes at variance with much of Hellenistic architecture as it is now understood. Since many certain indications point to Alexandria as the source of the architecture of Ptolemaïs, the question arises whether the vanished architecture of the former city may not have realized forms in a baroque style as yet unknown. It is significant that the judgment "baroque" is also applied to some of the architecture of the strongly Alexandria-influenced city of Petra, which gives evidence of tastes and tendencies similar to those seen in Ptolemaïs and which some scholars, rejecting the attribution to the 2d century of our era, regard as an expression of the Hellenistic period.

There are a few examples that give us an idea of the dwellings of the Hellenistic East. At Nippur, in Mesopotamia, there is a building that demonstrates interestingly the Hellenistic influence affecting a local type of house, with megaron and peristyle and Doric columns of elliptical section. The palace of Hyrkonos at Arak el-Emir (anc. Tyros), Syria, of about 180 B.C., shows a similar fusion of Greek and Eastern elements, though it is on a different plan. In its façade, the high crowning frieze with seriated animals in the Babylonian style is combined with graceful Greek elements (portico with pseudo-Corinthian columns and Doric entablature, surmounted by a similar small portico; pseudo-Corinthian corner piers). The presence in Dura-Europos of peristyle houses of the Delian type has already been pointed out. Houses of the 2d century of our era in Palmyra reveal, in the great clarity and organicity of their plans, a similar derivation.

Perhaps the finest examples of the Hellenistic dwelling are to be found in Hellenized Campania. The houses of Pom-



Alexandria, necropolis of Mustafa Pasha, Tomb 3. Tentative reconstruction of the Doric façade, elevation and plan (*from A. Adriani, Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain, 1933–35, fig. 26*).

peii and Herculaneum, after the earliest phase, in which they were of the simple, severe type of Italic dwelling with atrium, became at a certain stage (and substantially remained) profoundly Hellenized. If the primitive nucleus of the atrium with tablinum was retained, more or less, the house was enlarged and enhanced

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by peristyles, exedrae, *oikoi*, gardens, and fountains — as well as being enriched in the Greek style of decoration with wall paintings, mosaics, statues, and in many cases, luxurious furnishings. An interesting illustration of Hellenistic influences overlapping and being fused with the forms of the earlier house with atrium is afforded by the houses to which a graceful upper gallery (sometimes false, sometimes real) with little columns and transennae has been added (the Samnite House in Herculaneum, end of 2d cent. B.C.). Of the houses of Hellenistic Pompeii (House of the Citharist; houses of Epidius Rufus, of Pansa, of the Silver Wedding, etc.) the finest example is the House of the Faun (PL. 200; FIG. 402), which occupies an entire insula (block) and is composed of two atria (one Tuscan and one tetrastyle), two peristyles, dining rooms, a splendid exedra, formerly adorned with the great mosaic of the Battle of Alexander (PLS. 154, 155), cubicula, and smaller rooms. In one stage the house had excellent decorations in Style I, but its magnificent original decoration was of the finest mosaics, apparently imported from some eastern Hellenistic center, perhaps Alexandria (see below, *Painting*).

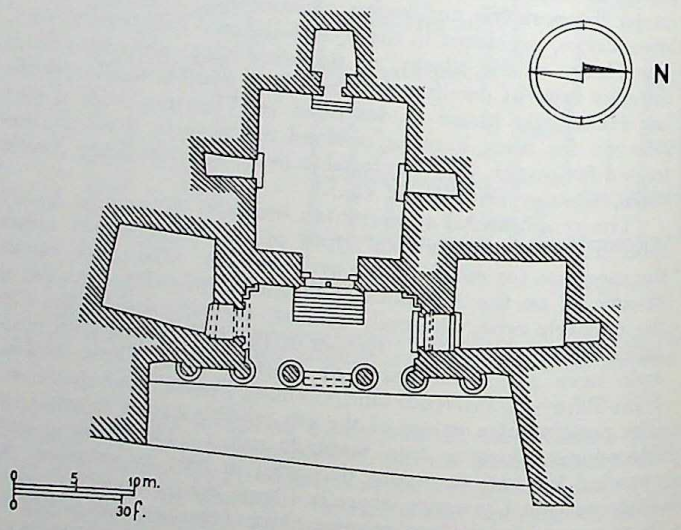
Among the villas of the Campanian countryside going back in the original structure to the advanced or late Hellenistic period, mention should be made of the Villa of the Papyri near Herculaneum and the Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Item) in Pompeii. The former comprised living quarters of the peristyle type and a very long peristyle with pool, garden, and covered walk. With its matchless wealth of decorative sculpture, largely in bronze, and its small library containing the works of Greek philosophers in papyrus rolls, this house (1st cent. B.C. and perhaps earlier) bears witness to the marked Hellenization of Italic culture at the end of the republican age. The Villa of the Mysteries, which in its first phase goes back to the middle of the 2d century B.C., appears as a massive rectangular block with the principal rooms aligned along a central axis. A columned portico with a central exedra — later replaced by a *viridarium*, or garden of potted plants — enclosed the rear part of the building on three sides. As early as the 1st century B.C., the villa underwent modification and was adorned with fine Style II decoration incorporating the celebrated Dionysian *megalographia* (see below, *Painting*). It is certain that the villa type of construction was widespread and developed brilliantly in the Roman world between the 2d and the 1st century; like the house of the ordinary citizen, it may have been strongly influenced by Greco-Hellenistic models which unfortunately remain virtually unknown. Of one architect who built villas in Campania in the 1st century B.C. — a Greek named Diphilos — we have an account in Cicero (*Ad Quintum fratrem*, III, i, ii 3, ix 7).

*j. Commemorative and funerary monuments.* In addition to ordinary graves marked by steles or small monuments, there were many types of tombs, collective and individual, of a monumental character: the hypogeum with tumulus, often with beds and funerary furnishings (Macedonia, Thrace, Euboea, southern Russia, Asia Minor, North Africa); the more complicated hypogeum with court, peristyle (or pseudo-peristyle), and several burial chambers (Alexandria, Palestine, Cyprus, southern Italy); tombs in the form of a small temple (Assos, Delphi, Cambazlı in Cilicia, Oratory of Phalaris at Agrigentum); the heroön, a building for the cult of the heroized dead, erected over a hypogeum room (Kalydon, Kos, perhaps Alexandria); the mausoleum, a type of monumental sepulcher with a high masonry structure supporting one or more stories, with columns, entablatures, real and false doors, and sometimes sculptured decoration (Belevi, Mylasa, Suwaida, Campania, North Africa, tomb of Theron at Agrigentum); the rock-cut tomb with monumental façade (Palestine, Petra, Cyrene). Particular note should be taken of the following: (1) among the tumulus tombs, those having an architectural façade in front of a hypogeum room, with doors, half columns, entablatures, and a pediment (Langaza and Vergina in Macedonia); (2) the previously mentioned group of subterranean Alexandrian tombs with several rooms and open courts, rich interior architectural façades having real and false doors, niches for votive gifts, cult installations, and funeral beds, as well as rich painted decoration; (3) the Heroön of Kalydon (ca. 100 B.C.), the above-ground structure that suggests a palaestra (perhaps for funerary athletic displays), with propylon, Doric peristyle, and various rooms, among them a cult chamber and a crypt (a heroön erected on the Acropolis of Pergamon, perhaps in honor of Attalos I or Eumenes II, had forms that were not dissimilar but no crypt, and hence was only a memorial); (4) the beautiful Mausoleum of Belevi (near Ephesos), perhaps built by Antiochos II Theos of Syria, with a high square-based podium, a *pteron* of 28 Corinthian columns with sculptured decoration in the elements of the roof, and perhaps a pyramidal crowning element; (5) the rock-hewn tombs of Petra (FIG. 308) in Arabia Nabataea, particularly those known as "el-Khazna" ("the treasury") and "el-Dair" ("the monastery"), with superimposed, colonnaded façades in which the motif of the tholos recurs against the background of a portico between two distyle forms with pedimental sections (FIG. 309).

That the chronology of this architecture (late Hellenistic period – 2d cent. of our era) is controversial has been indicated. The possibility of accepting the earlier dating is increased by the unusual similarity between the façades of Petra and the motifs of Style II paintings which reveal — and in definitive chronological terms — a taste for baroque architectural forms. The *mouvementé* architecture of certain Campanian funerary monuments gives evidence of the same taste; for example, "La Conocchia," the Roman tomb near Capua, can be assigned on the basis of technical data to about the middle of the 1st century B.C. (although some date it to the 2d century of our era).

For an expression of Hellenistic taste at its most elegant and sober we turn to a funerary (rather than commemorative) monument in Ephesos consisting of a square podium, a circular body of two colonnaded stories (Doric and Ionic), an attic, and perhaps a stepped pyramidal crowning element. Together with this work, which is attributed to the late Hellenistic period, can be grouped other mausoleums, such as the Mausoleum of the Julii at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (V, PL. 470), the Trophy of the Alps near Nice, and the Tomb of the Istacidii in Pompeii (1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. of our era).

The various types of commemorative monuments can only be touched upon here: the large pedestals for statues (monument,




Petra, rock-cut tomb known as "el-Khazna," plan (*from Fyfe*).

later of Agrippa, to the west of the Acropolis in Athens, erected by the Attalids in 178 B.C.; similar monument in the Athenian agora; monuments of Prousias and of Antiochos III of Syria in Delos); simple columns or paired columns for quadrigas and family statues, singly or in groups (Delphi, Olympia: statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II); small exedrae with prostyle façades (exedra of Mithradates VI Eupator in Delos, 102–101 B.C.). A monument of the early Hellenistic age rather than of the classical period, according to some interpretations, was

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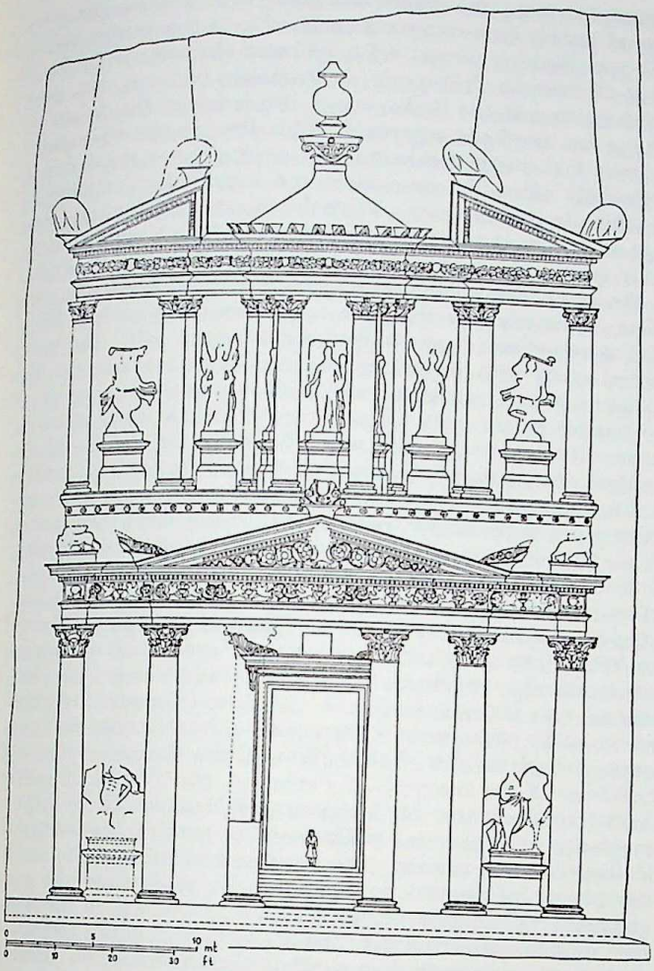


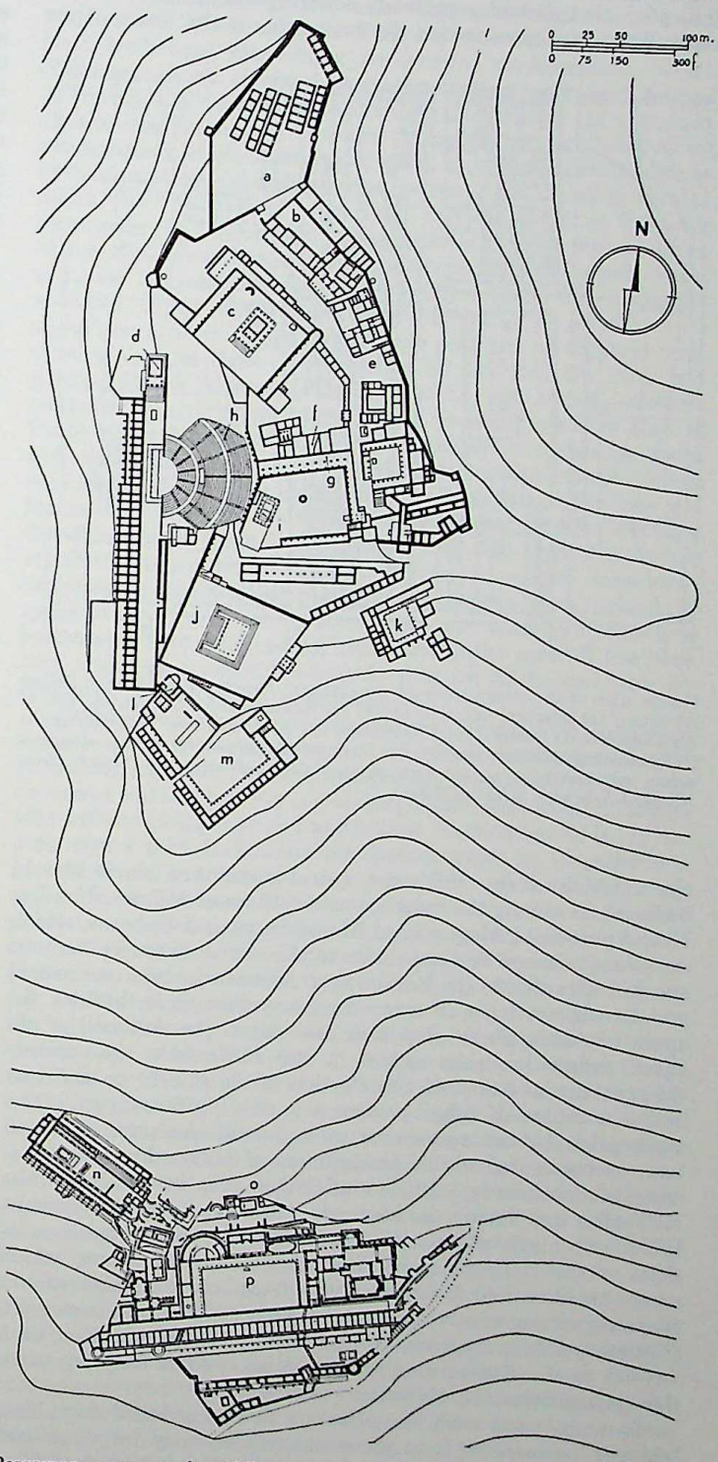
Petra, rock-cut tomb known as "el-Khazna," façade with restorations (*from Fyfe*).

Delphi's celebrated acanthus column encircled by a group of three dancing maidens, designed to support a tripod.

*k. Cities and city planning.* The prosperity of the Hellenistic world and the politicals vicissitudes that led to the creation of the numerous new centers in the kingdoms of the Diadochi and of the Epigoni gave rise to intense urban activity. The establishment of new Greek cities in the conquered countries, some of them large and splendid metropolises like Antioch and Alexandria, was accompanied by the transformation and occasionally the rebuilding of old cities. Relatively little is known of this extensive city planning activity, however, because many of the more important centers have almost wholly vanished and others — for example, Ephesos, Miletos, Palmyra, Gerasa (mod. Jerash) — are known to us chiefly in their post-Hellenistic development. Nevertheless, it can be said in general that the Hippodamian system of reticulated, checkerboard streets continued to be used, particularly where the conditions of the terrain favored it; that in hilly terrain the method of construction by terracing was often adopted; that in newly built complexes the agora occupied a more conspicuous place and had a more monumental character than in earlier times; and that the system of streets flanked by porticoes came into widespread use.

It is thought, with reason, that in Alexandria the architect Deinokrates evolved a plan of Hippodamian type featuring two wide principal arteries which crossed at right angles; but the character of the various monumental complexes of the metropolis is totally lost to us. The city of Antioch was similarly planned. The Attalid capital, Pergamon, whose upper and middle zones are well known, had a different character. The most important building activity there occurred in the time of Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.). Pergamon presents one of the finest examples of monumental town planning on a mountainous site: the terraces are so arranged that each one virtually forms a monumental complex (FIG. 310).

A fairly complete and well-known example of the Hellenistic city with checkerboard plan is the small city of Priene (FIG. 311), refounded at the end of the 4th century B.C. and in large part built up during the 3d. The city was laid out on a slope at the foot of the rock that formed its acropolis, with a series of terraces, and was enclosed by a handsome masonry wall. The principal street ran the length of the city from east to west, traversing the agora. The agora itself extended into the heart




Pergamon, upper and middle zones, plan: (*a*) Storerooms; (*b*) barracks; (*c*) Temple of Trajan; (*d*) Temple of Caracalla, over a Hellenistic building; (*e*) palaces; (*f*) stoa; (*g*) precinct of Athena and Library; (*h*) theater, remodeled in the Roman age; (*i*) Temple of Athena Polias Nikephoros; (*j*) Altar of Zeus; (*k*) heroön of the kings; (*l*) market; (*m*) agora; (*n*) sanctuary of Demeter, rebuilt under the Antonines; (*o*) sanctuary of Hera Basileia, (*p*) gymnasium, completed after the time of Trajan.

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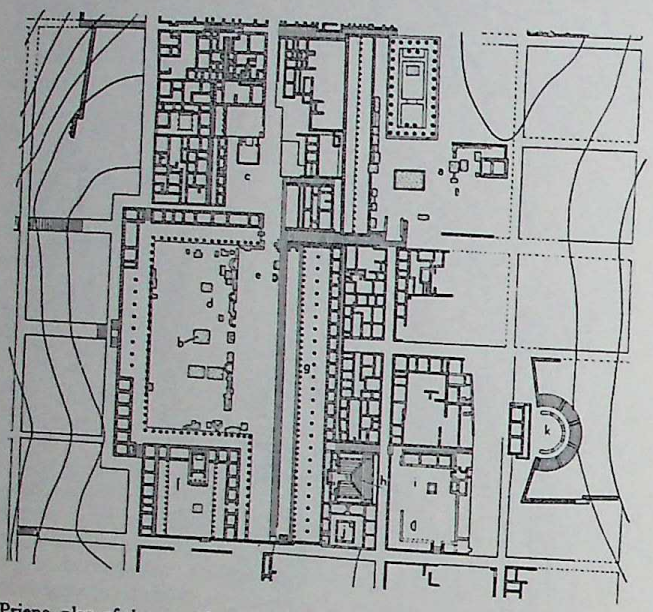
of the residential area as a rectangular square with Doric porticoes on three sides; in the 2d century the two-aisled Portico of Orophernes was erected to the north of the square and was extended at right angles, forming an eastern portico. Between the Portico of Orophernes and this wing a great plain-arched entrance was erected, one of the rare examples in the Hellenistic period of an arch used for a specifically decorative purpose.

A street system similar to the Priene checkerboard plan has been discovered in the city of Dura-Europos, founded by Seleukos almost at the same time as Priene. Concerning another city of the period, Nicaea in Bithynia, we know from Strabo (xii, 565) that it had a perfectly square plan, so that from its centrally located gymnasium the four gates at the limits of the



Priene, plan of the central zone of the city: (*a*) Sanctuary of Athena Polias; (*b*) altar?; (*c*) market; (*d*) civil agora; (*e*) monument of Demetrios, son of Thrasyboulos; (*f*) sanctuary of Asklepios; (*g*) great stoa; (*h*) Ekklesiasterion; (*i*) gymnasium, with superimposed later constructions; (*j*) supposed prytaneion, preserved in a structure of the Imperial age; (*k*) theater (*from Wiegand-Schrader, with additions*).

city could be seen. With the agoras mentioned above should be listed, as among the most extensive, those of Miletos, Knidos, Kos, Aphrodisia, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, and Ephesos, which underwent change and expansion in the course of the Hellenistic age and after that in the Roman age. Agoras disposed on terraces and having porticoes of more than one floor were, besides the agora of Assos, those of Alinda and Aigai. In Athens the old agora assumed a new aspect in the Hellenistic age, mainly through the addition of the Portico of Attalos II to the east and a complex of other porticoes in the southern part. The assumption by the agora of a monumental character seems to have corresponded to the development of its function, which became predominantly political and civil; in fact, in certain centers — Tralles and Priene, for instance — the need was felt to establish a true marketplace near the civil agora. One of the innovations of the Hellenistic city was the colonnaded street, which seems to have had Eastern origins (Antioch, e.g., had such a feature) but was widely diffused in Greece. The known examples (Ephesos, Olbia, Apamea, Gerasa, Palmyra, Corinth, Kos, etc.) belong to the Roman period, but in most cases they represent the continuation of Hellenistic styles.

In connection with the planning of monumental complexes laid out on terraces, two great sanctuaries must be mentioned here: the sanctuary of Asklepios on the Greek island of Kos, and that of Praeneste in an Italic ambient. The former seems to have been conceived with its system of successive terraces as early as the 3d century B.C. A lower terrace surrounded by porticoes was succeeded by an intermediate terrace containing the earliest sanctuary and a monumental altar and then by a terrace crowning the whole ensemble with its new Doric peripteral temple (200–150 B.C.) enclosed by a colonnaded portico with two flanking wings. Of a different character is the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (PL. 199; FIG. 399), which belongs to the Sullan age — if it is not of the 2d century B.C., as has also been suggested. This, the greatest achievement of Italic Hellenistic architecture, is among the works that most powerfully affirm its originality and herald the possibility of its ultimate development. Here the terrain has dictated, rather than wide, sloping terraces, narrow overhanging terraces in the lower part and a wider terrace in the upper part, dominated at the center by a high, spacious colonnaded hemicycle. The effect of the whole is that of a magnificent architectural façade with symmetrical elements flanking a central axis. The broad central mass with its colonnades and apertures seems to rise up on an imposing podium with wide surfaces of masonry work left visible at the base. The strongly oblique lines ascending symmetrically toward the center from the extremities of this podium contribute to the sense of rising motion that is implicit in the conception of the whole complex and is accented by the steep stairs at the center, mounting from one terrace to another. While the elements of this sanctuary for the most part manifest a taste that is forthrightly Hellenistic and are consistent with other expressions of the Hellenistic world (Kos, Pergamon, Lindos, etc.), it is also a fact that here the curvilinear element exploiting the new technique of *opus caementicium* (concrete construction) is employed with a command of its esthetic possibilities that is unparalleled in the Greco-Oriental Hellenistic world. Like other, more or less related, important contemporaneous complexes (the Tabularium of the Roman Forum, the buildings of the acropolis of Ferentino, the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina, the sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli), the sanctuary of Praeneste, while forming part of the history of Hellenistic architecture, also constitutes an introduction to the history of Roman architecture. In addition to the great complex of Praeneste described above, there was in the lower city another, known as the "lower sanctuary," which comprised three large principal rooms, whose interpretation is debated: the so-called "Antro delle Sorti" ("Cave of Destiny"; perhaps a nymphaeum); the so-called "sacred area" (perhaps a basilica, which may have resembled that of Pompeii); and an apsed room, which may have been at first the seat of the aedile and was later converted into a nymphaeum. The first of these structures was ornamented by a large pavement mosaic representing the bottom of the sea; the pavement of the third was the famous Nile mosaic that once belonged to the Barberini family (see below). The type of nymphaeum found in Praeneste (beginning of 1st cent. B.C.), preceded by the one found at Bovillae (2d cent. B.C.), was to develop and find favor in the Imperial age.

SCULPTURE. *General considerations.* It frequently has been said that the art of the Hellenistic period was no longer purely Greek but the result of a fusion of Greek and foreign, especially Eastern, elements. The truth of the matter is that the profound political changes of the Hellenistic period affected neither culture in general nor art in particular. The birth of the Hellenistic world represented the victory of Greek culture over that of the ancient East. The art that flourished in this period remained unaltered by Alexander the Great's dream of an amalgamation of Greek and Eastern peoples, an amalgamation attempted by some of his early successors; by the gradual decline of the Greek element in the conquered countries; or by the inevitable consequences of contact between the Greeks and the peoples of the East. The essence of Hellenistic art remained Greek, and that art was inherited, assimilated, and transmitted by Roman civilization. Naturally, numerous works were created at this time in an eclectic, Greco-Oriental style, sometimes works of high quality, though very often merely hybrid. Also, representational themes were borrowed from the life and art of subjugated countries. There was an Egyptianizing current, too, within the complex phenomenon of Hellenistic art, and this current created some important works, frequently penetrated the Roman world, and left traces in Coptic art. And the encounter of Hellenistic and Indian ideals resulted in the art

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of Gandhara. However, all these were only marginal phenomena, and though often of wide historical and cultural importance, they were always relatively circumscribed in time and place.

It is clear, then, that Greek sculpture of this period was an extraordinarily complicated phenomenon, because of the complexity of the Hellenistic world itself, the length of the period, and the diversity and frequent conflicts of local conditions and traditions. Thus, the historical reconstruction of Hellenistic sculpture presents serious difficulties. Additional problems arise from the fact that the information from surviving literary sources, even though it is supplemented by much epigraphical evidence, is too sparse to help in reconstructing artistic environments and personalities. Graver still are the losses of artistic patrimony. The remarkably extensive and certain knowledge of Pergamene productions is an exception, in view of the devastating losses suffered by the numerous important areas of Hellenistic art. Incomplete exploration of sites and the dearth of scholarship constitute further obstacles.

The interest in Hellenistic art and the effort to evaluate it are fairly recent developments. Until ancient art was studied on a scholarly basis, the Hellenistic age was considered a period of decadence which produced only weary repetitions and exaggerations of the stylistic ideals expressed by classical art. The classicistic taste of the period in which the studies were carried out influenced this judgment, as such a taste had previously influenced the views of Pliny, Vitruvius, and Pausanias. Thus, neither the new values to which Hellenistic art aspired nor the historical importance of this art was admitted. Because the values of Hellenistic art were only lately recognized, Roman art had been credited with several innovations that were, in fact, Hellenistic.

One problem that still faces the scholar approaching Hellenistic art (and sculpture, in particular, for it is the major part of this art) is whether to treat it as a homogeneous whole — a kind of artistic koine corresponding to the linguistic and literary idiom — or as a series of phenomena differing according to centers of production. Actually, Hellenistic art was both unified and diverse, both cosmopolitan and regional. Certain fundamental characteristics are common to all the areas of its vast theater of action, while particular tastes and even special techniques distinguish one center from another. It could not have been otherwise in a world so varied, where attempts to maintain the distinctness of the polis had failed; where artists migrated from center to center; where artistic contacts, because of the increased economic exchange, were becoming more frequent; and where a number of production centers had been created, often very widely separated geographically, culturally, and in those traditions which were to condition the new artistic climate. A study of Hellenistic art ought to delineate as clearly as possible not only fundamental characteristics but also the distinguishing features of the individual centers of production.

The lacunae in the documentation put insurmountable limits to this task, but undoubtedly much can be clarified through critical study of the available data and materials, a project as yet only begun. This article must consider primarily the general aspects of Hellenistic sculpture and limit itself to occasional remarks about individual centers of production.

With the conquests of Alexander and the establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms, Greece proper and especially Athens ceased to maintain leadership even in the field of art. Artistic production shifted to the new capitals, Antioch, Alexandria, and Pergamon; to the other numerous new cities of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor; and to those cities of the Aegean islands (Rhodes, for example) which had retained political importance. The taste for splendor typical of the new courts and the competitive patronage of princes increased the demand for art in the new centers of Greek civilization and encouraged artists to travel. Those of Greece proper crossed the sea, and even those of the Near Eastern towns of Rhodes and Syria moved from center to center. As has been mentioned, the names of many of these artists are known from literary and epigraphical evidence; but the works of few can be identified, and it is not possible to reconstruct the formation or sequence of development of any single personality. Only in some cases, as for example at Athens or Rhodes, can there be reconstruction of successive generations of artists of the same school.

Because of the cosmopolitanism of Hellenistic civilization no personality seems to dominate a specific period of that sculpture. Thus, contrary to the situation in the 5th and 4th centuries, when the evolution of art followed the actions and reactions of a few dominant artistic personalities, sculpture in the Hellenistic period was a complex mixture of currents, directions, and recognizable schools penetrating diverse and distant areas of the world over a period of three centuries.

The coexistence and interaction of various artistic directions and diverse aspects of the same direction were not unusual at this time. The emergence of the baroque did not totally eliminate traditional classicizing tendencies; characteristics which Klein recognized as reactions to the baroque style and defined as rococo are discovered throughout Hellenistic art alongside classical and baroque tendencies. From the strongly centralized compositions which characterize much early Hellenistic sculpture evolved such profoundly diverse works as the standing *Demosthenes*, the "Anzio Girl" (PL. 159), and the *Dionysos* from the monument of Thrasyllos. The dynamic lights and shadows of the Hellenistic age appear as often in highly idealized works (e.g., the Pergamon frieze) as in vividly realistic ones (e.g., the so-called "Zeno" of the Capitoline Mus.; PL. 170). Dating from about 200 B.C. are subtle, aristocratic portraits of spiritual penetration such as those of Antiochos III of Syria (PL. 171) and Arsinoë III in Mantua (Palazzo Ducale) and brutal, realistic portraits with rich and unrestrained plasticity such as that of Euthydemos I of Bactria. The multiplicity of coexisting tastes and directions explains why Hellenistic sculpture may often appear degenerately unoriginal: the variety of its tendencies and forms is in this case reduced to eclecticism. It also explains the difficulty of enclosing the history of that sculpture within a unified framework. Strict and unreserved use of those evolutionary schemes which 20th-century critics have sought to apply to the history of Hellenistic art may lead to a misrepresentation of historical reality, even though the method has been used with great profit (tentatively first by Klein and later by Krahmer, Pfuhl, Horn, and Kleiner).

Before discussing various phases and directions of Hellenistic sculpture, it is necessary to explain why Hellenistic art, especially sculpture, has here been considered an essentially Greek phenomenon and in what way it is distinguished from classical sculpture without being regarded as a hollow degradation of it. It has been noted that Hellenistic civilization must be considered a part of Greek culture and that precedents of the 4th century appear in the former. To many scholars of Greek art the last great master of the 4th century, Lysippos, is the necessary premise to Hellenistic art, if not the first Hellenistic sculptor. Hellenistic art is generally characterized by its departure from the traditional Greek equilibrium that is expressed in classic art in the harmony, the scale, and the idealization of nature (see CLASSIC ART). Was this a sudden rejection of the Greek tradition, or was it a movement along the road opened by the preceding period? There can be no doubt about the answer: the seeds of Hellenistic sculpture were present in the 4th century. It is more to the point to ask whether the change in art from the 5th century to the 4th, that is, between two phases of the classic period, may not have been more decisive than that from the 4th century to the Hellenistic age. The 4th century had already begun to turn from the high idealization of the preceding century toward a naturalism that was to include an attempt to portray emotions. Hellenistic sculpture was to press the grace of the Praxitelean mode to extreme refinement and subtlety, and to nourish its baroque with the pathos of Skopas and the vibrant inner tension of Lysippos. The tenuous passages of the nudes of Praxiteles, the soft modeling of the heads and undulating rhythm in the figures, the lively plasticity of the heads of Skopas, and the spatial involvement of Lysippian figures are the results of the turn of Greek sculpture from its ideals of solid structure, clarity, and simplicity of rhythm. The trend was toward pictorial ideals, more refined and intricate rhythms, and specialized effects which led to more daring forms of pictorialism and a certain complicated rhythm of the figures in Hellenistic sculpture.

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In the Scopasian maenad there is a striving for whirling movement, a preference for the figure turning on its own axis, which developed numerous variations in the Hellenistic period. Before that time interest in the colossal is found in the work of Lysippos and his immediate successors; interest in the heroic portrait, which began with the Lysippian portraits of Alexander, was perpetuated in portraits of Hellenistic monarchs. The art of the psychological portrait had begun in the 4th century, especially in the work of Silanion (III, PL. 372). A taste for the ugly, which in Hellenistic art is reflected in a variety of humble subjects of ordinary life and in caricature, had its precedents in 4th-century portraits by Demetrios of Lysimache and Pellichos. In the figure of Mausolos from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos the coloristic values of light and shadow are alive in the treatment of the drapery and were to become characteristic of Near Eastern sculptural art. However, even though rooted in 4th-century classicism, Hellenistic sculpture had its own many-sided physiognomy and admirably answered to the task of protecting and spreading the Greek artistic ideals in a heterogeneous world.

Among the general characteristics of Hellenistic sculpture is an enrichment of themes. Art continued to serve religion in the creation of cult statues and votive gifts for divinities. The production of architectural sculpture continued with more widespread use of decorative statuary for the adornment of royal and private dwellings. To the votive and architectural functions of relief was added a decorative one; the relief was inserted in the wall as a picture and often depicted bucolic idylls enriched with landscape elements. The most frequently represented divine beings were Dionysos and Aphrodite; the semidivine satyrs, nymphs, Nereids, fauns, Erotes, Psychai, and centaurs were popular, appealing to the contemporary taste for the epigrammatic and the rococo. There was no aspect of the human figure that did not interest the sculptor, and man was portrayed at every stage of life: in infancy, youth, full maturity, and old age. Hellenistic artists often succeeded in capturing the grace of form and freshness of soul of infancy. All social classes were represented; the accentuated taste for realism found suitable subjects in fishermen, peasants, and shepherds, as well as in athletes, orators, philosophers, and priests. An entirely new range of moods was depicted, including tranquillity, pain, serene joy, and open mirth. The last was a Hellenistic innovation — the first attempt to render the laugh and the smile naturalistically. The spread of caricature and the representation of such exotic types as Negroes, Nubians, and Gauls were due to the interest in realism and the search for the novel and unusual (PL. 184). The increasingly popular art of portraiture afforded numerous possibilities, among which were the idealized, heroic portrait and the crudely realistic one, the portrait with fine psychological penetration and the conventional one, the eclectic Greco-Oriental portrait (especially the Greco-Egyptian) and the classicizing one. Sculpture was of a variety of proportions and types, and along with those of colossal and average scale the small ("apartment" sculpture) gained in popularity. Both the isolated figure and the group were created, the latter being not merely juxtaposed figures but a firmly unified artistic vision. Figures sometimes were disposed in landscape. With the beginning of the classicistic trend, group sculpture, like other expressions, returned to ideals once seemingly abandoned. With the interest in naturalism and the demand for "apartment" sculpture, themes of animals became popular. The principal techniques of marble, bronze, and terra cotta continued to be employed (the last was used almost exclusively for production of the small statuettes which found great favor in that epoch). In a few centers there was occasional use of silver, wood, stucco, and marble with a finish of plaster or precious stones; polychromy continued to be employed extensively. Production of funerary reliefs declined, but that of votive pieces continued. Architectural relief did not maintain its high level in the traditional Doric metope and continuous Ionic frieze, but the running friezes of the great altars were of good quality. Three stylistic innovations belong to the Hellenistic period and are traits which Roman relief of the 1st and 2d centuries was to inherit and develop. These are the landscape, the awareness of space, and the continuous narrative (as in the Telephos frieze from the Pergamon altar; PL. 174).

Hellenistic sculpture displays a variety of rhythms, from the sinuosity of the Praxitelean phase to the dynamics of the figure derived from the Lysippian tradition. The rhythms of the vine and the tendril were popular; at one time strongly centralized rhythms were preferred, while later the taste was for open rhythms bursting into space. An interest in observation of nature and an intolerance of restraints often led to the unfortunate abandonment of the equilibrium and solid unity of the nude figure which were inherited from the great masters of the past. Most characteristic were nudes of the Pergamene type, with their contrasting muscular masses; those showing minute anatomical observation (e.g., emaciated old men or athletes); and those with soft, full, uniform masses of flesh, which came to be preferred to the bony type when the ideals of unity and synthesis were renounced. Whenever tradition was rejected, there occurred a destruction of the unity between body and drapery. Hellenistic drapery is generally independent of the figure, no longer enveloping the body to unify the sculptural composition. It is sometimes an agitated mass of deep cavities in shadow contrasting vividly with lighted crests and folds, sometimes a refined pictorial modulation of the surface with the light vibrations of delicate folds. It is a light puff of fabric or a skillful study intended to reveal the drapery beneath a soft mantle of transparent material. At times it is a restrained, regular, and unadorned fall of folds, at times a complicated tangle and overlapping of fabric or a restless twisting of volumes with flamelike rhythms. The degree to which the figure-drapery relationship was apt to be dissolved can be seen in many female statues of early and late Hellenism.

*Phases, directions, and schools.* In the general history of Hellenistic sculpture it is possible to identify with sufficient certainty the phases, directions, and principal schools. The main phases in the evolution of Hellenistic sculpture, defined by the prevailing tastes, can be reduced to three: the so-called "simple style" of early Hellenism, the touching and dynamic style of the middle Hellenistic period (the so-called "baroque"), and the style of the late Hellenistic period characterized by an eclecticism in which, among other directions, a return to classical taste prevailed. The relationships among these three phases were those of action and reaction: as the simple style was a reaction to the feeling for the heroic and dynamic of the late 4th century, so the baroque was a reaction to the simple style, carrying to an extreme the emotional content, spiritual tension, and dynamism previously affirmed in the 4th century. The last phase is, above all, a reaction to the excesses of the baroque, making a tentative return to the equilibrium and moderation of classicism and to certain of its details; but it is also a search for new rhythms and a continuation of and return to baroque expressions, and is thus defined as an eclectic phase with prevalent classicistic reaction.

Other directions of taste also contributed to the general formation of Hellenistic sculpture. These are not the defining characteristics of a particular period but rather were spread along the entire course of Hellenistic art or were transitory and secondary directions. They consist of general predilections for determined themes and representative contents as well as a more precise inclination for stated ideals and stylistic vocabularies. Among these directions are traditionalism, the so-called "rococo," realism, and, on a strictly formal plane, pictorialism and so-called "impressionism"; the color effect of light and shade is the quality of the baroque phase. The traditional tendency initiated by the most faithful followers and closest imitators of the great 4th-century masters continued through the Hellenistic period in the work of artists who clung to the art of the past, preferring the harmonious form and splendid equilibrium of the classical tradition to the severe unadorned expressions of the early Hellenistic period and the exaggerated and ostentatious works of the middle and late periods. Many works of handicraft also belong to the traditional phase.

After the ardent stage of the baroque, traditionalism became vigorous and was expressed in works of varied shapes

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and sizes, going beyond the search for calmer expression to return to the types and stylistic language of the past (see ANTIQUE REVIVAL) and particularly of the 4th century. Traditionalism became, then, academic classicism (q.v.) and as such passed into Augustan art. To traditional currents are assigned such works as the *Serapis* falsely attributed to Bryaxis, the Niobid group, the group of Muses from Tivoli, many types of nude Aphrodites deriving from the Cnidian *Aphrodite* of Praxiteles (III, PL. 374), many terra cottas and small bronzes, the Naples *Aischines* (Mus. Naz.), the Cyrene *Berenike*, the portrait of Hermarchos, reliefs and funerary steles of Attic type (especially those of Alexandria), many types of satyrs copied in the Roman age, and the *Crouching Aphrodite* of the Vatican Belvedere. These and other works (to be discussed) are from the early and middle phases of the Hellenistic period. Later, traditionalism was to be felt in the forms of the Telephos frieze of the altar of Pergamon, in those of many draped statues and in isolated heads of the same Pergamene origin, in the production of the Attic school (Euboulides, Eukleides, Timarchides, and others), in such portraits as the *Poseidonios* and the *Karneades*, and on into the neo-Attic style and the so-called "school of Pasiteles." A subterranean persistence of traditional currents accounts for the many differences existing among expressions of the new currents. For example, the "Tyche of Antioch" by Eutychides (PL. 157), with strongly centralized rhythms according to the taste of the early Hellenistic period, is still deeply Lysippian in the vivacity of its inner tension and in the complexity of its rhythms; and the *Demosthenes* of Polyeuktos (PL. 160), a manifestation of the predilection for closed rhythms, places itself in clear opposition to the Lysippian past. Of later date is the so-called "Hellenistic ruler" in the Museo Nazionale Romano, characterized by open rhythms of composition and by the negation of structural stability typical of the period (PL. 185). In the heroic conception of the portrait, in the pose, and in certain proportional relationships of head and body, there is visible a return to Lysippos.

The so-called "antique rococo" cannot be considered a period of reaction to the baroque after 170–166 B.C., as claimed by Klein; rather it was the expression of a taste for given themes that penetrated the entire Hellenistic period and continued in the Roman age. Hellenistic rococo shows generally an interest in the playful, in delicate grace, the gentle smile, frank laughter, and in indulgent, epigrammatic suggestiveness which found particularly favorable subjects in the figurative world of nymphs and satyrs, girls and Erotes. This interest had its origins in Praxitelean art; the Hermes who playfully shows a bunch of grapes to the young Dionysos, the Apollo who ensnares a lizard, display the same feeling as the *Invitation to the Dance* and the satyrs of the so-called "Quartet" of the Portico of Octavia. The Pergamene *Symplegma* of Kephisodotos (one of the sons of Praxiteles), vibrant with warm sensuality, certainly dates from the beginning of the spread of the so-called "erotic groups," which were to last throughout the Hellenistic age. A famous example is the satyr and hermaphrodite in Dresden (Skulpturensamml.). The works of this rococo trend assume the most varied styles, because they are expressions of diverse epochs and environments. Some have closed and centralized compositions, as the Castellani *Spinario* (*Boy Removing a Thorn*; Br. Mus.); others have open and centrifugal compositions, as the *Running Boy* of the Prado, or a rich and complex structure, as the Dresden example mentioned above; still others have schematically flattened forms, as the Pan drawing a thorn from the foot of a satyr (PL. 188) and the *Wounded Satyr*, both in the Vatican. This interpretation of the rococo trend (which seems the only acceptable one), along with the Praxitelean paternity recognized in it, establishes a classification that excludes such imposing and powerful works as the "Barberini Faun" (included by Klein) and tends to favor the predilection for a traditionally correct, balanced, and harmonious idiom. In a certain sense the rococo may be considered an aspect of the traditional trend of Hellenistic art. Among the works still to be mentioned are the *Boy* of Boethos (VI, PL. 58), the *Panisca* in the Villa Albani, the *Eros and Psyche*, *Eros in Chains*, the Grimani altar, and the many delightful portrayals of laughing boys and little satyrs frequently found in Hellenistic sculpture. Excluded from this classification are many works included by Klein, who accepted the well-known chronological sequence (the phases of the baroque, rococo, and Roman Imperial styles) of the course of Hellenistic sculpture. Besides the "Barberini Faun" there are the Telephos frieze of the Pergamon altar, the Farnese *Bull*, the *Ariadne Falling Asleep*, and the Borghese *Centaur* in the Louvre.

One tendency present in innumerable examples of Hellenistic sculpture is realism; it, too, descended from precedents in the 4th century to become one of the dominant notes in the art of the new age. This realism assumed the most varied forms and nuances in portraiture, genre, and caricature, eventually descending to trite verism. The trend to pictorialism favored the Praxitelean manner, even carrying to exaggeration the modulation of forms against an uninterrupted transition of planes. Pictorialism was peculiar to the artists of the generations following Praxiteles, and in the course of Hellenistic art it was carried further and often blended with the pathos of Scopasian origin. Manifestations of pictorialism are found in the most distant regions of the ancient world, at Athens and Pergamon, at Priene and Rhodes, at Cyrene, Tarentum, and especially at Alexandria. It was contemporary with expressions of the simple and baroque styles, and its termination cannot be determined. The relief of Archelaos of Priene (Br. Mus.), dated about 125 B.C., shows that pictorialism was still alive in the classicizing period; in the Alexandrian sphere it certainly lasted until the Roman age. Another aspect of Hellenistic pictorialism evolved from another, related tendency in the manner of Praxiteles. This is the so-called "impressionism" of the rapidly rendered form, or sketch, which produced some of the newest and most daring expressions of Hellenistic art. It had a corresponding movement in painting and was particularly widespread in Alexandrian art (the center of "impressionistic" painting), where it produced that great masterpiece, the so-called "Gaul of Giza" (PL. 163). Many works of late Etrusco-Campanian fictile sculpture, of extraordinary strength and freshness of expression, are related to this trend. "Impressionism" arose from a need for liberty, for freedom from dullness, for expressive immediacy unhindered by the restraints of tradition; it has inspired some of the finest works of Hellenistic realism, among which is the "Jockey" of Cape Artemision (PLS. 182, 183). Analogous tendencies produced, especially in middle and late Hellenistic portraiture (PLS. 153, 181), a certain vocabulary of fluid forms, mobile, irregular, often asymmetrical in detail yet possessing clarity in combination, with the use of distortions to create a strong accentuation of the facial expressions (the *Ptolemy VI* in Alexandria, the so-called "Ptolemy VI" in Cyrene, the "Roman" in Cassino, some portraits of the Greco-Egyptian group). The formal originality, the exaggeration and distortion of nature with expressive intent are aspects much less sporadic and circumscribed in time in an Italic, especially an Etruscan, milieu than they are in the Greco-Oriental world. For the critic this poses a problem analogous to that raised by a number of portraits found in Egypt, Delos, and Athens which are singularly akin to certain Roman republican portraits in their crude and meager realism. The problem is whether those forms, contrary to Greek tradition and the traditions of the Greek Hellenistic period, perhaps were subjected to Romano-Italic influence following the political thrust of the Roman world into the East in the 2d century B.C.; or, conversely, whether the Roman portraits themselves are additional examples of Hellenistic influence in Italic areas — works of art formerly considered to be of Italic inspiration but now beginning to be recognized as derivations from the Hellenistic East. What is known of the cultural, and specifically the artistic, relationship between the Hellenistic East and Italic areas would seem to exclude the first hypothesis. The second, on the other hand, is hazardous and unwarranted by the present state of documentation. It is more prudent to view these stylistic analogies as the result of tendencies spread contemporaneously in different parts of the Mediterranean world, rather than the effect of direct influence of one area upon another. This is a special area of study begun comparatively recently. More intensive examination may reveal decided differences between works of art which seem to be related but which may

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prove independent more often than first appearances would indicate.

A comprehensive account of Hellenistic sculpture should include mention of the various schools, the centers of production, and the principal characteristics and functions of these. Pergamon and Asia Minor in general, Rhodes, Attica, the Greek mainland, Alexandria, Syria and, in the west, southern Italy and Etruria can be considered the principal and most highly individualized centers. In some cases (Attica and Rhodes in particular) entire genealogies of local artists are known; but it cannot be assumed that truly local schools existed only in such centers. The existence of local schools depended on special environmental conditions and on the formation and perpetuation of certain traditions, rather than on the common nationality of the artists active in a given city. Pergamon, for example, was an extraordinarily unified center of production, despite the varied origins of artists working there. The number of artists (mostly of foreign origin) known in Alexandria is almost insignificant; yet it cannot be denied that a local school existed there with a character of its own and an influence which in some cases even extended beyond the Egyptian area.

*Historical development.* Although Hellenistic sculpture no longer seems so unified as to defy differentiation into successive phases and stylistic trends, its chronology is yet to be agreed upon. A subdivision into short, ten-year cycles (or into the too-numerous centers of production) does not seem justified by sufficiently significant variations of style; the division into three long periods, suggested often in recent years, is more satisfactory. The first period occupied the century from about 330/320 to 230 B.C. and was characterized by a natural prolongation of the old schools of the 4th century, by the new trends of the simple style, and by the first hints and early production of the baroque. The second period began in the age of the great Pergamene donations (230 B.C.) and lasted until the mid-2d century; this was the high point of the baroque, of the pompous and dynamic style which had been superseded by the time when the Telephos frieze of the Pergamon altar was executed (ca. 165–150). The third period was the late Hellenistic, between 165 and 30 B.C., characterized by the decline of the concepts of the preceding period and the growth of the classicizing ideals and eclecticism which were to shape Augustan art.

*a. The traditional currents of the early Hellenistic period.* The written tradition offers a fair amount of information on the followers of the great 4th-century masters, especially on those of Praxiteles and Lysippos, while many anonymous works can be included, because of their style, in the traditions of the old school still effective in the early Hellenistic period. In the late 4th century, between 317 and 307, under Demetrios of Phaleron, Attic art entered a new period of fervid activity. With the increasing political decadence there was a weakening of artistic achievement in Greece and a concomitant emigration of artists to the new centers of the Hellenistic monarchs (e.g., Nikeratos and Phyromakos in Pergamon in the first half of the 3d century). In Athens, however, the new simple style was born, and it produced, especially in portraiture, a number of masterpieces. Spreading beyond Attica, it was to remain apart from the powerful innovating movements of Hellenistic art, the faithful custodian of tradition; as such it was to return to the fore in the classicistic movements of the 2d and 1st centuries B.C.

Kephisodotos and Timarchos (Herodas, *Mimiamboi*, iv, 23; Pausanias, i, 8, 4, and ix, 12, 4) and a certain Papylos are mentioned as pupils of Praxiteles and may have sculptured a Zeus Xenios that was transported to Rome in the collection of C. Asinius Pollio (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxxvi, 34). Kephisodotos and Timarchos often worked together (sculptures of the Asklepieion of Kos, mentioned by Herodas; statues of Enyo for the Temple of Ares at Athens, of Kadmos for Thebes, of Lykourgos and his sons for Athens; the portrait of Menander for the Theater of Dionysos Eleutherios in the same city, etc.). Other works by Kephisodotos alone are mentioned, among which are the previously mentioned *Symplegma* at Pergamon (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 24) and a group of statues later transported to Rome: an Aphrodite which was part of the collection of Asinius Pollio; a Latona (Leto) on the Palatine; an Asklepios and an Artemis in the Portico of Octavia. Nothing has survived of the works of these two masters who seem to have specialized in portraiture. From what Pliny says of the *Symplegma* of Kephisodotos, this artist appears to have had some of his father's mastery of treating the nude with an extreme sensitivity of surface. A copy of the *Symplegma* by Kephisodotos was formerly recognized in the Dresden satyr and hermaphrodite, which is now attributed to a later age. The signed base of the seated statue of Menander has been found; many believe that the missing head of Menander is to be recognized in numerous Roman copies and reelaborations (busts in Venice, Seminario Patriarcale; Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts). The identification seems likely (though some claim the portrait to be that of Vergil), but it remains a problematical attribution to the sons of Praxiteles, because the nervous style of the portrait, the fine psychological penetration, and the sober formal language place it among the portraits of the last decade rather than at the beginning of the century. Some sculptures from the Asklepieion at Kos have been attributed to the two brothers; among these are a female head and the draped lower part of a female figure (Aphrodite?). These are certainly in the tradition of the Praxitelean school, and the attribution is highly probable, even though certain stylistic qualities might suggest, on first sight, that the sculptures represent a somewhat more advanced phase of Hellenistic art. The sculptural type of the *Latona* of the Palatine by Kephisodotos is on the lines of the *Eirene and Ploutos* (Plutus) by Kephisodotos the Elder (III, PL. 373) and is known from a sculptured base in Sorrento (Mus. Correale di Terranova). Another sculpture (a female torso), found at Kos, is of related type and has been attributed to the two sons of Praxiteles. Relatively little is known of the personalities of the two masters; when Pliny said that Kephisodotos was the heir of the paternal art, he meant that Kephisodotos followed in the steps of his father.

But that the two brothers frequently may have diverged from the path of Praxiteles is suggested by their predilection for portraiture, a type favored by 4th-century currents other than the Praxitelean. If the Sorrento relief preserves traces of the *Latona* of Kephisodotos, the sculptor seems to go back, at least in this work, to sculptural types and traditional rhythms preferred by his ancestral namesake and perhaps even reelaborated by Praxiteles. As has been noted, the teaching of Praxiteles deeply influenced Hellenistic sculpture, both in the general choice of themes and in their formal realization. It was to the Praxitelean ideals that much of Hellenistic sculpture turned, accentuating and modifying them according to the taste of the period, or merely echoing them in a mannerist fashion. The Praxitelean legacy is manifested in numerous works, which must have enjoyed great popularity in view of the number of extant copies and sculptures preserved in the original. Among the most significant of the latter are a very fine head of a girl from Chios, a delicate head of Aphrodite from Athens (both in Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts), a female head (of a divinity?) from Tarentum, a male head of a bearded divinity (Asklepios?) from Alexandria, an ephebos from Knidos (Providence, Rhode Island School of Design), and a statuette of a girl in Cairo (Eg. Mus.). The soft fusion of planes and delicate spiritual expression of the master's style are preserved in all these works, which are dated between the late 4th and mid-3d centuries. In the minor arts the imprint of Praxiteles is often very strong — in the late funerary steles, the small bronzes, and especially in the numerous draped female figurines of terra cotta (*les Praxitèles de vitrine*) which spread from a center of origin on the Greek mainland (Tanagra and Athens), through exportation and the rise of local workshops, to the entire Hellenistic world beginning in the last decade of the 4th century (PL. 194; III, PL. 138; IV, PL. 17). Among the numerous works of close Praxitelean inspiration which exist in copies or reelaborations are various derivations or variants of the Cnidian *Aphrodite*, such as the *Aphrodite* of Munich, the *Aphrodite* of the Dresden-Capitoline type, the Medici *Aphrodite* type (PL. 157), and the Ostia *Aphrodite* (Br. Mus.);

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*Aphrodite Anadyomene*; the group of Muses (Vat. Mus.); the so-called "Narcissus" in bronze from Pompeii (Naples, Mus. Naz.); the little satyr leaning on a support and playing on a double flute (Louvre); and the so-called "Psyche of Capua." The Munich *Aphrodite*, of which only the head is known, is the work of a late 4th-century Attic master who recapitulated the various manners of the great artists who preceded him, perhaps Skopas as well as Praxiteles. Still classical in structural balance, it transforms the Praxitelean model with a richer and more varied hair style, an emphasis on spiritual content, and a modeling which lacks the *sfumato* of the master and his successors but which is animated by fine passages of planes. The Medici *Aphrodite* (PL. 157), preserved in 33 copies, is very much in the Hellenistic taste, and, if not by one of the sons of Praxiteles, it is certainly a work of the early 3d century. The memory of the Cnidian *Aphrodite* by this time lingers only in the general type of the nude goddess, but here it is conceived with a sensuality foreign to the original. The attitude toward the nude is entirely different: for the ideal splendor of the Praxitelean nude are substituted the more detailed structure and simpler forms of a naked body. The head, with hair dressed like that of the Munich *Aphrodite*, is modeled with an accentuated pictorial quality and is animated by an expression of studied grace. The motif of the bathing Aphrodite reappears in the Dresden-Capitoline type, a celebrated work preserved in about one hundred copies. While the new type of Cnidian *Aphrodite* has the accessory feature of the towel draped over the vase, the gesture of the arms is identical with that of the Medici *Aphrodite*, Here, however, the figure, slightly bent, has a more closed and contained composition to which the inclination of the head contributes. It is another instance of the nude becoming more "human." The head recalls the Leconfield *Aphrodite* (attributed to the Hermes period of Praxiteles) more than it does the Cnidian, but it is like the Medici and Leconfield types in the effects of *sfumato*. The Capitoline type has been unconvincingly attributed to the 4th century, but more recent opinion places it in the first half of the 2d. The realism of the sensual nude, the elaborate dressing of the hair, and the emphasis on centralized rhythms are in the style of the early Hellenistic era; the opulence and robustness of the forms forecast the *Crouching Aphrodite* of Doidalsas of Bithynia (PLS. 157, 158). The Medici *Aphrodite* seems more delicate and realistic, less a goddess than the Capitoline one, whose studied coquettishness, restless attitude, and irregularities of form seem observed from a real model. If the two works differ in date, it is perhaps the Capitoline which is earlier than the Medici *Aphrodite* and not vice versa, as has been thought by those who believed the former an elaboration of the latter. It is not possible to say where the two Aphrodites were created; it is certain, however, that both are interpretations of a Praxitelean masterpiece in Hellenistic style faithful to the tradition. From the *Apollo Lykeios* of Praxiteles, frequently copied (cf. II, PL. 59), is derived a 3d-century version, which in turn inspired such works as the little *Apollo* of Florence (Uffizi). In this case the copy is adapted to the taste of the new period, drawing upon other 4th-century masters as well: Lysippos for slender proportions, and Timotheos for the general spirit of the head. The *Narcissus* of Pompeii (a Dionysos with no panther skin) revives the idyllic Praxitelean idea of the divinity, a conception that inspired many works of the Hellenistic rococo (of which this is one of the earliest examples). The same rococo spirit permeates the little Louvre statue of the young satyr who plays his flute while leaning on a support. The original model must have been the *Resting Satyr* by Praxiteles.

The attitude of another Praxitelean *Aphrodite*, the seminude goddess of the Arles type, was taken up in the early Hellenistic period. The statue from Ostia in the British Museum appears to represent the goddess contemplating herself in a mirror. Hellenistic traits appear in the accentuated spirit of feminine coquettishness, the slender and restless forms, and the pictorial and detailed drapery. A small statue of Demeter (?) in the Vatican Museums is a Praxitelean female type in the Hellenistic taste, enveloped in one of those silken gowns which were popular in the new age. The fine head, an original (does it belong to the body?), is Praxitelean. Another work in the Praxitelean manner of this period is the original of the "Psyche of Capua" in Naples (Mus. Naz.). The original of a group of Muses descends from the Praxitelean conception of the draped female figure; a number of replicas of these figures remain, the principal sets of which include those of the Vatican, Tivoli, and Madrid (Mus. Arqueológico Nacional). Within the group can be identified two standing Muses (Polyhymnia and Erato of the Vat. Mus.) and five seated Muses — four in the Vatican Museums and one in the Ludovisi Collection (Mus. Naz. Rom.). From this group must certainly be eliminated the so-called "Melpomene," with one leg raised and supported. This figure may be dated to the late Hellenistic period because of its flat composition and unilateral view. The Muses are related to the manner of Praxiteles not only by their general conception and the treatment of the draperies but also by their gentle facial expressions. The exaggerated slimness of the bodies with the belt high up under the breasts (a fashion popular in the Hellenistic period) and an interest in dramatically rich drapery, apparent especially in the seated figures, are far removed from the ideals of the 4th century and suggest a date at the beginning of the 3d. Some of the numerous representations of Aphrodite Anadyomene, who is portrayed emerging from the sea and wringing out her wet hair, are attributed to the traditional trend of this period; the *Anadyomene* of Apelles seems to have been the inspiration for the type (I, PL. 322). It is quite probable that an Aphrodite Anadyomene was created as a cult statue by Alexandrian sculptors in the latter part of the 3d century; the theme remained one of the most frequently used in this area until the appearance of the Rhodian type of crouching Aphrodite in the late Hellenistic period.

All those directions of Hellenistic sculpture which made for strong dramatic and emotional expressions were derived, consciously or not, from the art of Skopas (q.v.). They attained some of their most extreme manifestations in the baroque period, but even in the early Hellenistic period there was much evidence of an uninterrupted tradition descending from Skopas. The sources give no information on a school of Skopas; there is, however, epigraphical testimony in regard to a late descendant of Skopas, Aristandros, son of Skopas of Paros, a restorer of sculpture at Delos toward the end of the 1st century B.C. A "Skopas Minor" signed the base of a *Hercules Olivarius* in Rome in Region XI. That a master with the outstanding personality of Skopas had his followers and successors is a supposition borne out by the monuments. Among the works definitely belonging to this period are a female head from Abukir (Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus., no. 22129), a group of Niobids (Uffizi), a funerary group (Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus.), the *Pothos* (Desire), a large female head from Tralles (mod. Aydın; İsmir, Arch. Mus.), the *Triton* in the Vatican, and the head of Apollo in the British Museum (no. 1858). In its facial structure and delineation the Alexandrian head has elements which relate it to the Tegean heads of the master (III, PL. 378). The Alexandrian limestone funerary group, a woman and maidservant, attributed to the second half of the 3d century B.C., has the broad, full forms of the body characteristic of the Hellenistic age; but there remains a Scopasian structural solidity in the heads (especially that of the woman). The bust of the Vatican *Triton* (a copy) has a clearly Scopasian character in its nudity and in the passion of the upturned face, but in the treatment of the long, agitated locks it is decidedly Hellenistic. Analogous observations might be made with regard to the colossal head of Dionysos from Asia Minor in Leiden and the *Apollo* in the British Museum. The *Pothos*, generally attributed to Skopas himself, is more likely the work of a later follower (perhaps of the 1st century B.C.) who was also strongly under the influence of Praxiteles. Certainly within the Scopasian tradition is an imposing group representing the slaying of Niobe and her children, which has become widely known through the celebrated group of Niobids in the Uffizi, found in Rome in 1583, and deriving, in whole or in part, from a more ancient original (copies and variants in Rome, Vat. Mus.; Crete, Herakleion Mus.; Oxford; Munich; Dresden; Turin; Geneva; etc.). It has long been thought that these versions derive from the Uffizi group, transported from Seleucia (on the Kalykadnos, or Seleucia Pieria?) to Rome and dedicated by C. Sosius in 32 B.C. in the Temple of Apollo Med-



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icus in the Campus Martius in Rome. From what Pliny says (*op. cit.*, xxxvi, 28), even the ancients alternated between Skopas and Praxiteles as the author of these figures. But the works in question are certainly later than the mid-4th century; therefore, it must be admitted either that the testimony of Pliny is not reliable, or that the Uffizi group does not derive from the one recorded by Pliny. It seems that the Uffizi group should be assigned to an eastern school of the second half of the 3d century. (It is sometimes wrongly attributed to the following century.) The imposing conception of the ensemble, which must have been placed in an extensive landscape setting, the theatrical manner which animates all the figures, the fluttering of certain draperies, and the ample forms of the figure of Niobe are baroque in style at a stage preceding that of the first half of the 2d century. The undeniable qualitative differences among the statues have been given too much emphasis recently (Mansuelli); but in certain instances (the mediocre pair of falling Niobids and the poorly executed pair climbing a rock) these differences cannot be overlooked; the figures must be dissociated from the rest of the group and be considered additions by the Roman copyist, perhaps drawn from originals of the 1st century.

The influence of Skopas on Hellenistic portraiture has been recognized only in a general way, that is, in the emphasis on the pathos of the subjects. In this respect the products of the strongly realistic currents of the Hellenistic portrait, as well as the heroic portrait (which, however, more often seems to have been inspired by Lysippos), can be considered under the influence of the teachings of Skopas. But the extant examples of these types of portraits ("pseudo-Seneca," PL. 170; the *Dying Alexander* in the Uffizi; the Homer of the Sanssouci type, etc.) are works of the advanced or late Hellenistic period, in which Scopasian pathos has filtered through the experience of the baroque. The composite, spiral rhythm which characterized the *Raving Maenad* of Skopas reappears often in Hellenistic works; more often, however, these works have been affected by Lysippos. Such is the case of the *Drunken Maenad* who dances while playing the double flute, of which there are several replicas (Berlin, Staat. Mus.; Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom; etc.), all unfortunately without heads; the original is said to date from the early Hellenistic period.

Scopasian pathos rendered with Praxitelean subtlety of form and in a highly romantic tone was characteristic of many works in the course of Hellenistic art (the "Beautiful Head" from Pergamon; the female head from the Serapeion of Alexandria, PL. 178; the *Alexander* at Stuttgart; the female head from Tralles in İzmir). This meeting of stylistic concepts is fully realized in the head of the Aberdeen *Herakles* (Br. Mus.), which, if not the final work of Praxiteles, is from the beginning of the Hellenistic age. A similar fusion of styles occurs in the *Pothos* mentioned above (replica from the Cispian hill, Rome) and in the head of a statuette of an athlete of the 3d century B.C. (formerly, Stroganoff Coll.; now, Met. Mus.). The latter shows Lysippian influence in the proportions of the body and in the complexity of the structure.

Scopasian influence must have made itself felt in Etruria rather early. Traces of it appear even before the emotional baroque heads of the advanced or late Hellenistic period (the urn statues of the Volumnii; terra-cotta heads from Arezzo) in some heads of the "Scasato" temple at Falerii (mod. Civita Castellana; V, PLS. 47, 54) dating from the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3d; in a limestone head from Volsinii Novi (mod. Bolsena), in Rome (Mus. Barracco), of somewhat later date; and in numerous small terra-cotta products, among which is a little head formerly in the Barberini Collection and now in the Villa Giulia in Rome.

In contrast to the school of Skopas, more is known about that of Lysippos, which continued on toward the end of the century. The sons of Lysippos — Daippos, Boidas, and Euthykrates — were his pupils, as were Phanis, Eutychides, and Chares of Lindos, among others. In his *Perixyomenos* (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 87), Daippos must have adopted the motif of his father's *Apoxyomenos*; there may be a trace of it in some of the relief figures on a base in the Acropolis Museum, Athens, dated about 300 B.C. A copy of the *Praying Boy* of Boidas (Pliny, *loc. cit.* 73) is believed to be recognized in the famous bronze in Berlin (III, PL. 403). Less reliable is the identification of the *Epithyousa* of Phanis (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 80) in the celebrated statue of the "Anzio Girl" (PL. 159). The colossal statue of Tyche which Eutychides executed for Antioch on the Orontes (Pausanias, vi, 26) slightly after 300 B.C. is known through coin representations and some bronze and marble copies in a reduced form (PL. 157). The work is Lysippian in character, but in the strong centralization of the seated figure and in the simplification of the drapery it already has clear elements of the simple style (of which more will be said shortly). A portrait of Seleukos I Nikator of Syria, also Lysippian in concept, is known in an excellent bronze copy from Herculaneum. It should be attributed not to Lysippos, as some have believed, but to one of his younger followers open to the new tendencies of his time, perhaps the portraitist Aristodemos, who, like Lysippos and Bryaxis, is known to have executed a portrait of Seleukos, There are two copies of a portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 67) by Teisikrates, who evolved from the school of Lysippos through his master Euthykrates; one is a mediocre marble herm, the other a fine bronze statuette in Naples (Mus. Naz.). In the latter the scheme of the figure with a raised foot and the head directed upward revives the heroic Lysippian conception of *Alexander with the Lance*; but in this case there is more than a beginning of the reaction to 4th-century forms — a reaction that sought simpler forms, greater compactness of volume, and unity of surface.

Resemblances between the head of the magnificent *Dancing Satyr* (Rome, Gall. Borghese) and Lysippos' portrait of Socrates (of the type in the Mus. Naz. Rom.) suggest the attribution of the original to a pupil of Lysippos who anticipated the baroque style. As the ancients themselves observed (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 4), the portraits of Alexander executed by Lysippos had a strong influence on those of Alexander's successors. This fact is demonstrated in the many portraits of princes, and of Alexander as well, which appeared throughout the Hellenistic era, and it is especially apparent in the coin series of the Diadochi, which frequently were decorated with the same image of Alexander. The works of more conservative sculptors and more faithful followers of Lysippos are known through bronze or marble copies which often have suggested attribution to the master himself (*Hermes in Repose* and a pair of wrestlers which have been thought to be the *Luctatores* of Aristodemos; Pliny, *loc. cit.* 86; both bronze, from Herculaneum, in Naples, Mus. Naz.). Chares of Lindos executed a colossal bronze statue of Helios for Rhodes, included by the ancients among the Seven Wonders of the World. The work was destroyed in ancient times and is totally unknown today; in subject and magnitude of proportions it must have reflected the colossal bronze quadriga of Helios executed by Lysippos also for Rhodes (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 63). The so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus" (PLS. 151, 152) from Sidon is ascribed to Euthykrates, a pupil of Lysippos. It is an admirable, original work, perfectly preserved, dating from the last decade of the 4th century, and almost certainly relates, in theme and perhaps in certain compositional schemes, to two great Lysippian groups, the *Hunt of Alexander* at Delphi (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 64) and the *Battle of Granikos* at Dion (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 64). The forms of the sarcophagus reveal the influence of Attic sculpture (perhaps Leochares, a collaborator of Lysippos at Delphi), and although it is at the threshold of the Hellenistic period, it is an example of the continuity of the genuine classical tradition.

The sculpture of the early Hellenistic period displays a traditionalism which does not seem to follow any of the lines descending from the major masters of the 4th century. From this traditionalism, besides many types of minor sculpture (votive and funerary reliefs, statuettes, small bronzes, etc.), come such cult statues as the *Serapis* falsely attributed to Bryaxis, a number of portraits among which are those of Aischines and Theophrastos, the so-called bronze "Pythagoras" of Herculaneum, and many others whose classicizing traditionalism could indicate an attribution to the academic currents of the late Hellenistic period rather than the 3d century (for example, the *Homer-Apollonios* of Tyana).

*b. The "simple style."* In the early Hellenistic period the innovating currents which were to produce expressions peculiar

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to the new age operated alongside the traditional trends. Important among these currents was the one to which 20th-century critics have given such names as the "simple" or "sober style," "closed form," or "centripetal form"; if these are not wholly satisfactory, they at least suggest its essential characteristics. It constituted a reaction against the ideals of content and form that were spread in the 4th century through the activities of the three great masters and transmitted to the Hellenistic period by their followers. The new trend was toward calm and thoughtful expressions, either strongly individualized or generalized like those of ordinary humanity, in opposition to the open representation of spiritual feelings which had prevailed formerly. Compact rhythms and simple compositions replaced the softly sinuous rhythms of Praxiteles and the unstable and dynamic rhythms of Lysippos. For the pictorialism, the rich, plastic form, and the coloristic play of the surface was substituted a dry, sculptural style with a feeling of heaviness; surfaces were wide and smooth or crossed by fairly small folds tending toward linearity. The expression of movement was no longer sought, but one of the formal characteristics of the new trend was the use of strongly centralized rhythms. Facial features were simplified and often incisive; the mass of the hair was reduced in volume and made to adhere to the crown of the skull or was rendered with uniformity in order to preserve the essential simplicity of the whole. The new trend, which was operative during the period of disruption and turbulence in the Mediterranean world that followed that of Alexander, had its epicenter on the Greek mainland, particularly in Attica, where there were precedents for it. It was in Attica in about 280 B.C. that the most mature and representative work of the new style was created: the *Demosthenes* of Polyeuktos (PL. 160); the trend made itself felt outside Greece proper, and its manifestations varied in quality. Careful consideration of the movement reveals that it represented a kind of delayed reaction and return to a severe style, along the paths which the 4th century had opened to the Hellenistic age.

Portraiture appears to have been one of the areas in which the new ideals achieved their finest realization. As has been seen, there are elements of the new style in works by the followers of Lysippos and Praxiteles (the *Demetrios Poliorketes* of Timarchides; the *Seleukos* of Aristodemos; the so-called "Erato" of the group of Muses, Vat. Mus.). An interest in sober draperies is already evident in some female figures of the last Attic steles completed before the decree of Demetrios of Phaleron against funerary luxury. Similarly, in the almost contemporary original of the Castrum Praetorium *Athena* (Rome, Conserv.) the new style is manifested in the strongly unified volumetric conception of the ensemble and in the simple, uniform drapery. Traditional schemes rendered in the sober and severe language of the new currents are found in the *Themis* of Chairestratos (II, PL. 55) and in the seated Dionysos from the monument of Thrasyllos in Athens (Br. Mus.) about a decade later. The statue of a seated girl (PL. 157) evidences a different spirit, being a completely closed composition, with sober drapery and a calm expression. The scheme of the seated figure with crossed legs recalls the "Tyche of Antioch" of Eutychides (PL. 157), but the contained, centralized composition and renunciation of spiritual tension manifest a greater maturity of the new ideals. The *Urania* in Frankfurt (Liebighaus) is closer in conception to the "Tyche" in its unquiet, nervous attitude, the chiaroscuro effects in the drapery, and the traditional wealth of forms, in contrast to the taste of the simple style. The ideal of this style is expressed differently in a work discovered in Asia Minor, the *Nikesos* of Priene (Berlin, Staat. Mus.). The structure is compact, the form is blocklike, and the drapery is treated with corresponding simplicity, despite the finely rendered wrinkled mantle. Epigraphical evidence dates the work to the first half of the 3d century. Similar structural characteristics were to appear a few decades later in a work of inferior quality, the statue of Nikokleia from Knidos, but here the blocky appearance is unevenly and ineffectively achieved.

The closed and compact composition, calm harmony, and sober forms were also applied to the light, playful subjects of the Hellenistic rococo: the boy who pulls a thorn from his foot (Br. Mus., formerly Coll. Castellani); the seated sleeping Eros (Naples, Mus, Naz.; Rome, Gall. Doria Pamphili), sometimes transformed into a fisher-boy (Rome, Villa Albani); the sleeping serving-boy (*lanternarius*, or lantern holder); the boy who laughingly contemplates the bird in his hands (Rome, Gall. Borghese); and the girl with the dove (Munich). The new manner created solid, compact compositions in spiral rhythms (the *Dancing Girl* in Budapest; the satyr who examines his tail, also known in many copies: Mus. Naz. Rom.; Vat. Mus.). In the *Dancing Girl* the harsh outline of the mass is boldly broken, while the little satyr lowers his head, sharply turning it to the rear, and extends his thin limbs in a spiral that suggests a curly lock of hair. The Baker bronze dancer (from Alexandria; Met. Mus.) is similar in attitude to the Budapest dancer but has a less centralized composition and was probably executed a few decades later, toward the end of the 3d century.

The "Anzio Girl" is a fine Hellenistic work (PL. 159), a superb expression of the innovations and creative forces of the era. A temple attendant, a young novice, humble and neglected, contemplates the sacrifical objects deposited on a plate. If it is not an original of the 3d century B.C., it is a fine copy from the early Imperial age. The sculpture has something of the simple style in the closed rhythm of composition, the calm tone, and the heavy fall of drapery folds. But a broad, full treatment is substituted for a meager, dry manner in the nude passages, and the drapery is unusually complex. Despite the solidity of stance and the great volume of the robe, the rhythm has an instability that suggests Lysippian ideals. This sculpture is so boldly new that it may have been conceived in a Near Eastern milieu rather than on the Greek mainland. The work was executed in the period that introduced the new concepts of plastic richness and dynamism that were to lead to the baroque period (between the 3d and 2d centuries) of Hellenistic art.

Another work that represented something new in the development of Greek art is the pair of wrestlers in the Uffizi, from a bronze original of the second half of the 3d century B.C. Although the heads have been restored, elsewhere the Lysippian influence is undeniable. But the work is altogether Hellenistic in the closed composition of the two engaged bodies, meant to be seen from several viewpoints. Two examples of the depictions of those humble subjects (fishermen, shepherds, peasants, etc.), so dear to the taste of the Hellenistic period, can perhaps be dated as early as about 250 B.C., for this type of subject was a continuing favorite and should not be placed only at the end of the era. The first is an old fisherman, reproduced and reelaborated many times by Roman copyists (PL. 336; Louvre, etc.); the second is a small bronze from Neviodunum (Vienna) of an old woman, perhaps an attendant in a temple. The white marble copy of the fisherman in the Vatican Museums (Gall. dei Candelabri) is more faithful to the original than is the basalt and alabaster one in the Louvre, which not only has been greatly restored and reworked but appears to be an elaboration in the minutely realistic style of the late Hellenistic period. The Vatican example harks back to the concepts of the simple style in its frontal construction, its sober treatment of form, and in the fact that — despite its crude realism and the vast difference in subject — the head and upper part of the bust recall the *Demosthenes* of Polyeuktos. The sculpture of the old woman from Neviodunum is in many ways structurally similar to that of the fisherman; the tranquil and compact drapery, tending toward schematization, is a mark of the simple style.

As has been said, portraiture was particularly well adapted for the statement of the stylistic ideals of this new current. The highest and most complete expression that has survived is the *Demosthenes* (PL. 160; principal copies are in Vat. Mus.; Oxford, Ashmolean Mus.; New York, private coll.), whose bronze original, erected in the Agora at Athens about 280 B.C. (Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, XXX, 5) was the work of Polyeuktos. In it appear all the characteristics of the new current: the intense and controlled emotion; the strong structural synthesis which centralizes the compositional lines in the hands; the meager and unadorned treatment of the forms, be they of bare flesh, face, or draperies; and the sharpness of the contour. The portraits most similar to this are a superb head of an old philos-

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opher (PL. 161); the *Olympiodoros* (Oslo, Universitetets Oldsaksamling); the head of Zeno the Stoic (Naples, Mus. Naz.); the so-called "Solon," a bronze from Herculaneum; and the *Antiochos I* (Vat. Mus.). Less close to the *Demosthenes* but certainly products of the same current are the granite *Philetairos of Pergamon* (Naples, Mus. Naz.), with its incisive and economic realism; the *Epikouros* of Type A and the noble portrait of Hypereides (both Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek); and the so-called "Diphilos" in Vienna, in which the surfaces of the face and curls of the hair are treated in a richer and more mobile, perhaps Near Eastern, style. The powerful *Ptolemy Soter* from Egypt (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), of the same period, is animated rather by the bold, spiritual content of Lysippian work than by the interiorization of feeling of the simple style, and the thin firmness of its modeling reflects tendencies found in Alexandrian art. Among numerous other contemporary portraits is the seated statue of Poseidippos in the Vatican Museums. The heavy monumentality, extremely simplified drapery and pose, and bare realism certainly indicate a date in the mid-3d century (precisely the period of the playwright) and not in the classicizing period, as some have suggested. Another seated statue, variously interpreted as a portrait of Aristippos, Zeno, or Kleanthes (a small bronze in Br. Mus., headless copies in Rome, Mus. Barracco; Met. Mus.; and elsewhere), may be dated to the first half of the 3d century by the simplicity of the drapery and the closed composition, though these traits are less emphatic than in the *Poseidippos*.

The pose and composition of works with centralized rhythms, such as that of the seated girl in Rome (PL. 157), are found also in the portrait statues of the period (the headless statue of Kleoboulos Lindios, Rome, Gall. Doria Pamphili; the statue of a philosopher, Rome, Coll. Barberini). This trend in the portraiture of the early Hellenistic period (it is not known whether it developed under Greek influence or in the natural course of local evolution) seems to have found particularly favorable ground in Etruria, where it is represented by fine works which, while accentuating the stereometric conception, preserve a great sobriety and stylization in details and frequently retain the thoughtful and concentrated psychological expression. Representative of an entire type is the superb Capitoline *Brutus*, to which are related such other heads as the bronze said to come from Bovianum Vetus (mod. Boiano) in the Louvre and the head from the sarcophagus of the Magnate of Tarquinia.

*c. The "baroque."* The new cultural and political temper of the times is reflected not in the stylistic ideals of the simple style, but in the "baroque" currents which prevailed from the last decades of the 3d century until the middle of the 2d, and even beyond. The Hellenistic baroque was foreshadowed much earlier: the pathos of Skopas, the dynamism of Lysippos, and the work of their followers constitute the precedents of this style, not only in a general sense but specifically in the taste for large compositions, for restless, imposing forms, and for striking effects obtained through the expression of violent emotions and through coloristic inflections of light and shade; the last was to become, on the formal level, the basic characteristic of the baroque. One can imagine what the imposing sculptures of the 4th century were like: that of Skopas, depicting Poseidon, Thetis, Achilles, Nereids, Tritons, and marine monsters, which was transported to Rome for the Temple of Neptune (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxxvi, 25); the *Hunt of Alexander*, by Lysippos and Leochares, at Delphi (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 64; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 40); and that of Dion, also by Lysippos, with an episode from the Battle of Granikos (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 64). One can also imagine the sense of the colossal inspired by certain sculptures of Lysippos and his school. The type of the so-called "Alexander Helios" (Rome, Cap. Mus.) surpasses the "Azara herm" (IX, PL. 224) of Lysippos and the Rondanini *Alexander* (attributed to Leochares) in its emphasis on volumes, on the movement of the hair, and on the heroic expression of the subject. The latter work is an early expression (early 3d cent., if not before) of concepts which were to be important to the art of the end of the 3d century and the first half of the 2d. If the seated statue in Copenhagen (IX, PL. 223) is a copy of the *Socrates* of Lysippos, it presents, in the treatment of the drapery, an anticlassical, agitated rendering of folds which forecasts the convulsive turbulence of baroque drapery. In the statue of Mausolos (III, PL. 378) coloristic values overshadow plastic structure, and the ideals of the classical period are thus superseded. If the portrait of Antisthenes, of which there are several copies (e.g., Rome, Vat. Mus.; Naples, Mus. Naz.), is a work of the 4th century rather than of the 2d, it is another early manifestation of the baroque in its elaborate plasticity. There are more or less decisive anticipations of baroque style in some of the works we have already considered: Niobids, and especially the Niobe figure itself, with its broad and powerful plasticity; the fine head of the Borghese satyr; and the "Anzio Girl." Other examples, however, date from the period between the middle of the 3d century and the time of the great Pergamene donations, or represent the persistence of more moderate baroque forms in the same period. Foremost is the celebrated *Crouching Aphrodite* by Doidalsas of Bithynia, frequently copied and reelaborated by the Romans (the best copies are the one in Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom., PLS. 157, 158, and that in the Louvre); a little later than the "Anzio Girl," it still adheres to the compositional technique of centripetal rhythms. But it is an expression of the new taste as well, in its broad and powerful rendering, in the fullness of the nude body, in the handling of chiaroscuro in the modeling of the heavy, flowing curls and the open mouth, and in the contrast between the full, smooth, lighted surfaces and the shadows which spread over the compact arms, legs, and bust. It seems that there were touches of genuine magniloquence in Doidalsas' *Zeus Stratios* in Astakos, which is known from depictions on coins. The original of the Landolina *Venus* (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.) is perhaps from the same period as the *Aphrodite* of Doidalsas rather than from the following century. The *Venus* has the marks of the new style in the turbulence of its swelling draperies, in its sensuality, and in the realistic forms of its abundant flesh. The male figure on an Attic stele in Budapest must have been produced between the 4th and 3d centuries, rather than in the late Hellenistic period. The undulating drapery, rich in coloristic effects, could well have been conceived in a period that created such figures as that of Mausolos. The beautiful statue of a bearded philosopher in Delphi cannot be considered as classical nor as an expression of the simple style; there is a feeling for light and shade in treatment of the head draperies and for broad and powerful forms. This statue, executed in the first half of the 3d century, represents a new interpretation of the forms of the traditional iconic type of male statue.

Some representations of warriors (e.g., the so-called "Lysimachos" of Naples, a warrior of the Margham type in London, Br. Mus., and Rome, Conserv.) may have preceded those erected under Attalos I on the Acropolis of Pergamon. The sense of a magnificent epic and dramatic power is expressed with an intensity, a plastic solidity, a simplicity of formal conventions, and often with a compositional concentration which is not to be found in the age of the mature baroque. There is a similar quality in the superb portrait of Attalos I from Pergamon (first version, 240–230 B.C.), in which the closed volumetric synthesis that characterized the portraits of the early Hellenistic period is animated by a sense of pathos and a mobility that mark the baroque style. The luxuriant and agitated corona of hair, which must have been added several decades later, gives the portrait a certain emphasis but destroys the structural compactness, while adding coloristic embellishments. To this first baroque phase belongs the statue of a crouching Scythian, the so-called "Knife Grinder" (PL. 164), which originally must have been part of a sculpture depicting the punishment of Marsyas. Since the other elements of the original sculpture are unknown, it would be hazardous to relate to the "Knife Grinder" a bust of Apollo from Pergamon or the type of Marsyas generally associated with the latter. The "Knife Grinder" is rendered in broad, powerful, and solidly unified forms that evoke dramatic intensity rather than pathos.

The simple magnificence of conception, the sure immediacy of execution, and the potent vitality of expression (notice, in

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particular, the head, which is very beautiful, PL. 167) relate the "Knife Grinder" to one of the major creations of Hellenistic art, the original of the "Barberini Faun" (PL. 169), which was almost certainly executed at an earlier stage of the baroque style than were the "Ludovisi Gaul" (PLS. 162, 163) or the sculpture of Menelaos with the body of Patroklos (PL. 162; about 230 B.C.). If the rhythmical, open composition (certain in spite of some question regarding restoration) is like that of late Hellenistic art, this merely emphasizes the originality of the conception but does not relegate the work to a later period, as is often suggested. The evolution of the simple style toward the baroque is shown also by the statue in Copenhagen of the seated lyric poet, the so-called "Pindar." An intensity of thought and a rather schematized drawing of the face (inherited from the portraiture of the first half of the century) are combined with a feeling for power and breadth of form and coloristic enrichment. This suggests that the exceptional portrait statue may have been produced shortly after 250 B.C., rather than at the beginning of the 2d century as has been thought. In the great funerary sculpture of a woman with her maid in Alexandria (previously mentioned) the closed solidity of the composition is rendered with a fullness of form and imposing monumentality indicative of the new trend. Two other examples of this tendency, very different in character from the works hitherto examined, are the bronze bust of Antiochos II Theos from Herculaneum and the *Odysseus* in Venice. In the former the modeling in wide planes, a certain fullness of form in the face, and a decided taste for the imposing manner recall works of the first half of the century (e.g., the "Anzio Girl," the *Aphrodite* of Doidalsas). The dynamism and pathos of the *Odysseus* are controlled by a sense of balance that harks back to earlier ideals.

In the period from about 240 to 160 B.C., the premises of the baroque were carried to the extreme. Toward the end of the period a classicizing reaction began, but the baroque style still made itself felt throughout the entire late Hellenistic period. The evolution of stylistic ideals was marked by an ever-increasing emphasis on impressiveness and effects of impetuous movement, pathos, and plastic richness. Parallel to this there was a weakening of creative force and a progressive lack of concern for structural solidity; about the middle of the 2d century this was to degenerate into certain empty and overemphatic statements and arouse a classicizing reaction. A taste for sculpture that is neither impulsive nor dynamic but vividly coloristic in its lights and shadows and ardent in its search for expressiveness should also be considered a manifestation of the baroque. This taste was to find its vehicle in portraiture and in representations of certain subjects, both of which were rendered with particular attention to naturalistic detail. Contemporary with baroque manifestations were minor trends. One tendency was marked by a tempered coloristic effect and a fine psychological penetration, a genuinely portraitist tendency. Another preferred forms with greater balance and more traditional character than those of the baroque and used certain themes of the rococo and incipient classicism.

This period saw most of the activity of the Pergamene school, which must have occupied a preeminent position in baroque production. Fortunate circumstances of preservation and discovery emphasize the preeminence of this over other centers, especially those of the Near East and the islands, which are less familiar or entirely unknown. Records and archaeological evidence (especially monument bases bearing inscriptions) indicate that artistic activity was already remarkably intense in Pergamon under the first two Attalids, Philetairos (283–263 B.C.) and Eumenes I (263–241 B.C.); but it was perhaps only in the most active period of architectural revival and growth, embracing the eras of Attalos I (241–197 B.C.) and Eumenes II (197–ca. 159 B.C.), that Pergamene art acquired its own distinguishing features. The art of the reign of Eumenes II is the best known, as most of the surviving sculpture can be dated to this period, including the exceptional ensemble of the altar and its precinct (PLS. 172–174; IV, PL. 218). Remains of bases and inscriptions testify to the existence of numerous sculptural groups erected in the precincts of Athena Nikephoros in commemoration of the victories of Attalos I over the Gauls and the armies of Antiochos Hierax. Other votive gifts glorifying victories of the Attalids existed in Delos, on the Acropolis in Athens, and perhaps elsewhere. Pliny (*op. cit.*, xxxiv, 84) gives the names of four artists who portrayed the wars of Attalos I and Eumenes II against the Gauls: Isigonos, Phyromakos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, the first of whom is identified with the Pergamene Epigonos known from various other sources. There are numerous sculptural representations of fighting Gauls and Greek warriors (almost all in copies) which can be dated with certainty to the baroque period (3d–2d cent. B.C.), but it is impossible to state with equal certainty their relationship to monuments whose existence is known. According to criteria of style (based on significant structural synthesis, greater firmness and sobriety of sculptural idiom, and a carefully controlled sense of drama) the following groups can be distinguished: (1) a group from the beginning of the age of Attalos I and, in some cases, perhaps a decade earlier, including fighters of the Margham type, the head of a Gaul from Delos, the heads of a Persian and a Gaul in Rome (Mus. Naz. Rom.), the head of the "Lysimachos," the torso of a warrior in Rome (Conserv.), and the torso of a warrior from Delos (in Athens); (2) an intermediate group from the last decades of the 3d century (age of Attalos I) represented by the "Ludovisi Gaul" (PLS. 162, 163), the "Dying Gaul" (PL. 164), heads of Gauls in the Vatican, Delos, and the Museo Nazionale Romano, and two heads of combatants in the British Museum; (3) a group from the period of Attalos II, which includes the works of the so-called "Small Donation." Some of the works in the second group have often been assigned to a so-called "Great Donation" of the precincts of Athena. It has been determined that at least three donations were erected there in the time of Attalos I: one on a circular base in the center of the precinct, commemorating the victory of Attalos I over the Gauls at the mouth of the Kaikos; a second commemorating a series of victories over the Seleucids and Gauls in 225 B.C.; and a third erected to Attalos I by the general Epigenes and the soldiers who fought in these wars. Epigraphical evidence suggests the attribution of the two last donations to Epigonos. Recent studies (Schober) suggest the following reconstruction of the "Great Donation" on a circular base: the colossal "Ludovisi Gaul" in the center surrounded by four statues of fallen Gauls, which would include the Capitoline "Dying Gaul" (PL. 164), a male torso in Dresden, and the head of a Gaulish woman in the Museo Nazionale Romano. For the first two works at least, the hypothesis seems highly probable. This set of sculpture has often been attributed to Epigonos because of the plausible suggestion that the Capitoline piece, in which a horn lies on the ground at the side of the fallen warrior, can be identified with the trumpeter which Pliny (*loc. cit.*, 88) attributed to Epigonos along with the sculpture of a boy caressing his slain mother. However, the profound stylistic differences between the "Ludovisi Gaul" and the "Dying Gaul" raise serious doubts. In every detail the "Dying Gaul" is calmer and more restrained than the "Ludovisi Gaul" (PLS. 162, 163). The latter represents a Gaul, supporting the body of his dying wife, who kills himself rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The highly pathetic theme, the forceful movement, the emphasis on anatomical relief, the boldness of the composition, and the concentration on the head of the Gaul reflect a taste that is markedly different from that of the "Dying Gaul." The sculptor of the former exploits the new ideals of the baroque, while the sculptor of the latter revives the older ideals of purity of form and restrained psychological expression. The two works may very well be contemporary and part of the same complex, but they are certainly the work of artists of different temperaments, one faithful to the recent past, the other employing the concepts of a new art. The sculptor of the "Dying Gaul" could have been Epigonos, who was active as early as 250 B.C. and perhaps even before.

A representation of a Gaul which has been frequently and groundlessly associated with Pergamene art is the so-called "Gaul of Giza" (PL. 163). It has the vehemence and the emphatic pathos of the baroque, but it differs from the heads of the Pergamene donations in the boldness and directness of its handling of form, in the rapidity of execution, and in its

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taste for the unfinished, for the free sketch, all of which make the work the highest and most representative of the art center that produced it, Alexandria. (The head is one of the most original and antitraditional works of all Hellenistic sculpture.) It has been variously dated between the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d century B.C. Sculptures similar in composition to the "Ludovisi Gaul" were created more or less contemporaneously with it. Among these are sculptures of Achilles with Penthesileia and representations of Menelaos with Patroklos. The torso of the figure of Achilles is known in several copies (e.g., in Geneva, Copenhagen), as is a good part of the figure of Penthesileia (in the Borghese *Amazon* and the *Amazon* found near Sette Bagni; Mus. Naz. Rom.). The sculpture of Menelaos with Patroklos is known in its entirety (copies: PL. 162; Pitti; the so-called "Pasquino," against the corner of Palazzo Braschi in Rome; heads in Vat. Mus. and elsewhere). The pose of Menelaos holding his friend Patroklos (according to some, the subject is Ajax with Achilles) is close to that of the "Ludovisi Gaul," and both works have a pyramidal composition. The strong play of movement and force between the two figures of each sculpture creates a solid unity of composition. The two works, however, differ greatly. The nude body of the Gaul is composed of deeply carved forms with tense masses of muscles set on sturdy bony structure, while that of Menelaos represents a rich play of vibrantly sensitive surfaces. In the former work the forms are dry and abrupt, while in the latter they are broad, abundant, and powerful. One cannot fail to recognize in the sculptor of the Menelaos a greater artistic force; his sculpture, with its perfect placement of Patroklos between the legs of Menelaos, is more closely integrated than that of the Gaul, and the body of Patroklos surpasses the dying wife of the Ludovisi sculpture in boldness of placement and force of expression. The latter group displays something of the emphatic quality of the great Pergamene frieze. This quality was not yet evident in the "Pasquino" sculpture, which has sometimes been attributed to Antigonos of Karystos, a sculptor and writer about art who worked on the Attalid votive sculptures celebrating the victories over the Gauls (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 84). The hypothesis cannot be adequately supported; the sculpture of Menelaos with Patroklos is decidedly one of those cases in which the attribution to the Pergamene school, often declared and generally accepted, is only conjectural. The characteristics of the nude body tend to refute the hypothesis. The work may well have been created in another center of Asia Minor and at approximately the same time as the "Great Donation." In the development of the baroque, Menelaos with Patroklos occupies a place between the "Dying Gaul" and the "Ludovisi Gaul."

The *Artemis and Iphigeneia* from Asia Minor (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), considered an original, is of entirely different quality and importance. The idea of a composition with an erect figure (Artemis) and a fallen one (Iphigeneia) recalls the compositional elements of the two works just examined, but here all similarity ends. The artificial composition, the unsureness of structure, and the hard and inert modeling of the two figures have nothing of the high quality of the previous works. The *Artemis and Iphigeneia* is often dated to the 3d century B.C., but it could be a work of the following century. The original of the so-called "Cesi Juno" in Rome (Cap. Mus.) is perhaps to be included among Pergamene sculpture of the end of the 3d century. It is fundamentally in the same style as the Pergamene female statues contemporary with the great frieze, but it is certainly more modest in its effects of grandeur and chiaroscuro. A large head of a centaur in Rome (Conserv.) is slightly earlier than the altar and seems to presage the pathos, richness, and movement of the heads of certain giants of the great frieze.

The superb *Victory of Samothrace* (PL. 177), an original of outstanding qualities, must have been created between 220 and 190 B.C. The power and daring novelty of the conception, the complexity of the rhythms, the richness in the play of light and shadow, especially in the wonderful chiaroscuro of the drapery, make it one of the greatest examples of the baroque style of this epoch. The goddess, descending from the skies, is portrayed at the instant in which she touches the prow of a ship. The supple body and wide, extended wings vibrate with the movement of flight, while the violent pressure of the wind makes the figure strain forward. The work was probably a Rhodian votive offering erected in Samothrace to celebrate a victory over Antiochos III of Syria. It corresponds in its fullness and maturity of expression to the works of the greatest flowering of Pergamene art, but even in its search for dynamic effects there is a structural solidity and sense of equilibrium which bind it even more closely to the traditional qualities of Greek art.

The next three decades (190–160 B.C.) mark the most intense productivity of the Pergamene school. At this time the sculptural decoration of the Pergamon altar was created, along with several stylistically related works, some of which were set up in the precincts of the altar itself. The colossal altar was only one of the victory monuments that the munificent Eumenes II erected on the Acropolis of Pergamon (PL. 172). The sculptural decoration of the altar comprised the great frieze of the gigantomachy, which ran 426½ ft. around the exterior, on the socle at the base of the colonnade (PL. 173); the small Telephos frieze, which ran more than 242 ft. around the interior of the enclosing wall (PL. 174); and the various sculptures which decorated the crowning element. The date of the complex is almost unanimously accepted as the decades between 190–180 and 160–150 B.C., although there are those (Zschietzschmann, 1939) who have dated it between 220 and 197, attributing the work to the reign of Attalos I.

The names of the gods and giants depicted as well as those of the artists were carved on the two borders that enclosed the great frieze. The names of the artists Theorretos, Orestes, and Dionysiades were preserved in entirety: others which can be completed with a fair degree of certainty are Menekrates, Mnesikles (or Ktesikles) and Melanippos (?). Of these artists Orestes and perhaps Theorretos were Pergamene, Mnesikles (or Ktesikles) was from Tralles, and Menekrates, Dionysiades, and perhaps Melanippos were from Rhodes. The theme selected for the great frieze was traditional in Greek architectural sculpture, but in the manner of its conception by the Pergamene artists it demonstrates a strong interest in representing the extraordinary and the unusual. The allegorical division of the divinities distributed on the four sides of the monument, the presence of obscure mythological figures alongside the most famous gods of the Greek pantheon, and certain unusual aspects of the iconography show the representational program to have been the product of an erudite milieu, perhaps the work of some scholar at the Library of Pergamon. But it must be quickly added that the learned elaboration of the theme has been transfigured and fused by the planner of the frieze in one of the most daring and unified works of all Greek art; never before had the mythological battle been represented as so enormous a cosmic conflict.

The relief almost always projects highly, and the figures generally appear in positions parallel to the background, in back, front, or side views, although some are seen obliquely. The execution is highly refined throughout, and much attention is paid to details (e.g., of weapons, apparel, and jewelry). There are frequent allusions to 5th-century Attic art, especially to that of Phidias, in the rendering of flesh and drapery and in the relationship between figure and background. But these allusions are really superficial. They were made consciously by the Pergamene artists and only serve to emphasize, by contrast, the independence of the Pergamene stylistic idiom. The whirling violence of the movement, the lively inventiveness of episode and gesture, the heightened drama of the expressions, the powerful bodies and heads, and the variety and beauty of the drapery (which often figures in the foreground) are qualities which have nothing in common with the ideals of Attic classical art; they are, on the contrary, a most decided negation of them. From a more strictly formal point of view, the dominant note of the style of the frieze is an intense coloristic sense of light and shade. Smooth and curving forms that turn broad surfaces to the light are contrasted with areas that gather shadows in deeply cut surfaces. In the heads the clear forms of the cheeks and the smooth, broad foreheads contrast with the shaded

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mouths, open in a cry or in pain, the sunken eyes, and the deep furrows that divide the locks of the hair and beards. Strong effects of light and shade are achieved in the contorted bodies of many of the male nudes, effects that are obtained by strong projections, the interplay of relief surfaces, and the play of light on drapery. The draperies, more than any other element, are used to collect the shadows in their numerous deep hollows and in the frequent rippling of their folds. Scholars substantially agree that one mind was probably responsible for the conception of the frieze. More difficult problems are the number of artists who worked on the frieze, their relative skill, and the relation between their rendering and the original conception of the work. Recent studies have been able to demonstrate that the individual slabs, sculptured in part before being put in place, show the work of at least a dozen artists. These would have carved their names on the monument, while their lesser collaborators, expert and accurate artisans who added final touches and details, would have remained anonymous. The quality of the execution is not of uniform excellence, and the plastic strength in the bodies and heads, the strong drama of the expression, and the force of movement are not always realized with equal effectiveness. There is more than one occurrence of forms that are weak, heavy, or distended, or gestures that are clumsy and awkward and reveal a false theatricality which degenerates into tedious overemphasis. This is not surprising, for the altar was created near the close of the great age of Hellenistic baroque. If the Telephos frieze represents the beginning of the classicizing reaction, the false baroque expressions in the frieze do more than presage another characteristic of the late Hellenistic age. The identity of the planner of the great frieze remains unknown; there is no firm basis for identifying him with the Menekrates who signed the frieze and who might be the Menekrates of Rhodes, adopted father of Apollonios and Tauriskos and creator of the *Punishment of Dirke*, or with the Hellenistic architect Menekrates. Neither can the planning of the entire altar be attributed to Epigonos, who appears to have headed the Pergamene school of sculpture.

The small frieze on the inner face of the wall of the upper level of the altar narrates the story of Telephos in a continuous succession of scenes (PL. 174). As in the great frieze, erudite Pergamenians must have proposed the mythological themes. The fundamental stylistic unity indicates a single homogenous artistic conception, but, of necessity, the frieze was executed by several artists in collaboration. The recognition of the different hands presents a more arduous problem here than in the case of the great frieze. The stylistic qualities of the Telephos frieze differ in many respects from those of the great frieze. The clearest difference is a substantial renunciation of the more extreme baroque expressions in favor of more placid forms; movement and theatricality have been restrained, and relief has become lower, drapery calmer and often linear. There is a revived feeling for classic balance and rhythm and a classical rendition of certain details (e.g., drapery). There is also an interest in spatial representation and in the atmospheric portrayal of external nature, both of which are totally foreign to the great frieze. Even if the realization is sometimes conventional (as in the scene of the construction of Auge's ark), at other times it is fully successful in creating the illusion of figures immersed in atmosphere and moving in real space (as in the slab with Teuthras and his cortege, or the slab with the abduction of the young Orestes). The final profound difference between the two friezes is in the narrative technique. The great frieze unites in a single relief many simultaneous events in which various persons participate; the small frieze relates a series of successive episodes in the life of a principal character (Telephos), who appears repeatedly. This frieze has great importance in the history of relief, since it provides a precedent, certainly not unique but one of the most remarkable, for the illusionistic, narrative, and landscape tendencies of the relief sculpture of Roman times. The remarkable differences between the two friezes of the Pergamon altar do not necessarily indicate an equally notable difference in date, which a study of structure would seem to exclude. The master of the Telephos frieze must have been younger than the master of the gigantomachy and thus open to new interests and to the reaction against baroque style.

The last group of sculptures of the Pergamon altar consists of the statues that adorned the crowning elements over the colonnade. Figures of horses, Tritons, lions, and griffins must have been arranged on three sides of the monument, and a group of divinities almost certainly ornamented the front. The sculptures, smaller than life size, reveal both in conception and in execution a stylistic unity with the friezes, especially with the major one.

The fortunate discoveries at Pergamon have revealed a rich collection of works which makes 2d-century Pergamene art appear extraordinarily compact and unified. Especially noteworthy are a group of Muses, a group of priestesses of Athena, two statues of Athena (a copy of Phidias's *Athena Parthenos* and an Athena with a crossed aegis), a goddess with a peplos (Hera?), a Kybele, a head of Attalos I (the new version), a large head of Alexander (PL. 153), a large statue of Zeus or Poseidon in motion, the female "Beautiful Head," a sleeping hermaphrodite, and a statue of Attis. Some of these sculptures display the same baroque characteristics as the great frieze. The frankly baroque imprint which copies of classical originals have acquired is evidence of the solid unity of Pergamene sculpture. This can be seen in the two statues of Athena, the goddess with the peplos, and the *Kybele* (all copies from originals of the second half of the 5th century), as well as in the *Leda* from a well-known original by Timotheos. The imprint of the Pergamene baroque is even recognizable on a plaque (the foot of a marble table) with a vigorous and luxuriant acanthus plant. The hermaphrodite and the "Beautiful Head" are, on the other hand, examples of the perpetuation or revival of the style of Praxiteles, which, in the second of these statues, is combined with certain traits of Skopas. From the precinct of Athena come some reliefs (representations of weapon trophies, the so-called "little gigantomachy," the Trojan Horse, Athena, and Telephos) which closely resemble in style and execution the two friezes of the Pergamon altar. Among the freestanding sculptures are some that demonstrate a reaction against the extreme baroque, already noted in the Telephos frieze, but they are generally attributed to the period of Eumenes II.

Numerous works found outside of Pergamon also belong to the baroque of the first half of the 2d century B.C. Among them is the beautiful statue of the hanging Marsyas (in the earliest version, exemplified by the sculpture from Tarsos in Istanbul); the strong dramatic quality of the subject, the very rich modeling and powerful play of lights and shadows in the head, and the emphasis on the anatomy of the body relate it stylistically to the altar. Also in this group are the head of a satyr (Rome, Conserv.), which is very similar to a head in the great Pergamon frieze, and a bronze Hermes with a petasos (Br. Mus.). The latter, perhaps an original, renders Lysippian concepts in nervous and vibrant forms that presage certain vigorous late-Hellenistic figures. Others in the group are a magnificent female head from Tralles (İzmir, Arch. Mus.) and a colossal statue of Apollo (also from Tralles; Istanbul, Arch. Mus.), both of which are impressively conceived with a broad, fluid treatment of forms, one with pathos and the other with mild sensuality. Related, too, are the very fine female head from the Serapeion of Alexandria (PL. 178); a large head of Helios from Rhodes; some draped female statues from Rhodes, Kos, and Samos; the old centaur and the young centaur (copies in Rome, Cap. Mus.); the bronze dancing satyr of the House of the Faun in Pompeii (PL. 200); the group of satyrs fighting with giants (Rome, Conserv.); a head of Zeus (Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Naz.); and the monumental head of Poseidon (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), as well as a fine small bronze of the same god in the Louvre. The last two works are among the rather limited examples of the Alexandrian baroque. The pediment sculptures from the Hieron at Samothrace (Vienna), now dated to the middle of the 2d century, can also be counted among the examples of this trend. A sculptural ensemble erected by Damophon of Messene at Lykosoura (Arcadia) in the first half of the 2d century must be considered a hybrid

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compromise between Attic traditionalism and baroque forms. From this group have survived the heads of Demeter, Anytos (PL. 187), and Artemis. Two acroteria (Nikai in flight) from the Agora in Athens have been considered rare and valuable evidence of Attic reflections of the Pergamene baroque of the first half of the 2d century. The group of the two girls playing the game of *ephedrismos* (Rome, Conserv.) is a fine restatement and development in the baroque manner of the motif of strongly agitated draperies that had been dear to the Attic style of the 5th and 4th centuries.

As early as the 4th century, portraiture aimed at realism. The Hellenistic period further developed this tendency not only through persistent fidelity to the subject but also through the attempt to express psychological content. This is reflected in a certain predilection for representing the aged, the ugly, and the exotic. After the period of the simple style, the portrait became a richer and freer expression of sentiments, with a more original and varied stock of forms, and showed a renewed interest in effects of light and shade (an interest shared by 4th-century portraiture). In the decades between 250 and 190 were created some of the finest portraits of the new tendencies, which were growing even stronger. Most worthy of mention is the superb bronze head of an old bearded philosopher (PL. 156) from Antikythera. There is a sense of power in the realistic expression, which is solid in structure as well as rich and free in modeling. A trenchant comparison of the old and new tendencies can be made by setting the so-called "Solon" from Herculaneum against another bronze portrait of a bearded old man from Herculaneum, the so-called "Demokritos," dated between 240 and 220 B.C. The calm, almost severe tone and the compactness of form of the Solon are replaced in the Demokritos by a looser, richer, and more mobile treatment. The less elevated, more diffuse vigorous spirituality of the latter is substituted for the controlled inner tension of the former. The characteristics of the Demokritos are even more marked in the *Cynic Philosopher* (Cap. Mus.), where the handling of light and shade reaches one of its highest expressions, not only in the very effective head — in the free and unrestrained variety in the treatment of the wrinkled and sullen face and in the modeling of the hair and unkempt beard — but also in the massive volumes and movement of the mantle. The feeling for naturalistic detail found expression not only in the treatment of the face and nude flesh, but also in the solid posture, which is free of any sense of being posed. This particular manifestation of realism is even more effectively conveyed in the admirable small bronze statue called "Hermarchos" (Met. Mus.), an original of the last decades of the 3d century. The hesitant turning and drooping of the head on the obese body (which is sustained with difficulty by the thin, spread legs), the flaccid forms of the chest, and the disordered arrangement of the cloak present a newer image than the Capitoline *Cynic*, and the work is even farther from the traditional male portrait statue than is the latter. Similar in tendency are such noteworthy portraits of the period as the Type B *Epikouros* (copy in New York, Met. Mus.) and the seated statue of Chrysippos, a work of Euboulides. A comparison of the former with the Type A *Epikouros* (the Copenhagen example mentioned earlier) reveals the transition that occurred in portraiture between the first decades of the century and the last. This strongly coloristic portrait of Epikouros is infused with a magnificence that suggests a Near Eastern origin. A portrait bust of Chrysippos (PL. 170) displays different tendencies; it gives greater attention to minute detail, has a more compact structure, shows the obvious survival of simplifying qualities in the draperies, and even exhibits tendencies toward schematization in the fine modeling of the face (note the wrinkled forehead). This bust is almost certainly modeled after a famous original from the Kerameikos in Athens, which is attributed to the Attic artist Euboulides (end of 3d cent.), and is known in many copies (Br. Mus.; Vat. Mus.; etc.). It has many characteristics in common with another statue, perhaps a few decades older, which must have been famous among the ancients; this is the so-called "pseudo-Seneca," among the finest copies of which (there are about forty) is the well-known bronze from Herculaneum (PL. 170). Despite the elaborate modeling of the neck and wrinkled face and of the long and disordered locks of hair, and despite the chiaroscuro effects obtained through that modeling and through the shading of the deep-set eyes and open mouth, the work has a structural force that recalls the style of the first half of the 3d century. A celebrated sculpture of an old woman drunk, copied many times in the Roman period (copies in Munich, Glyptothek; Rome, Cap. Mus.; and elsewhere; III, PL. 210), belongs to this strong realistic trend of the second half of the 3d century. It may be the *Anus ebria* (drunken old woman) of Smyrna which Pliny mentioned (*op. cit.*, xxxvi, 32) and wrongly attributed to the great Myron of the 5th century, whom he had evidently mistaken for the Theban bronzesmith of the same name who collaborated on the Pergamene votive offerings for the victory over the Gauls. The old woman, gaunt and bedraggled, squatting on the ground with a *lagynos* (wine bottle) in her hands, throws back her head and opens her mouth in a lament. The closed composition of the body, with the divergent ascending line created by the position of the head appears, as has been seen, in other 3d-century works. In the history of crudely realistic subjects, the Theban Myron's old woman occupies a place somewhere between the examples of the early Hellenistic period (e.g., Vatican fisherman, PL. 366; the old woman of Neviodunum) and those of the late. The head of Euthydemos I of Bactria (Rome, Mus. Torlonia) is a finely sculptured contemporaneous example of a taste for unrelieved ugliness.

Among those portraits which can be dated in the decades around 200 B.C. are some that — in their sober handling of form, in their more moderate concern for realism, and in the psychological penetration of their aristocratic subjects — seem to revive portrait concepts of the simple style, though employing the freer and more active forms of the time. To this group belong the *Antiochos III of Syria* in Paris (PL. 171), the *Arsinoë III* in Mantua (Palazzo Ducale) and the one in Boston (Mus. of Fine Arts), a head of Alexander from Tivoli (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.), the portrait of Menander, the head of a priest in Athens (Nat. Mus.; A Br. 343/44), and the *Epikouros* of Type C (Rome, Mus. Barracco and Cap. Mus.).

Throughout the period of the bold and triumphant baroque, there survived the fresh, delicate vein of the rococo in Hellenistic sculpture, producing some of its most significant works; the coexistence of such diverse tendencies is indeed unusual. While at Pergamon such works were being created as the great dedications and the gigantomachy, the imagination of Boethos created his playful *Boy Strangling a Goose* (VI, PL. 58), a theme that had already been treated in the early Hellenistic period (Herodas, *Mimiamboi*, iv, 3–34; the little statue of Ephesos). Boethos' sculpture was born of a spirit that took pleasure in contrasting the awkward forms of the animal and the graceful ones of the boy. Showing similar interests are such works of the same period as the small statue of Herakles strangling the serpents (Uffizi), the bronze satyr of Pergamon, the young satyr tipping his wineskin and the satyr immersed in sleep (both Naples, Mus. Naz.), Eros and Psyche joined in a tender embrace, and many representations of nymphs, little satyrs (PL. 168), Erotes, and smiling girls. The erotic hermaphrodite and satyr in Dresden perhaps dates from this time. A statue of a sleeping hermaphrodite (copies in Louvre; Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.) can be dated about 160 B.C. and attributed to Polykles, an Attic artist of the first half of the 2d century. Though different in many respects, it seems to echo the warm sensuality of the "Barberini Faun" (PL. 169). The theme of the reclining figure immersed in sleep returns in sculptures of putti, Erotes, and Thanatos, a new pretext for depicting the grace of childhood. Among the many representations of this subject is an outstanding bronze original in the Metropolitan Museum, probably dating from the period between 200 and 150 B.C.

*d. The eclecticism and classicism of the late Hellenistic period.* As has been noted, the art of the late Hellenistic age is characterized by eclectic works that generally tend toward classicism. Though the classicizing reaction to the baroque that occurred about 160 B.C. adhered to the criteria of the Atticizing scholars of antiquity (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxiv, 51) on the "revival

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of Art" (i.e., of what they considered "true art"), this certainly did not mark a sudden end to baroque art.

The baroque was not extinguished then, even though in many cases it had degenerated and repeated trite formulas. It was really from a protraction of baroque concepts that some of the most frequent types of sculpture of this period were produced. Divergent lines of composition, forms of false grandeur, and the interaction of broad, heavy masses and surfaces empty of structural solidity are characteristic qualities of the sculpture of this period. The degeneration of the baroque had already begun at the time of the Pergamon altar; the tendency toward centrifugal compositions and voluminous masses with loose internal structure is evident in a number of figures in the great frieze. In baroque sculpture of the late Hellenistic age the search for unexpected effects and the love of pathos often weaken and degenerate into overemphasis, false theatricality, and decorative values no longer felt in their true significance. The play of light and shadow was to lose some of its dramatic impact, and the strong expressions of coloristic realism in the portrait and genre subjects were to deteriorate into a cold, trite, manneristic realism. This is not to say that the new epoch did not see some fine works created in the baroque tradition, works perfectly sound and still very much admired. It is sufficient to mention the *Aphrodite* ("Venus de Milo"; PL. 176) and *Poseidon* of Melos (Athens), the *Zeus* from the Temple of Hera at Pergamon, some figures from the "Small Donation," the bronze male portrait from Delos, and, in the Neo-Attic period, the sculpture of Triton and a Nereid in the Vatican Museums (PL. 188), the *Laocoön*, the *Gladiator* by Agasias, and the two works of Apollonios, son of Nestor. Statuary types of the 4th century B.C. provided the prototypes of the *Aphrodite* and the *Poseidon*, both of which were sculptured in the years immediately following 150 B.C. But it is the spirit of the first half of the 2d century B.C. that gives these two reelaborations of earlier types their sense of grandeur and emphasis as well as their unquiet rhythms and centrifugal composition that tend to dilate figures in space. In the head of Aphrodite the classical ideal is translated into broad but structurally weak forms in accordance with the concepts of the period. Much more vigorous is the Pergamene baroque, as exemplified in the powerful proportions, agitated drapery, and imposing stance of the headless *Zeus* from the Temple of Hera at Pergamon (Istanbul, Arch. Mus.). Centrifugal composition, emphatic posture, and solid masses of flesh characterize the so-called "Hellenistic ruler" (PL. 185), the *Herakles* of the Ara Maxima (Rome, Conserv.), and the *Poseidon* from the former Loeb Collection in Munich. In the first (Demetrios I Poliorketes of Syria?) the artist has revived Lysippian sculptural types (*Alexander with the Lances*) and sense of proportions, but the modeling, the realism of the head, and the vigorous posture of the body reflect new ideals. The statue of Herakles represents a degeneration of Lysippian ideals in baroque forms that are repellent in their vacuity. It seems to be a reelaboration (50 B.C.) of a late 4th-century type which also may have inspired a small bronze from Byblos (Br. Mus.) of the 2d century. The small statue of Poseidon, from the former Loeb Collection, is a more significant example of open-form composition; it is slender and shows more restrained modeling than the other two bronzes. Similar to the *Poseidon* in their emphasis on open rhythms are the *Muse with the Scroll* (Venice), part of the so-called "Philiskos group," and two bronzes of wholly different artistic merit: the *Running Boy* in the Prado and the "Jockey" from Cape Artemision (PLS. 182, 183); these two works are not, however, of baroque inspiration. The beautiful bronze head from Delos (PL. 165) is probably some decades later than the "Hellenistic ruler." A less individualized expression, the head from Delos is influenced more by classicistic currents and is more moderated in modeling, though the volumes are more synthesized. A taste for abundant and fleshy forms and a weak sense of structure characterize the so-called "Pyrrhus of Epirus" in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), the "Berenike" of Herculaneum, an Alexandrian princess of the second half of the 2d century, and a Pergamene head of uncertain identity (Attalos III, Ariarathes IX?). The first is closer to the figural schemes of the early Pergamene baroque, but there is a false grandiosity in the expression. The two others are more advanced in the soft uniformity of the modeling and the generalization of expression, and they have a classicizing tendency to symmetry and regularity in the facial features. Among the works of the late baroque period whose spiral stance and coloristic play of light and shade are tempered by classicizing influences is the noble statue of a draped young person from Kos. The head of Mithradates VI Eupator, covered by a lionskin, represents an attempt to recapture the fire of earlier Pergamene sculpture by recourse to an academic formula of plastic firmness and precision of detail. The nearly contemporary type of the *Socrates* in the Villa Albani, Rome (early 1st century B.C.), is a similar compromise between decorativeness and a baroque plastic richness and movement.

A very significant example of the prolongation of the baroque combined with the eclecticism of the late 2d century is the so-called "Small Donation" of Pergamon (PL. 175), erected by Attalos II (159–138 B.C.) on the Acropolis in Athens (Pausanias, i, 25, 2). The bronze original comprised less-than-life-size statues depicting episodes of the gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, Marathonomachy, and Galatomachy; elements of it survive in Roman copies (Naples, Mus. Naz.; Venice; Vat. Mus.; Louvre; Aix). The vagueness of the literary evidence on which the existence of this donation in Athens has been based (copied from a similar one existing in Pergamon?) has created doubts as to whether it should be attributed to Attalos I or Attalos II. However, a comparison with the elements of the "Great Donation" and the great frieze of the Pergamon altar renders the second attribution much more probable. While some elements of the group go beyond the great frieze in emphasis on the power of the nude body and elaboration of faces distorted by intense emotions (e.g., sculpture of a fallen giant in Naples, Mus. Naz., and of a fallen Gaul in Venice, Mus. Arch.), the fallen Gaul in Naples is a weak adaption of the Capitoline "Dying Gaul" from the "Great Donation." Some figures are conceived according to a complex spatial vision (e.g., the fallen Gaul in Venice, PL. 175, and the fighting Gaul in the Louvre), whereas others are conceived according to a flat compositional scheme with a single point of vision (e.g., the fallen bearded Gaul in Venice, Mus. Arch.; the fighting Persian, PL. 175). In the attitude of eternal sleep, in the plastic unity of the broad planes, and in the very beautiful head, the dead Persian in Naples represents the most marked contrast to the dead giant in the same museum.

Other baroque works, stylistically and chronologically close to the "Small Donation," include statues of Amazons fighting on horseback (Naples, Mus. Naz.; formerly, Rome, Villa Patrizi, from a Pergamene group?) and fragments from a highly dramatic sculpture of Odysseus and his companions in desperate battle with Scylla (Palermo; Rome, Vat. Mus.; and elsewhere).

Another baroque work, the *Punishment of Dirke* (formerly in Rhodes) by Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles, can be dated to the late 2d century because of its agitated and dramatic theme and its large conception. It is known primarily through a cold and altered Roman copy (3d cent. of our era), the Farnese *Bull* (Naples, Mus. Naz.), which was found at the Baths of Caracalla. The colossal work represents Dirke at the moment when Amphion and Zethos chain her to the maddened bull. (The figure of Antiope in the Farnese copy was added by the Roman copyist.) There were allegorical and realistic landscape elements in the complicated pyramidal sculpture (perhaps derived from a painting); it is not known to what degree the cold classicism of the 3d-century copy reflects the style of the original. Another imposing Roman statuary group, the personification of the Nile in the new wing of the Vatican Museums, is also believed to derive from a painting by way of an original marble; the Roman copy was found at Iseo in the Roman countryside together with a matching statue of the Tiber personified. The stylistic idiom of the original of the Nile cannot be reconstructed from the cold and precise copy of the 2d century of our era; however, its qualities (which are also lost in the imitation of it in the personification of the Tiber) must have included grandeur and broadness of form in the

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serene and solemn figure of the Nile, which was contrasted with the restless crowd of 16 putti (alluding to the river's maximum flood of 16 cubits) and with the witty liveliness of the Nile landscape scenes depicted around the base of the monument. The original of this noble Alexandrian creation is difficult to date; the broad and impressive forms of the nude body could suggest a date in the 3d century B.C. (when an allegorical subject would not be surprising). But since Alexandrian monuments with similar reclining figures have been dated to the 2d century B.C., it is likely that the original of the Nile was also created at that time. These Alexandrian monuments are a statuette of the Nile from Alexandria (Stuttgart), the figure of Zeus in the Archelaos relief, and two pediment sculptures of the Hieron in Samothrace. They were formerly considered products of an early phase of Hellenistic baroque (ca. mid-3d century), but are now thought to date from about 150 B.C. The previously mentioned head of Poseidon in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) and a type of Serapis (Cairo, Eg. Mus., no. 46343) different from the one attributed to Bryaxis may also be considered late-baroque Alexandrian works. Other works of this category include some limestone sculptures from the Serapeion in Memphis and some small bronzes (e.g., a *Poseidon* in the Louvre; an athlete formerly in the Matossian Coll., now in Baltimore, Walters Art Gall.).

The Amazonomachy depicted on the frieze of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (PL. 175; Berlin, Staat. Mus.) dates from about 150 B.C. It is a work of modest quality, reviving classical schemes in a strongly projecting relief with a feeling for the play of light and shade and an emphasis on movement and anatomical details; but it produces no real effect, and the composition is fussy and confused. The long frieze of the Hekateion at Lagina, Caria (PL. 187), of interest not for superior quality but for the type of composition, dates from the period between the end of the 2d century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st. The various subjects depicted include the birth of Jupiter; a representation alluding to the alliance between Rome and the cities of Caria, symbolized by Amazons; and the gigantomachy. While some parts of the relief are rendered with an interest in spatial illusionism that often goes beyond even the Telephos frieze of Pergamon, elsewhere the classicizing impulse, which is also indicated in the modeling of the individual figures, dictates a frontal and symmetrical view of the compositional elements. The depiction of landscape in relief developed throughout the Hellenistic period, but it was particularly in the later phase that certain characteristics were emphasized which were to be absorbed by Roman art. Establishing a setting for figural scenes by means of architectural and landscape elements, a technique that had been abandoned in classical reliefs, revived and became popular during the Hellenistic period; from an accessory element the landscape often became the main subject of the work. (This development probably occurred, as well, in painting.) The simple concern to suggest the location of a scene turned into a desire to express the profound meaning and poetry of landscape, which in the Hellenistic age was almost always rendered in the tone of a bucolic or sacred idyll. This particular type of landscape relief appears to have been popularized by the Hellenistic art of Alexandria. With the interest in representing nature came an interest in spatial illusionism in contrast to the classical tradition (which was never entirely abandoned, however) of a uniform background. There are landscape and illusionistic elements in the Telephos relief, though they are absent from the gigantomachy relief. Nevertheless, the taste for scenic accents and even for the true idyllic landscape may date as early as the 3d century B.C. The form was the relief picture (of bronze, stucco, or marble), first developed in the Hellenistic period and popular in Roman times, when antique models were copied in marble and new works were generally created according to the old repertory. Among the definitely Hellenistic landscape reliefs, copies and originals, are those of the so-called "Satyr Drama" (copies in Naples, Mus. Naz.; Rome, Cap. Mus.; and elsewhere), that of Orpheus (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus.), the relief from Tralles (Istanbul), the bronze panel of Delos, the Alexandrian originals of the Carthaginian panel (Louvre) and of the Saturnia Tellus panel from the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome (III, PL. 488), the Archelaos relief (Br. Mus.), the Offering relief in Munich, and the original of the Dolon relief (copies in Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.; Rome, Mus, Naz. Rom.). Some celebrated reliefs executed in the early Roman Imperial age are certainly in the Hellenistic and Alexandrian tradition, if not copies of originals of that time and place. Among these works are *Polyphemos* (Rome, Villa Albani), the pair of Grimani fountain reliefs (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.), and the Munich relief of the peasant going to market. The dating of all these reliefs is extremely problematical: the "Satyr Drama" and the *Orpheus* appear to be early (3d century); the other works are variously dated to the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. Relatively precise information permits dating the Delos bronze between the 3d and 2d centuries (in any case before 166 B.C.); the Archelaos relief about 125 B.C.; and the Munich Offering relief to the first half of the 2d century and shortly thereafter. The concepts which inspired these reliefs seem to have nothing in common with either baroque or classicizing tendencies.

Many draped female statues from Samos, Delos, Kos, Magnesia, Pergamon, and elsewhere can be dated to the second half of the 2d century. Often they can be dated by factual evidence, thus acquiring particular value as points of reference for the study of contemporaneous stylistic evolution (e.g., the statues from Delos of Isis, 128–127; Cleopatra, about 138–137; Roma, about 110–109). The remains of relief figures which decorated the two great altars of Priene and Magnesia ad Maeandrum (erected between about 160 and 150) belong to a slightly earlier period. In the complexities of these sculptures the tendencies proper to the period meet and cross, sometimes in the same work: the concepts of imposing forms, of restless and dynamic rhythms, of a coloristic play of light and shade converge and mingle with those of a classicizing taste for more restrained and tranquil forms and for linear drapery folds. In many of these works an attempt has been made to achieve an effect of transparency in silk veils (the *coae vestes*) that envelope the figure and to contrast them with the heavy and very rich chitons underneath. A typical example of this device can be seen in a group of the Muses that must have enjoyed great popularity among the Romans, judging from the number of extant copies; this is the group formerly attributed to Philiskos of Rhodes. Elements of it are found reproduced in two Hellenistic reliefs of slightly later date than the original: the panel signed by Archelaos of Priene, which may have been created in Alexandria, and a circular base for a statue from Halikarnassos (both, London, Br. Mus.). The better-known figures of the group are Polyhymnia (PL. 186), Terpsichore, Kleio, the Muse with the small lyre, and Ourania. The tendency toward decorativeness and classicizing ideals, evident in the rendering of the draperies and in the compositional rhythms of the figures, is accentuated in some of the heads that are known.

Some other particularly significant examples of baroque works from the last period of Hellenistic art should be noted. The most important of these is the *Laocoön* (of which more will be said later). Others include the drunken satyr lying on a wineskin (Naples, Mus. Naz.); a large torso of a satyr, perhaps an original, in Florence (Mus. Arch.); the satyr from the *Invitation to the Dance*; some small female statuettes with slender bodies (in Athens, Pergamon, Budapest); two Neo-Attic works by Apollonios of Athens, son of Nestor: the boxer (PL. 366) and the Belvedere torso (PL. 367); and the fragment of a female statue in Piacenza, signed by Kleomenes. Hellenistic baroque was exhausted with the triumph of Atticizing classicism in the Augustan age. In the second half of the 2d century, Roman art was to cultivate anew the baroque concepts of richness of form, emphasis on emotional content, and especially the effort to achieve coloristic effects of light and shade. But this new art was a spontaneous flourishing of new forms, not a return to the past (as had been the classicism of the early Imperial age).

A taste for rococo themes and for realism was responsible at this time for some works that, though outside the classicizing reaction, adhered to the Greek traditions of measure and balance. Genre subjects and representations of nymphs and satyrs continued to enjoy great favor; they were fostered by

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ideals of tender grace and fresh sensuality and a strong realism which, when crude, tended toward caricature. Mention will be made of only a few of the many representations of this trend, which continued to find particular favor in the production of terra-cotta statuettes and small bronzes. The *Invitation to the Dance*, a sculpture representing a satyr beating a *kroupezion* (clapper) with his foot and requesting a dance from a seated nymph who is untying her sandal, is known through several copies (Uffizi; Brussels; Frankfurt) and through its portrayal on a coin from Kyzikos. Although the sculpture is composed of two separate elements, it is admirably held together by the converging glances and harmony of mood of the two figures. The complex articulation of the figures in space, the novelty of the theme, and its fine realization suggest a date near the middle of the 2d century. The satyr clutching a nymph (copies in Rome, Conserv.; Br. Mus.; and elsewhere), that of Pan drawing a thorn from the foot of a satyr (copies in Louvre; Rome, Conserv., Vat. Mus.; and elsewhere; PL. 188), the fine smiling satyr in Munich (an original?; PL. 182), and the "Quartet" of satyrs of the Portico of Octavia (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxxvi, 29; which may be recognizable in Roman copies) belong to about the same period. The *Triton and Seilenos* (Louvre) and the Triton carrying off a Nereid (PL. 188) are dated to the end of the 2d century. The latter is a work of high stylistic quality and one of the most "painterly" sculptures in Hellenistic art; a relation to the work of Arkesilaos has been suggested. To Heliodoros, a Rhodian artist of the same period (ca. 100 B.C.), has been attributed the original of a Pan teaching the young Daphnis to play the syrinx, which is known through copies or reelaborations of the Roman period (Naples, Mus. Naz.; Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.). (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, seems wrongly to attribute to Heliodoros a sculpture of Pan and Olympos.) The effect of contrasting a fluid human body with the half-animal one of Pan also distinguishes the famous sculpture found at Delos (Athens, Nat. Mus.) in which Pan tries to grasp a plump, nude Aphrodite. But here there is a salacious, sensual note that is absent in the Heliodoros group. Aphrodite responds to Pan's attack with a mild threat, raising a sandal in her right hand. A lighter touch and a greater refinement of forms mark some of the more representative works of the same trend. These include the female satyr (*Panisca*) of the Villa Albani; the Grimani altar (Venice, Mus. Arch.), on the four faces of which are scenes with maenads and satyrs (the scene called "The Kiss" is particularly fine); and the exquisite group of three nymphs for a fountain (Louvre, formerly Rome, Gall. Borghese). These sculptures have the decorative virtuosity characteristic of so much of the work of Neo-Attic artists.

While classicizing influences severely modified the interest of the Hellenistic age in the realistic portrait, another aspect of realism persisted in a notable part of the sculpture of this period. A taste for realism led to two extremes: a trite verism, on the one hand, and caricature and the grotesque, on the other; but it also led to a particular type of portrait of gaunt and unadorned realism, which was as humble as academic verism was elaborate. The realistic trend still produced fresh masterpieces, among which are the small bronze of a Nubian musician (PL. 184), the bronze "Jockey" from Cape Artemision (PLS. 182, 183), the bronze grotesques from Mahdia (PL. 184), and the four grotesque statuettes of bread vendors (*placentarii*) found in Pompeii. The first two continue the tradition of coloristic realism; the other small bronzes reflect some of the most felicitous moments of Alexandrian art. Among the numerous grotesques — terra cottas, small bronzes, small marble statues — which parallel those from Mahdia and Pompeii is a rare marble statuette of a dancing pygmy from Alexandria, a fine example of the Alexandrian interest in attempting *sfumato* effects in sculpture. Entirely different is the realism which characterizes certain now-famous statues of fishermen, peasants, and shepherds, the renowned portrait of the blind Homer (III, PL. 209), the Sophocles of the Arundel type, and, most famous of all, the *Laocoön*. The first-mentioned of these continue the traditional themes of the old, the poor, and the derelict; among them are the bronze fisherman from Volubilis, the old peasant woman in New York (Met. Mus.), the aged shepherdess (VI, PL. 59) and the old fisherman in Rome (Vat. Mus.), and an aged nurse by Harpokrates in Rome (Vat. Mus.). The realism of these works is almost always academic verism, minutely descriptive and lacking all creative force. Almost the same criticism can be made of the blind Homer, a celebrated portrait of which there are many copies (e.g., Naples, Mus. Naz.; Louvre; Verona); but it is saved by the painful spirituality that animates it. The beautiful bronze head of the Arundel *Sophocles* is characterized by a realistic sense that is modified by a strong classicizing regularity and symmetry of the features.

The emphatic descriptive realism and strong pathetic expression of the Homer bring to mind one of the best-known Hellenistic works, the *Laocoön* (PL. 189), the work of the Rhodian sculptors Hagesandros, Athenodoros, and Polydoros (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 37); it is usually dated about 50 B.C. (although some scholars have dated it variously between the time of the Pergamon altar and 25 B.C.). The great emphasis on pathos, the violent contortions of the bodies, and the strong relief of the rich modeling place this spectacular work of the last period of Hellenistic art in the main line of the baroque. The classicizing tendencies of the period are evident in the arrangement of the figures, which are set as though part of a façade. (This type of arrangement is more accentuated in numerous other contemporary works.) In its minute observation of anatomical details, it bears the marks of the academic verism of the late Hellenistic period, so different from the manner of treating the nude body in the Pergamene period. Nevertheless, the fundamental conception of the *Laocoön* harks back to Pergamene precedents. In spite of the entanglement of serpents' coils enveloping the figures, the composition, which can be contained in an isosceles triangle (the right arm of Laocoön has been newly restored closer to his head), is based on the juxtaposition of separate elements, according to the method used often in this period. At Sperlonga, Italy, in a grotto with a nymphaeum, have been found the remains of imposing groups in the Hellenistic baroque style along with many other fragments of sculpture. One of the sculptures concerns the legend of Scylla and the companions of Odysseus, another is a replica of the Menelaos with Patroklos, and a third represents a giant with a serpent. Along with these, parts of an inscription have been uncovered bearing the name of Hagesandros and another name ending in -oros. Besides raising the question of assigning the signature to one of the Sperlonga works, this very important discovery brings up the problem of the relationship of these sculptures to the *Laocoön*. Since the inscription also gives the artists' patronyms (unknown for those of the *Laocoön*), the question of the date of the celebrated Vatican work is raised anew. It would seem, however, that the Sperlonga signatures refer to artists living between the second half of the 2d and beginning of the 1st century B.C.

In the late-Hellenistic portraits mentioned earlier, the realistic style assumes a completely different aspect from that in the *Laocoön* and is represented especially by examples from Egypt — some in a Greco-Egyptian eclectic style — from Delos, and from Athens. Their incisive lean, dry, and reserved realism recalls that of many late-republican Roman portraits. This circumstance has suggested the two contrasting hypotheses that late Alexandrian, or Hellenistic portraits in general, influenced Roman republican portraits or, inversely, that Italo-Roman portraits influenced late Hellenistic ones. The most likely explanation of these similarities is that a taste for a portrait form which reacted against the strongly coloristic and often pompously empty portraits of the preceding age was common to various Mediterranean centers in the 1st century B.C. This does not preclude the possibility that future studies may reveal specific influences exerted by some centers on others. For example, Alexandrian influence on the portraits of Athens, Delos, and Rome seems probable in many cases. In the intricate crossing and overlapping of tastes and tendencies of the late Hellenistic age, the concern with this portrait type did not eliminate the taste for more richly conceived, coloristic portraits. It was this taste, in fact, that inspired many Roman portraits of the period from the 1st century B.C. to the beginning of the Empire. Among the subjects of such portraits are obscure

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Romans as well as great ones: A. Postumius Albinus (Louvre), the so-called "Tivoli General" (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.), Pompey (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek), Cicero (London, Wellington Museum; Mus. Vat.; Uffizi), the so-called "Sulla" (Vat. Mus.), and, later, some portraits of Agrippa and Augustus.

The classicizing current was, in a certain sense, the most influential in this period and the one which was destined to enjoy the greatest favor and development in the early Imperial age. Attic art had remained outside the emotional baroque movement of the Near Eastern areas, even though it influenced such 2d-century works as the *Zeus* of Eukleides (Athens, Nat. Mus.), the *Apollo* of Timarchides (Cyrene type in Br. Mus.), and the Leptis Magna type of Dionysos with a satyr (perhaps by Timarchides). However, several Attic sculptures, notwithstanding their distinctly classicizing aspect, reflect those tendencies (toward a dissolving of structure, uniformity of modeling, and lifeless expression) that also characterize so many belated-baroque works created outside of Athens, and outside of continental Greece generally. Among such Attic sculptures are the previously mentioned works of Damophon, along with others attributed to him or his circle (*Asklepios* of Piraeus, the two large heads of female deities in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, and in Rome, Cap. Mus.) from the first half of the 2d century; the stele of Polybios from Kleitor and the remains of Euboulides' monument from the Kerameikos in Athens (head of Athena and the torso and head of Nike), from the immediately succeeding period. At that time Athens again became an important art center, for a return to the ideals of the past necessarily signified a return to the classical traditions of Attica.

Although many Attic artists were active in the numerous centers of late Hellenistic art, Athens was not the guiding center of the classicizing movement in this period. Classicism was a phenomenon common to the entire Hellenistic world, and was the natural reaction to the excesses of the late baroque. Signs of classicism are present in the reliefs of the Pergamon altar (especially in the small frieze) and in that contemporary sculpture which was intended to copy or imitate classical works. The return to classical ideals was marked by calmer movements and poses and a renewed sense of measure and balance. Specifically, there was a return to structural compactness and a reaffirmation of the continuous, rather than the broken, agitated line and a consequent linearization of drapery folds. There was a tendency to idealize or generalize psychological expression; thus facial features became more regular and symmetrical. There were a wider use of frontal compositions and flattened volumes and a resumption of classical figure types, which was to result in the organized manufacture of copies. Of the period after 150 B.C. in Pergamon are some draped female statues bearing the stamp of classicism, many of which do not even preserve the memory of the imposing and dynamic manner of such works as "Tragedy" (PL. 174). The same observation can be made regarding some isolated heads (head of a monarch, head of an ephebos, female head, bust of a princess), whose faces are more or less idealized and whose forms are calm and simple. The return to the past is even more clearly affirmed in a pair of decorative figures bearing lamps, found in the last royal palace of Pergamon, and in the elegant reliefs of dancers on a circular monument, inspired by well-known types from the end of the 5th century. (The motif of these dancers became popular in Neo-Attic sculpture.) In these works archaic types and fashions were revived according to a taste which developed in the early Hellenistic period and gradually became diffused in the 1st century B.C. and in the early years of our era. An insistent affirmation of the older Pergamene school is evident even in these late productions: the figures of the dancers have something of the figures of the great frieze (one of the Moirai, for example), and the rigid stylization of the draperies of the lamp bearers does not entirely suppress the coloristic play of light and shade.

The so-called "Alexander" from Magnesia ad Sipylus (Istanbul) is one of the most significant examples of those works in which classicizing tendencies coexist with the feverish declamatory style of the preceding period. It is perhaps a work of the Pergamene sculptor Menas. Although the statuary type is classical (an Alexander by Leochares has been suggested as the model), it is rendered in a baroque spirit. The classicism of this statue is evident, rather, in the strongly idealized head, which harks back to the most traditionalistic sculpture of the 4th century. The considerable classicism of the Pergamene heads mentioned above and of the "Alexander" from Magnesia ad Sipylus parallels that of the heads of a group of Muses attributed to Philiskos. Related to the "Alexander" are such other significant expressions of the classicizing academicism of late Hellenistic portraiture as the two delicate heads of youths in Rhodes and Venice, probably dating from the last decades of the 2d century or slightly after. Of greater physiognomic interest in spite of their classicist tendency are the *Poseidonios* in Naples (PL. 187), a touchstone for the chronology of the classicizing portrait and dating from 80–70 B.C., and a delicate male head from Delphi with a slight beard. Further examples of the classicizing portrait are the *Eretrian Youth* (Athens, Nat. Mus.), the Type-B *Hermarchos* (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.; Alexandria; etc.), and a very refined and elaborate Alexandrian portrait of a woman with a complicated curled coiffure (Uffizi; New York). The standing boy from Tralles (Istanbul), with its gentle, poetic air, is a notable work in spite of the eclecticism of its forms; it was formerly attributed to the simple style of the 3d century B.C. Withdrawn and thoughtful, and extremely sober in its forms, the head clearly reveals the inspiration of Polykleitos, but the leaning figure with crossed legs and the rendering of certain details of the head are in contrast to the Polykleitan inspiration and reflect later tastes.

The *Laocoön* has already been mentioned as an example of flattened compositions with frontal views; but since some elements of the composition are developed in depth (notably the figures of the sons), it is not flat to the degree that often characterizes other sculptures of this trend, which seem enclosed between two close parallel planes, accenting the contour lines rather than volume and effects of light and shade. This development of the tendency toward frontal representation is characteristic of many late Hellenistic works, but not of the "Alexander" of Magnesia ad Sipylus, the *Aphrodite* of Cyrene, the Pan and Daphnis, nor the works of the followers of Pasiteles. A more typical example of frontal representation is the crouching Aphrodite drying her hair (PL. 366), a product of late Alexandrian Hellenistic art, modeled with a most delicate sense of light and shade. The chest, the turned head, and the legs, in profile, are all represented in the same plane. In the *Three Graces* (Siena, Mus. dell'Opera del Duomo; Vat. Mus.; Cyrene) the three tender bodies are aligned side by side, linked by the skillful crossing of their arms. The reelaboration of Pan drawing a thorn from the foot of a satyr (Vat. Mus.; Ostia, Mus. Ostiense) is another example of frontal representation; the volumes are so flattened and the figural elements so fluid that the work acquires the character of a veritable arabesque. In another example, the unusual Pergamene group of the liberation of Prometheus (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), the detached figures of Prometheus, Herakles, and the personification of the Caucasus seem to be crushed against a background. (If it is correct to identify Mithradates VI Eupator in the figure of Herakles, the work can be dated about 80 B.C.)

The classicizing tendency gave a strong impetus to the work of the so-called "Neo-Attic" artists (see NEO-ATTIC STYLES). Neo-Attic production must have been in full development by the end of the 2d century B.C. or the first decades of the 1st, since the ship that was wrecked at Mahdia on the coast of Tunisia about 80 B.C. (the remains of whose cargo have been recovered) carried several of those marble craters and candelabra which Neo-Attic artists produced in such quantity. With Neo-Attic production the craft of copying works of ancient art greatly increased because of the growing demands of the Romans. This craft had been initiated in the preceding period of the Hellenistic era for the Greek market. The new production of copies was largely centered in Attic workshops, although those in Delos, Ephesos, Pergamon, southern Italy, and, later, Aphrodisias (which was to have particular success in the 2d century of our

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era) were also important. This production was a result of the growth of classicizing trends, especially Atticizing ones, which had a predilection for types and styles of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Retrieved from a ship that sank at Piraeus in the 1st century of our era were other Neo-Attic reliefs, with the customary repertory of Charites, nymphs, abduction scenes, contests for tripods, and so on. The term "Neo-Attic" has also been applied to those sculptors, Athenians for the most part, who in 100 B.C.–A.D. 100 copied or reelaborated Greek originals. It is not always certain when "copies" from the Roman age are Neo-Attic reelaborations and when they are copies of unknown originals. Furthermore, aside from copying and adapting earlier works, Neo-Attic sculptors must also have created more or less original works. Thus, it is often difficult to decide whether sculptures signed by these Neo-Attic artists are to be considered originals or copies (e.g., the two previously mentioned statues signed by the Athenian Apollonios, son of Nestor). With these Neo-Attic artists must be associated the group of sculptors called Pasitelean after Pasiteles, their master, who was born in southern Italy and obtained Roman citizenship in 89 B.C. Stephanos, a student of Pasiteles, signed a statue of a nude youth (X, PL. 262) which is a reelaboration of a type of the late archaic period. Stephanos' pupil Menelaos, who lived in the Augustan age, signed a sculpture, "Orestes and Elektra" (X, PL. 262), reproducing 4th-century sculptural types. The homeland of Arkesilaos (Arkesilas?), an artist contemporary with Pasiteles and related in his work, is unknown. (Some scholars suggest Cyrene.) Like Pasiteles, Arkesilaos prepared clay sketches for his sculpture which were very much sought after and sold at high prices (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 155). He executed the statue of Venus Genetrix ordered by Caesar for the temple in his forum (*loc. cit.*, 156), that of Felicitas commissioned by Lucullus (*loc. cit.*), a marble group of a lioness with cupids, which Varro was proud to own (*loc. cit.*, 41), and the centaurs with nymphs owned by Caius Asinius Pollio (*loc. cit.*, 33). It is believed that a derivation of this last group can be recognized in the previously mentioned Triton with Nereid in the Vatican Museums.

Akin to the return to classic ideals was the archaic revival (the so-called "archaizing" or "archaistic" current), which also spread in the late Hellenistic age. This manner was employed particularly by Neo-Attic artists and resulted in eclectic works which combined a classicizing and archaizing repertory. There had been an archaizing current even before the 2d–1st century B.C. For example, not to mention even earlier precedents, it is frequently found in work of the 4th and, even more, of the 3d century B.C. Aside from Panathenaic amphoras, it is evident in the reverse side of coins of the Diadochi, in several Attic reliefs of the 3d century, and in the elegant bronze herm from Mahdia (3d–2d cent. B.C.), signed by Boethos of Kalchedon (Chalcedon), which served as a support for a statue perhaps to be identified in the figure of a winged youth (Agon) from Mahdia. The archaistic reliefs of the 2d–1st century often repeat the ancient types, treating them with a strong sense for refined decorativeness. Examples include a candelabra base in Dresden with the contest for the tripod (X, PL. 265), the Sosibios amphora (X, PL. 264) with figures of divinities, the reliefs of the so-called "Kitharoidos" (Apollo, Artemis, Latona, and a nymph pouring a libation; Berlin; Louvre), and reliefs of nymphs (Rome, Cap. Mus.). Archaizing statuary was produced less frequently and was of poorer quality; examples include the Villa Albani kore, the Pompeii *Artemis*, the Herculaneum *Athena* (Naples, Mus. Naz.), and the Louvre *Athena*.

The general characteristics of Neo-Attic art, then, are a meagerness of invention, a mannered decorativeness, frequently of high quality, and a classicizing and archaizing eclecticism. Themes and forms proper to the Hellenistic age appear less frequently but are not lacking. Examples of the work of Apollonios, son of Nestor, and of Agasias of Ephesos have already been considered; to these may be added some imposing marble cups with Nereids and Tritons, satyrs and maenads, and acanthus leaves, all in high relief (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. and Mus. Torlonia). There is also a marble skyphos (formerly in Rome) decorated with animals and sea monsters that is richly modeled and entirely Hellenistic in idiom. It has often been said that Neo-Attic art was a Roman art because it flourished largely on Italian soil and catered to the needs of Roman clients in a new cultural and political environment which had its center in Rome, rather than in Greece. The continuity (evident in so many things) from the classicizing eclecticism of the second half of the 2d century to that of the Neo-Attic artists, and the abundant historical data showing the ceaseless flow of Greek works, artists, themes, and forms to Rome between the 2d and 1st centuries, define the character of this Neo-Attic Roman art. It contained no elements which were not genuinely Greek, and it may be considered the end of the creative cycle of Greek sculpture. The fact that this culmination was achieved in the new capital of the ancient world shows the power of expansion which Greek art continued to have even in the hour of its decline.

TERRA COTTAS. The tendencies of Hellenistic art are variously reflected in the production of terra-cotta figures, which continued abundantly and spread in a multiplicity of manufacturing centers. The stylistic history of these products of industrial art parallels that of large-scale sculpture. Inspired by a feeling for delicate grace and elegance, the draped female statuette was the most popular type of work. The artist working in terra cotta employed great variety in the arrangement of drapery and in the poses and gestures. The figurines were often given a wide hat and were always brightened by lively coloring. Other popular themes included children, male personages, and certain divinities and demigods, especially Aphrodite, Herakles, Nike, Eros, satyrs, and local divinities; there were representations of animals and single objects as well. Frequently two or more figures were grouped together. Genre and caricature were extremely popular in all the arts of the Hellenistic age. Peddlers, fishermen, peasants, dancers, jugglers, servants, students, pedagogues, as well as deformities of every description were portrayed. These subjects found their greatest variety and often their highest quality in small terra cottas and bronzes. Portraiture was less common. At a certain time (especially in such workshops as that of Smyrna) ancient masterpieces began to be reproduced also in reduced proportions in terra cotta. This terra-cotta work is known almost exclusively from discoveries in tombs, but it is certain that such copies were also made to decorate habitations and, in many cases, to serve as votive offerings. The most famous centers of their manufacture (and excavation) are Tanagra (Boeotia) and Myrina (Asia Minor); numerous other centers, often of great importance, include Athens, southern Italy and Sicily, Etruria, Smyrna, Tarsos, Priene, Cyrene, the Pontos, Alexandria, Lebanon, and Syria. Evidently the principal centers influenced the minor ones, and a kind of common artistic language was established, while the local character of the centers asserted itself in varying degrees.

The Tanagra production (PL. 194) began toward the end of the 4th century B.C. and continued into the 3d. It echoes the elegance, grace, and harmonious rhythms of 4th-century sculpture, especially that of Praxiteles. The Tanagra works were soon exported and imitated in many centers; with the passing of time the style of these works changed according to the tastes current in large-scale sculpture. The workshops of Myrina were active from the end of the 3d to the 1st century B.C. In their diversity of styles and rich repertory of subjects, they perhaps reflect Hellenistic taste more completely than do the factories of Tanagra. The other factories developed their various activities at different times, often continuing old traditions of the local industries. Elsewhere, especially in the eastern Hellenized centers, new industries were created which established deep roots, as in Egypt; to purely Greek work they added works of an eclectic character, often of great cultural interest even if of mediocre quality, reflecting local tastes and traditions.

As is well known, in Greek antiquity terra cotta was widely used not only for small statuettes but also for large-scale sculpture. In the Hellenistic age this practice, which in 4th-century Greece seems to have been completely abandoned, was resumed. Examples of large and medium proportions have been found in Tegea, Praisos, Kerkyra, Thera, Tralles, Thessaly, and especially Smyrna. But the centers where production was by far the most extensive and where Hellenistic concepts were joined

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to continuous local traditions were those of Italy, especially those of Etruria and Latium. Here terra cotta long continued to be used for funerary and cult statues, sculpture for architectural decoration, portrait heads and busts, sarcophagi, and other works. Although many of these works have a clearly local stamp, especially the portraits, others can be considered purely Greek Hellenistic creations [e.g., terra cottas of the "Scasato" temple at Falerii (Civita Castellana); pediments of the temples of Telamon, Luni, and Civitalba (V, PL. 54); some heads from Arezzo; architectural sculptures from S. Gregorio Magno in Rome]. This production, even more than that of small works, justly belongs to the vast field of Hellenistic sculpture.

PAINTING. *The problem of Hellenistic painting.* Literary sources in the field of ancient painting are rich for the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., but they give little information on the Hellenistic age. This period, nonetheless, bears a certain advantage over the preceding one, because a considerable number of actual paintings are preserved, even though they may be fragmentary or inadequate. Some were executed in the Hellenistic age; others date from the beginning of the Roman Imperial period but are still within authentic Hellenistic tradition, being either copies of or derivations from Hellenistic works. The documentation consists, above all, in the extraordinarily rich patrimony of wall painting in the cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, and in the smaller number of paintings of great importance in a few isolated houses and villas discovered in Rome. Aside from these there are single works found in various parts of the Greek world, for the most part of modest quality.

The Romano-Campanian wall paintings are products of an area of the ancient world that was profoundly Hellenized, even though geographically far from the major Hellenistic centers of production, and they share the same conventional chronological distinctions. Much debated and still unsolved is the problem of their value for the knowledge of Greek painting, and of Hellenistic painting in particular. Some consider them to be decorative wall paintings of the Roman period, but deriving from Hellenistic traditions and therefore of concrete, though often indirect value for a knowledge of Greek painting. Others consider them Roman and Italic paintings, possessing their own merits but of no value for even indirect understanding of Greek or Hellenistic painting. But the best and largest part of Romano-Campanian painting is indisputably an expression of Hellenism and is completely within the Hellenistic tradition. It is an Italic Hellenism, rather than Pergamene or Syrian or Alexandrian, but it remains Hellenism, whatever its Italic components may be. The defense of the paintings of the Villa of Boscoreale, or those of the Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Item), or the yellow monochrome of the House of Livia, as Italic or Roman products can be at most a defense of their autonomy in respect to the works of other Hellenistic centers; but Hellenistic they remain. Although in certain cases one can dispute the dependence of Romano-Campanian paintings on models of Greece or the Hellenized Orient and find in them testimony of more purely Roman taste and stylistic sensibility, in so doing one must bear in mind certain incontrovertible facts. These facts are: the certain existence in Romano-Campanian painting of copies of older works; the uneven quality of the paintings; the many reminiscences, in subject and figural repertory, of the eastern Hellenistic world; the heterogeneity of the figure paintings; and the equally certain existence of a folk-art style (completely different from that which is called "Hellenistic" or "Hellenizing"), which, together with comparable sculptural works, seems to be directly descended from a style that is Italic-Roman in the strict sense of the term.

Other works useful for the study of Hellenistic painting are: a few isolated wall paintings (a panel from the Mustafa Pasha tomb in Alexandria; paintings from Naousa in Macedonia; from Delos; from Kazanlik in Thrace, PL. 48); a few painted steles and loculus slabs (Alexandria, PL. 190; Sidon; Pagasai; Amathous; Lilybaion, mod. Marsala); various figured mosaics (Pergamon, Egypt, Delos, Pompeii, Praeneste, etc.); painted marble tablets from Herculaneum and Pompeii; and for the study of certain individual pictorial tendencies, a few types of painted vases (e.g., the Hadra type and the type from the west slope of the Acropolis).

*Schools and styles according to the literary sources.* On the basis of the written tradition (literary and epigraphic texts) it is believed that four principal schools of Hellenistic painting can be distinguished: Sicyonian, Rhodian, Pergamene, and Alexandrian. It must be remembered, however, that some artists of the second half of the 4th century — Apelles (q.v.), Pamphilos, Nikias (q.v.), Antiphilos, Theon of Samos, and Philoxenos of Eretria — worked on into the beginning of the Hellenistic period and surely gave direction to certain styles. The names are known of some Hellenistic artists who continued the 4th-century Sicyonian school: Timanthes, Nealkes, Anaxandra, Erigonos, Pasias, and Leontiskos. This school had its greatest flowering in the period of Aratos (276–213 B.C.). Timanthes (the grandson of the 4th-century Timanthes who is considered the founder of the Sicyonian school) painted a lively picture of the 241 B.C. victory of Aratos over the Aetolians at Pella. From the sources it can be inferred that Nealkes did small paintings (perhaps genre) as well as large battle scenes (naval battle between the Persians and Egyptians) and figure paintings (Aphrodite). The anecdote recounted by Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 104), that Nealkes threw a paint-soaked sponge at the picture in exasperation at not being able to convey the effect of the foaming mouth of a horse, and thus achieved the desired result, indicates that the impressionistic use of spots of color was accepted in his painting. A detail which he introduced into his picture of the naval battle — a crocodile lying in wait for an ass who drinks at the banks of the Nile — probably has no allegorical significance (the Greek *onos*, ass, has been interpreted as a satirical allusion to Artaxerxes III Ochos, and the battle thus identified as that fought between the Persians and the Egyptians in 350 B.C.); more likely it merely reveals this artist's taste for the episodic and marks the beginning of those scenes of life along the Nile which were to give a special aspect to Alexandrian painting. A similar motif is, in fact, found in a Pompeian painting in which the figures are Pygmies (V, PL. 195). Nealkes, like Antiphilos, should probably be considered one of the initiators of Alexandrian painting. He had a school to which his daughter, Anaxandra, apparently belonged, as well as the painters Erigonos, Pasias, and Leontiskos. Such minor painters as Mnasitheos and Xenon appear to have belonged to the Sicyonian school. Two other factors indicate a relation between the Sicyonian and Alexandrian schools in the period of the first Ptolemies: the presence in Ptolemy II's famous Dionysian festal tent of paintings of the Sicyonian school (Athenaios, V, 156e), and the gift made by Aratos to Ptolemy II of works by Sicyonian painters, especially Pamphilos and Melanthos (Plutarch, *Aratos*, 12, 3). Less is known about the Rhodian school, perhaps founded by Protogenes. Testimony for its existence is the coincidence of the names of painters recorded in written sources with those of sculptors known to be Rhodian: Mnasitimos, Aristonidas, Tauriskos, Philiskos, and Simos. Knowledge of the existence of a Pergamene school of painting rests on a firmer basis: the passion of the Attalids for this art is known. Attalos II paid large sums for the acquisition of original works and was interested in procuring copies of others. Three painters are mentioned in an inscription at Delphi as having been sent by the Attalids to make copies of paintings: Kalas, Gaudotos, and Asklepiades (?). Further, there is recorded (Pausanias, I, 4–6) a painting representing the victory of the Attalids over the Gauls (also commemorated in the sculptural dedications). There is also recorded the name of a painter, Pytheas, who did a wall painting at Pergamon representing an elephant, and of two mosaicists active in Pergamon, Sosos and Hephaistion. To this is added the strong possibility that some Pompeian works may be recognized as Pergamene in style: *Herakles and Telephos*, *Herakles and Omphale*, etc.

Of the Alexandrian school there is known an Egyptian painter, Antiphilos, a contemporary of Apelles, who worked with Apelles for Ptolemy I Soter. Although there is no record of painters who trained in his school, from the fact that he was Egyptian and worked in the court of Ptolemy, and from

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what is known of his art, it may be inferred that he was the leader of the Alexandrian school of painting. A versatile artist, he must have enjoyed great fame even posthumously (a number of his pictures were in Rome in the porticoes of Philip and Octavia); he painted both in encaustic and in tempera (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxv, 138); he did large pictures of mythological subjects (Hippolytos, Dionysos, Hesione, Kadmos, and Europa) and historical ones (Philip and Alexander, Alexander as a child, Ptolemy hunting); he was fond of genre subjects and caricature. The *facilitas* which is mentioned by Quintilian (*De institutio oratoria*, xii, 106) as a quality of his art has been identified with the fast, sketchy (in this sense impressionistic) manner that seems to have become traditional in the Alexandrian school (*compendiaria*; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 2, 9); the genre subjects and caricature cultivated by Antiphilos seem also to have become typical of Alexandrian art. Antiphilos was perhaps one of the first Greek artists to take subjects from the repertory of Egyptian art. His caricatures, which traditionally came to be called "grylloi" (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 114), were probably related to the Egyptian tradition of animal caricatures. Antiphilos, like other contemporaries (Aëtion), seems to have been interested in the representation of interior scenes (painting of the wool spinners, and especially that of the child blowing a fire, Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 138). The second work was admired for its effects of light, a quality that reappears in Roman decorative paintings which for other reasons have been considered to be of Alexandrian derivation or inspiration. Other Alexandrian painters recorded by ancient authors are: Helen, daughter of the Egyptian Timon, who lived in the late 4th century B.C. and whose *Battle of Issos* was in Rome in the Temple of Peace (the possibility is not to be excluded that she was the painter of the original from which derives the famous Alexander mosaic, usually attributed to Philoxenos of Eretria); a painter named Galaton, possibly of the period of Ptolemy IV (221–203 B.C.), who is recorded to have painted a unique allegorical satirical subject (Homer in the act of vomiting with some poets consuming his refuse); a certain Demetrios, a contemporary of Ptolemy VI (181–145) called "the Topographer" (painter of *topia*, or landscapes, a genre which seems to have been characteristic of the Alexandrian school); a painter of whom is known no more than the name, Polemon of Alexandria (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 146); and finally, a painter Euanthes (uncertain date), whose two pictures in the Temple of Zeus Kausios at Pelusium in the Delta (Perseus freeing Andromeda, and Herakles rescuing Prometheus) were rather fully described by a late writer of romances, Achilles Tatius (*Erotici scriptores graeci*, I, p. 93 ff., Γ, 6–8, ed. Hercher, Leipzig, 1858). Although the reliability of this source is frequently doubted, some (Rizzo) feel that confirmation lies in the singular correspondence between the description of the rescue of Andromeda and Pompeian paintings of the same subject. Probably also belonging to the Alexandrian school is Serapion; between the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. he painted large compositions with landscapes and architectural views for the *moeniana* of the *tabernae veteres* in the Roman Forum (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxv, 113).

Other painters of the Hellenistic period worthy of mention are: Artemon (3d century), whose paintings of Danaë and the Pirates, of Herakles and Deianeira, and of Laomedon with Herakles and Poseidon may be reflected in Pompeian paintings; Metrodoros of Athens, philosopher and painter, who was taken to Rome by Aemilius Paulus, the victor over Perseus of Macedonia (168 B.C.), to educate his children and paint his triumph; Timomachos of Byzantium, from whose paintings of Medea and of Iphigeneia in Tauris certain Pompeian examples might derive; and finally, Apatouros of Alabanda, who painted the stage decoration for the Ekklesiasterion at Tralles, which is described in a famous passage by Vitruvius (vii, 5, 5) and seems to have been very like late Style II Pompeian painting.

*General characteristics.* The taste and styles which developed and spread during the Hellenistic period existed in germ in 4th-century Greek painting. According to what can be reconstructed from the written sources, the painters of the two major schools of the 4th century, the Sicyonian and the Attic-Theban, had already tackled the themes and pictorial problems which were to become familiar in Hellenistic art. The Hellenistic preference for garlands and still life has a precedent in the 4th century in the work of Pausias, who painted wreaths and garlands of flowers. Likewise, the advanced research in color, chiaroscuro and light effects, bold foreshortening, and representation of interiors was already found in the pictures of Apelles, Pausias, Nikias, and Aëtion (not to mention those 4th-century painters who continued to work in the Hellenistic period); while Nikomachos, and to a greater extent his pupil Philoxenos, practiced a rapid kind of painting, perhaps even using spots of color, which later must have seemed (and may even have been) a forecast of the Hellenistic *compendiaria* painting. The forceful movement and the impetuousness of certain of Apelles' and Theon's figures perhaps foretold the taste of the Asian baroque, while Antiphilos and Peiraikos (trained in the 4th century but working into the Hellenistic period) cultivated two types of painting which were particularly popular in the Hellenistic period: caricature and still life.

Although it is possible to recognize this continuity between 4th-century and Hellenistic painting in the literary sources, it is not possible to follow the development, or to grasp the differences between them (or those among the various phases of the Hellenistic period itself); nor is it possible to be completely aware of the contrasting currents which must have existed in painting. In any case, it is certain that only in this period was the use of color completely mastered; further, that the representation of space, hinted at by 4th-century artists, became an illusion of space only in the Hellenistic age, with an increasingly fine understanding of linear and aerial perspective; and finally, that the new taste for minute realistic observation and feeling for nature must have given rise to expressions especially characteristic of the new age.

Painting on a large scale — *megalographia* — continued in major historical and religious compositions and in cycles of single pictures (perhaps arranged on walls): the battles of Alexander, by Philoxenos and Helen; the paintings of battles against the Gauls at Pergamon (Pausanias, I, 4–6) and at Athens (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1915–24); the battle of Marathon, of the Attic school, perhaps reflected in Roman sarcophagi; Nealkes' painting of the battle between the Persians and the Greeks; the victory of Aratos over the Aetolians, by the younger Timanthes; the originals of the *megalographiae* of the Villa at Boscoreale and the Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Item). Also on a large scale were minor compositions, easel paintings, as apparently were most of the "pictures" recorded in the literary sources, which must have been the originals behind many Romano-Campanian paintings. Pictures of small proportions also became popular; these were mostly genre vignettes (VI, PL. 57), still life, animals, and caricature. Painting of this type had its own specialists: Peiraikos, Kalates, Kallikles, and Simos; but in keeping with the taste of the time, it was cultivated as well by painters of large pictures (for example, Antiphilos).

Hellenistic painting played a primarily decorative role in houses and theaters and an illustrative role when books came to be illustrated. As it was varied in its tasks, it must have been extremely varied in style. There was a taste for grandiose baroque forms as well as for delicate miniature, for the dramatic as well as the idyllic, for idealization as well as for realism intensified to caricature and scurrility. The human figure remained the center of interest, but there was a new and more intense feeling for nature which created, as has been said, two new genres: landscape and still life. The paintings which once enriched the palaces, the sanctuaries, the public buildings, and the houses of the large new Hellenistic cities no longer exist; the monuments of ancient painting preserved by the Roman world acquire that much more interest.

*Copies, derivations, and reflections of Hellenistic pictures in Romano-Campanian figure paintings, with descriptions of various Hellenistic pictures.* Through Pompeian copies and variations are known a few important pictures which give quite a reliable idea of the stylistic tendencies of the very early Hellenistic age, or the late classicism of the 4th century. These are the paintings

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of "Theseus the Liberator," a few paintings with subjects drawn from the Iliad, and the mosaic of the Battle of Alexander. In the painting of Theseus as liberator, the best copy being that from the basilica at Herculaneum, the figure of the hero (which echoes the ideals of 4th-century sculpture, especially that of Lysippos) occupies almost the entire height of the picture and is placed against a rather simple background that suggests the door of the labyrinth. The subject, highly spiritual content, simplicity and balance of composition, and pictorial scale are still within the taste of the classical tradition.

Of the many Pompeian paintings with subjects from the Iliad the question has arisen whether these pictures (and if so, which) might go back to the *Bellum Iliacum pluribus tabulis* by Theon of Samos (an artist active between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3d), which was taken to the Portico of Philip in Rome (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxv, 144). The most important of these Pompeian paintings represent Achilles with the daughters of Lykomedes, the contest between Agamemnon and Achilles, the delivery of Briseis, and the departure of Chryseis. There is an obstacle to the hypothesis that these paintings have a common derivation from Theon's cycle, for there are stylistic differences between them which cannot be attributed entirely to the copyists. It nevertheless seems certain that the originals belonged to the second half or last decades of the 4th century B.C. While the painting of the delivery of Briseis seems closer in conception, composition, and color range to classical ideals, the paintings of the contest and of Achilles on Skyros are in Hellenistic taste and are perhaps closer to what can be deduced from the sources about Theon's art, in the rush of movement, the vivacity of the colors, and the greater complexity of the composition. The painter who decorated the upper wall of the cryptoporticus of the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii must have derived his fine compositions from another Iliad cycle. It is believed that three works of an admired artist of the early Hellenistic period can be recognized in Pompeian derivations: a Herakles and Deianeira, a cycle with the legend of Laomedon's encounters with Herakles and Poseidon, and a painting of Danaë and the pirates. In the first two the identification is more certain, as they have stylistic qualities which can be connected with the early Hellenistic period, and there are singular analogies between them in the modeling of the figures and the use of certain compositional schemes, even though the picture of Herakles and Deianeira seems to be enriched, in the copy, with landscape elements inconsistent with the original. The cycle of Laomedon, in a room in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus, is of particular importance; if it is true that it derives from a pictorial cycle of the beginning of the 3d century, it is an example of continuous narrative anterior to the Telephos frieze of the Pergamon altar.

A painting dating from the beginning of the Hellenistic period is known through the famous mosaic of the Battle of Alexander (PLS. 154, 155). The original must have been very famous, as even reliefs derive from it (3d–2d century B.C. to 2d century of our era). The mosaic itself dates back to the 3d or 2d century B.C. and is one of those which can be considered an importation from some center of the Hellenistic east (Alexandria?). The artist selected a highly dramatic episode of a battle between Darius and Alexander (almost certainly that at Issos, in 333 B.C.): the Macedonian has almost succeeded in overtaking the fleeing Persian, but he lances not Darius himself but a faithful follower (Oxathres?) who has thrown himself to the defense of his king. The composition of the painting, although without background and articulated with only a few successive planes, is highly effective in creating the impression of the crowd; bold foreshortenings create convincing effects of depth. The polychromy is still quite simple, based on the use of four main colors — yellow, black, white, and red — with frequent passages of intermediate tones. An important and prophetic innovation is the use of chiaroscuro to obtain the effect of relief and of light; in spite of this, the picture remains primarily light in tone, the only contrast being afforded by the black masses of the horses.

Attribution of the Battle of Alexander to Philoxenos of Eretria, of the Attic-Theban school, is almost unanimous. He did indeed paint a Battle of Alexander which was greatly praised by Pliny (*loc. cit.*, 110), and on the basis of this atribution the original of the Hunt of Alexander, which is known from a mosaic in Palermo, is assigned to the same master. The hypothesis that Helen might be responsible for the famous painting has been presented several times (Rizzo, Bianchi Bandinelli); however, the difficulties with this rather hesitantly put forth attribution are a lack of confidence in the source which speaks of the lady painter (Ptolemaios Hephaestion, in Photios, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Hoeschel, p. 482) and the reluctance to attribute to a woman such a major and vigorous work. The objections are not invalidating; moreover, there are stylistic difficulties which render the usually accepted attribution to Philoxenos doubtful. The principal problem is to reconcile the quality of *caeleritas*, in which Philoxenos seems to have surpassed his own master Nikomachos, and his *compendiaria* technique, with the firm and often precise and minute manner in which the picture of the battle appears to have been painted. In any case, this work remains a certain and valuable testimony to the fact that even at the threshold of the Hellenistic period Greek painting tended to be more concerned with the effects of color and light than with drawing.

There is a painted marble slab from Pompeii with a scene of the slaughter of the Niobids, which has almost completely lost its color; the careful preparatory drawing, however, is preserved except for a few areas. (The condition of some painted steles from Alexandria is similar.) The picture seems to have been composed of only two groups of figures: Niobe with her arms around one daughter, and the old nurse who rushes to the aid of a dying girl. The scene is placed before an architectural background arranged in overlapping planes like stage scenery; the treatment of space is similar to that in the stele of Hediste (discussed below). A long spear crosses the entire picture on a diagonal, creating a sense of depth. The work shows exceptionally fine execution and certainly derives from a painting by a great master of the end of the 4th century or the first half of the 3d (regardless of doubts that have been raised). In addition to baroque accents, one sees in it the tone of the Scopasian style vital and influential in the early Hellenistic period.

Classical traditions, infused with completely Hellenistic taste, survive in a 3d-century painting which Pompeian decorators copied and varied many times: the appearance of Dionysos on Naxos. There is reason to believe that the copy in the House of the Citharist is substantially faithful and best conveys the high quality of the original. The classical nobility of the figures is accompanied by a spatially rich composition, a feeling for nature, and an idyllic, sensual tone which are entirely Hellenistic. The picture displays a masterly command of drawing; its color scale is delicate, and there appear soft reflections of the light which enters the picture from below. The painting has been thought to reflect the currents of the Pergamene baroque, but it seems rather to belong to the late-3d-century style of Greece itself, perhaps Attica, because of its quiet sense of equilibrium and measure. The idyllic tone which infuses the secondary groups in the picture brings to mind another of those paintings on marble which have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum: that from Herculaneum, showing a tired Seilenos resting on the Acropolis and receiving a drink from Prokne and Philomela. The scene is localized by the statue of the Palladion on a pilaster, and by an olive tree (the olive tree of the Acropolis); a sense of depth is conveyed by the oblique position of a donkey. The picture is an extremely fine work; here too the color is lost, but the misty shadows which remain indicate a more elaborate pictorial technique than is found in the other monochromes on marble, with a greater fusion of colors and perhaps *sfumato*. It would be hard to place the original, perhaps Attic, earlier than the end of the 3d century.

A group of four admirable small pictures were found in a room in Herculaneum stacked one against the other as if they were executed as independent panels or perhaps cut out of a fallen wall (damaged by the A.D. 63 earthquake?) in order to be re-used. They are faithful copies of Greek originals, perhaps votive paintings, to be dated in the last years of the 4th century or the beginning of the 3d (some even date certain ones of them in the 2d century). The fact that they were saved for re-use shows how highly the panels were valued. Interior scenes

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are represented: a young girl being dressed; the "ex-voto of the tragic actor" (PL. 191); a concert; a couple of young heroes (Achilles and Patroklos?). The first two are the best in quality and preservation, particularly the second, because of its aristocratic conception and its sure rapid execution, reflecting a more advanced taste than the others. Styles similar to these, and especially to that of the dressing scene, are found in some of the small shuttered pinaces which are represented in Style II decorations and which are among the most faithful copies of Hellenistic paintings. The subjects of these pinaces, which imitate wooden panel paintings with shutters, are completely Hellenistic in taste (erotic scenes, still life, religious ceremonies done in genre style; a few will be discussed below). Worthy of mention are those in the House of the Farnesina in Rome (an erotic scene, also reproduced in a mosaic from Centocelle now in Vienna) and in the House of Livia on the Palatine (a ritual scene in an interior). Here too the colors are in the delicate scale that was popular in early Hellenistic painting.

Certain painted grave steles that have been found in various places [Alexandria (PL. 190), Pagasai (PL. 48), Cyprus, Sidon, Lilybaion] are Hellenistic originals of the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. Although these and the painted loculus slabs from Alexandria are of little or no artistic value, they are often very important documents because they are the only sure evidence (though often only approximately dated) of the tastes and styles of Hellenistic painting and are frequently useful as a basis of comparison in singling out reflections of Hellenistic painting in Romano-Campanian products. The most famous of these steles, that of Hediste from Pagasai (Demetrias), gives an idea of the representation of interiors in the last decades of the 3d century B.C. In the foreground a woman in childbirth, perhaps dying, reclines on a *kline*; her husband stands near; behind are two wings of a wall, behind one of which appears the nurse holding the newborn child in her arms. In the background beyond a pair of pilasters and seen through a half-open door is a woman who looks into the room. This modest but dated monument has many of the elements found later in Pompeian painting: the *naiskos* composition, which is seen again, for example, in the panels from Herculaneum, mentioned above; the plain band at the base, which is also present in the Alexander mosaic and in mosaics by Dioskourides; the schematic representation of an interior by means of overlapping panels like those of a stage set, found again, though with greater complexity and variety, in the Herculaneum panels and other Pompeian paintings. There is some evidence that the interest in representing an illusionistic view beyond a wall opening, such as is the basis of the so-called "Pompeian Style II," already existed in the 3d century (the Alexandrian loculus, slabs of Philoteknos, of Stephanos, and of Helixo). The figures are often executed in a rapid pictorial manner, with spotting of the paint, which corresponds to that of some Hellenistic ceramics (the vases from Hadra and other sites) and gives an idea of the *compendiaria* painting which ancient writers attributed to the Alexandrians (Petronius, *Satyricon*, 2, 9). Two rare Hellenistic wall paintings found in tombs are of great interest, one in Naousa (Macedonia) and the other at Alexandria (Mustafa Pasha); both belong to the early Hellenistic period, the second certainly to the 3d century. In the first a horseman spears a barbarian; the figures, placed against the ground with no indication of setting, are executed in a dry and nervous style, full of movement, and in a color scale limited to yellow, red, green, and blue. The work cannot help but recall the central motif of the Alexander mosaic. A different style is to be found in the paintings of three horsemen, alternating with two sacrificing women, which decorated one of the tombs of the necropolis of Mustafa Pasha at Alexandria. The background here too is completely neutral and originally was painted blue. The three horsemen are particularly noteworthy in the boldness of the foreshortening. Nonetheless, the coloring (which must have been the traditional yellow, light red, dark red, blue, and perhaps white), the style of the female figures, so restrained and simple in their outlines, and the elegant, nervous lines of the horsemen cannot be related to the baroque manner — as has been done — especially in view of the fact that the broad outlines which increase the mass of the figures are part of the crude brown preparatory drawing and were meant to be covered by the blue background paint. Richer and more elaborate, but in a somewhat provincial style, were the decorations of the walls and vault of the tomb at Kazanlik (Thrace, now Bulgaria; PL. 48), belonging to the decades about the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3d century (scenes of battle, chariot races, and a funeral banquet).

Pompeian paintings of Medea meditating the murder of her children (X, PL. 245) and of the arrival of Orestes and Pylades in Tauris probably preserve reflections of works of a famous artist recorded by Pliny, Timomachos of Byzantium. The copies which seem closest to the originals are the famous fragment of the Medea from Herculaneum and the painting of Orestes and Pylades from the House of the Citharist in Pompeii. The pictorial schemes of these works were used in various other monuments of the Roman period. The stylistic qualities of both undoubtedly bespeak an art close to the ideals of the classical age. In the compact figure of Medea, so powerfully dramatic, are the intense inner fire and strongly centralized rhythms of the sculpture of the first decades of the 3d century and an accentuation of pathos which presages the baroque. This is indeed in contrast to the date in the period of Caesar assigned to the painter by Pliny (who mentions another painting by him, of Ajax). If this generally accepted attribution is correct, then Timomachos was merely a felicitous evoker of the forms of the past; otherwise Pliny erred. The stylistic quality of the two works favors the second alternative and suggests that Timomachos was a painter of the early 3d century B.C.

Two famous mosaic panels by the Samian mosaicist Dioskourides, found in Pompeii in the Villa of Cicero, reflect originals belonging to the 3d century, perhaps to the first half (strolling musicians, members of the cult of Cybele, PL. 166; a comedy scene of two young women consulting a *pharmaceutria*, or sorceress). The quality of the drawing is not so fine as that of the execution. These mosaics, dated to the end of the 2d century B.C. on the basis of the letter forms of Dioskourides' signature, may be considered faithful copies of their originals and are immediate evidence of Hellenistic painting in a new manner, quite different from the works discussed. The compositions are quite simple, and the subjects and figure types are completely Hellenistic. The particular merit of these two small pictures lies in their use of color. In the rich and varied coloring (one of the richest known in antiquity) are introduced new chromatic elements: iridescence and, in the picture of the strolling musicians (which is also known through another replica from Stabiae), the effect of shadows cast on the ground and on the wall, causing the figures to appear as though in sunlight. The use of color is more advanced than in the Alexander mosaic. Dioskourides' signature includes an indication that he was from Samos, and the figures bear a resemblance to those in the terra cottas from Myrina; neither of these factors, however, is decisive enough to permit the assumption that the originals came from the school of Asia Minor, unless it were to be accepted that Dioskourides was not the mosaic copyist but the creator of the originals.

However, there is other evidence in Campanian painting of reflections of the painting of Asia Minor, and particularly that of Pergamon. Most important is the cycle of nearly life-size figures painted above a dado zone on a vermilion background in a room of the Villa at Boscoreale (PL. 192). The paintings are *megalographiae*, which were characteristic of the second phase of Style II. They were executed about 40 B.C. but reflect, at least in part, 3d-century originals. The best-known sections are those with the figures identified by some as Antigonos II Gonatas, his mother Phila, and his teacher, the philosopher Menedemos of Eretria (Naples, Mus. Naz.); and the one with the figure of a seated citharist and a handmaid standing behind her (Met. Mus.). With these should be included the paintings of Aphrodite and Adonis (?), two winged demons, a young hero with a matronly woman, and a standing woman with a shield (all in Met. Mus.). The interpretation of the cycle is controversial: some have held the so-called "Antigonos" to be Pyrrhus of Epirus, with the personification of a defeated country; the cycle has even been explained as representing various



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episodes in the story of Aphrodite and Adonis, though this interpretation is unlikely, as at least some of the figures are certainly historical. The artistic value and stylistic significance of the paintings, however, are more important in this context than their interpretation. They show a relation to the earliest baroque style of Asia Minor in the grandeur of the conception, in the broad moving folds of the drapery, and in the strong realism of the heads (though all details are not of the same level of execution, and the heads sometimes have been provincialized in the hands of the copyist). A high level of painting appears in the figure of the woman seated next to the hero ("Aphrodite," so-called) and in the so-called "philosopher" (PL. 192); the latter is full of spirit and energy, vibrant even in the moving folds of drapery and in the hand grasping the gnarled staff. The figures are placed against a continuous background, as might also have been true in the case of the original. Predominantly warm tones of purple, yellow, green, and black are employed, and there is extensive use of chiaroscuro. The originals copied by a very capable decorator in three panels in the triclinium of the House of M. Lucretius in Pompeii certainly belonged to the school of Asia Minor. Two of these are partially destroyed (the triumph of the infant Dionysos on an ox-drawn cart, and Dionysos erecting a trophy), but the third is preserved almost intact in Naples (Mus. Naz.), and represents Herakles enslaved by Omphale. The enormous figure of the drunken hero holding the thyrsos in his left hand, his head crowned with vine leaves, his right arm thrown around the shoulders of Priapos, dominates the center of the picture. To the right is the handsome figure of self-satisfied Omphale, who displays the club and lionskin taken from the hero; at the left and in the second plane are members of the Bacchic thiasos and the court of Omphale. In spite of the note of epigrammatic erudition introduced into the picture by the presence of the three little Erotes [whose positions recall the Erotes in the famous description by Lucian (Herod. sive Aëtion, 4) of the painting of the wedding of Alexander and Roxana by Aëtion], the picture is conceived in a spirit of human sympathy for the defeated hero rather than derision. The formal elements of the composition correspond to the grandiose conception; the powerful, massive bodies occupy almost the entire picture surface, and the color is warm, mainly red, blue, yellow, and violet. Erroneously considered by some to be a creation of the Flavian period, the painting appears to be a faithful copy of a work by a forceful Hellenistic artist who preceded but was certainly a forerunner of the 2d-century baroque. The originals of this and the other two paintings (known mainly from drawings) probably were part of a single cycle.

An original of the Pergamene school itself is believed to be the prototype of the famous painting from the basilica at Herculaneum which represents Herakles with the personification of Arcadia watching in marvel as his son Telephos is nursed by the hind (PL. 193). It is not only the subject which can be traced to Pergamon; some of the figures are very close to those used in the Telephos frieze and to Pergamene statues. A lively feeling for nature may be noted, not so much in the background rocks, but in the allegorical figure of Arcadia, crowned with vines, who has at her elbow a basket containing the fruits of the land, and who is accompanied by a pert young satyr and a mountain nymph. The scene is grand and solemn; the main figures have a sculptural monumentality, and the drapery of Arcadia moves in weighty folds. The composition is organized with great simplicity on two crossing diagonals and a vertical which descends from the staff of Arcadia (Pfuhl). The coloring, dominated by the contrast between the light yellow of Arcadia's garments and the reddish brown of the body of Herakles, is richly varied in tone; if it reproduces the coloring of the original, it indicates a more advanced step in the transition from color to tone in Greek painting. The work is certainly later than the originals of the pictures in the House of M. Lucretius and perhaps belongs to the first decades of the 2d century B.C.

Though nothing is preserved of the painting by Antiphilos of the boy blowing the fire (or the picture of the same subject by Philiskos: Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxv, 143), which would indicate the interest of the early Hellenistic period in artificial light in interiors, an anonymous Hellenistic original is reflected in the Pompeian painting of Mikon (or Cimon) and Pero. In a dark jail cell Pero nurses her emaciated father Mikon at her breast, while through the bars the guard watches this scene of filial piety. The date of the work cannot be determined, but the painting is perhaps later than the one by Antiphilos. It must have enjoyed great fame in antiquity, as it was copied several times by Pompeian decorators, always, unfortunately, in mediocre versions. That the original must have been a masterpiece is evident even from the copies; despite their inferiority, they display a warm and touching note, and there is an effective simplicity in the paired figures, in which the robust forms of the young girl contrast with the pale, thin body of the father, seen under the rays of light striking through the bars — a singular attempt to render light effects.

The great cycle of paintings in the Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Item) at Pompeii, depicting scenes of initiation into the Dionysian mysteries (PL. 203), is an Italian late-Hellenistic work of the 1st century B.C. Although opinion is divided concerning the value of the cycle, it remains the most impressive pictorial complex preserved from antiquity and certainly derives in part or completely from an older original. There is disagreement as to whether there was a single prototype or several, as to the date of the original (or originals), and especially as to the intrinsic value of the copy, which is considered by some to be a frequently inept derivation of an original of considerably higher stylistic quality, and by others to be a free variation of high quality, notably in the coloring, by a truly masterful Campanian painter. The eclecticism of the single figures and the groups, and the undeniable contrast between the high level of the conception and the inadequacy of the execution suggest that the former judgment is closer to the truth, even though it is granted that the copyist was gifted with singular bravura and an unusual color sensitivity. Compared with the paintings from Boscoreale, those of the Villa of the Mysteries seem to reflect a much more traditional original, perhaps Attic, of the 3d–2d century B.C., from which, despite deficiencies and inconsistencies in execution, the Pompeian paintings certainly preserve some of the more vivid episodes — the flagellation group (PL. 203), the dancing woman, the winged demon, the group of the Seilenos and two satyrs — and transmit more than the echo of Hellenistic painting at a fairly high level.

Pompeian decorators had a well-known fondness for the motifs of crowds of Erotes, represented sometimes with their companions the Psychai, playing games, or engaged in the most varied occupations of daily life, including hunting, gathering grapes, and making shoes or jewelry. That these are Hellenistic motifs is indicated not only by the poetry of that age, but also by a few rare pictorial documents preserved in the Hellenistic east. On a Style I wall at Delos, dated between 80 and 50 B.C., a frieze of Erotes occupies the same position as that in the Style IV House of the Vettii in Pompeii a century later. Even earlier, between the 3d and 2d centuries, motifs of Erotes and Psychai on bigae drawn by deer (frequent later in the Roman art of Pompeii) are found on a painting of a funerary couch decorated with embroidery, covers, and colored pillows in the necropolis of Mustafa Pasha at Alexandria. Reflections of Hellenistic taste, and sometimes more direct derivations from Hellenistic works, can be recognized in other Pompeian paintings of Erotes: the Seller of Erotes, Eros Punished, and the Nest of Erotes. Of this last subject are known four copies of varying quality, the one in the House of the Tragic Poet being exceptionally well executed and probably closest to the original. Aphrodite and Adonis and four young members of their cortege are intently admiring three little Erotes nestling in a wicker basket which Aphrodite holds in the palm of her hand. It may never be possible to determine how close it is to the original composition, or whether the landscape background was added by the copyist (as some scholars have held); but it is certain that the conception of this tender idyll, the ideas of form, especially of some of the particularly beautiful heads, the firmness of the drawing, and the light coloring, which is based on violet, green, and yellow, all are aspects of Hellenistic taste, perhaps of a rather early period.

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From what is known and can be reconstructed of 2d-century B.C. painting, it may be deduced that although there was at a certain point a reaction against the grandeur and pathos of the baroque (perhaps toward the middle of the century), the main interests of this period must have been the problems of spatial representation of interior and exterior scenes, the use of a sketchy pictorial technique, and the use of more purely coloristic effects. Landscape painting undoubtedly developed greatly at this time, and perhaps still-life and genre painting as well. The originals of some of the small pictures from Herculaneum that have already been mentioned (Achilles and Patroklos, the player of the double flute, the robing of a young girl) have been dated in this period because of their more elaborate and coordinated system of representing interiors, and certain indications of greater interest in the effects of foreshortening (as in the horse in the picture of Achilles and Patroklos).

The popularity of the sketch, which was already widespread in the 3d century, is seen in some Etruscan tombs, for example, that of the Cardinal at Tarquinia, and the Tomba delle Colle at Chiusi; in the late Panathenaic amphoras; in some vases from Hadra; and in one work of very high quality, the originals of the Odyssey landscapes from the Esquiline (PL. 180), in which the human figure, entirely subordinated to the landscape and almost a part of it, is rendered in a sketchy manner. There are a few works of the Augustan period which exhibit a style of painting with rapid touches and produce lively light effects, such as the yellow monochrome in the House of Livia (which will be discussed at greater length) and a wonderful little overdoor painting which decorated a small room in the Villa of the Mysteries. The author of the famous painting known as the "Aldobrandini Wedding" (a frieze painted in the last decades of the 1st century B.C. for a Roman house on the Esquiline; VI, PL. 57) certainly drew his repertory of figures from Hellenistic painting. The frieze is composed of three groups: in the center, the nuptial bed with Hymenaios and the virgin bride attended by Peitho and Aphrodite (according to a recent interpretation, it may allude to the sacred wedding of Herakles and Hebe), and at the sides, two groups of women who are preparing the rite of the marriage ceremony. The inconsistency in the rendering of space and a certain eclecticism in the representation indicate that this is a Neo-Attic work; nonetheless, it certainly reflects elements of early Hellenistic painting, particularly in the beautiful central part, and perhaps reflects a painting created not long after the famous picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxana by Aëtion. The excellent figure of Hymenaios seated in a restless, startled attitude echoes somewhat the ideals of Lysippos, and there is an undeniable reflection of the terra-cotta figurines of the early Hellenistic period in several of the female figures. The Aldobrandini Wedding certainly has a prototype belonging to the genre of framed and shuttered scenes of marriage which were copied by decorators of late Style II walls.

Several other eclectic works of the 1st century B.C. are Augustan transformations of Neo-Attic reflections of the high artistic ideals prevalent at the end of the 5th century B.C.; the marble panel from Herculaneum with girls playing astragals (knucklebones; X, PL. 266), signed by Alexandros, an Athenian; and two pictures in niches represented on a wall in the House of the Farnesina (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom.: Aphrodite and Eros, I, PL. 299; girl pouring perfume). Contrasting with these is another painting in the House of the Farnesina (the infant Dionysos raised by maenads) in which the idyllic tone, the figure types, and the coloring derive from the early Hellenistic period.

*Genre subjects and still life.* Painting in the second half of the 4th century had already treated humble and sometimes sordid scenes of daily life, caricature, and still-life subjects. These were usually pictures of modest or very small format, and they were still eagerly sought after by art lovers in the Roman period. Kallikles, Kalates, Antiphilos, Peiraikos, and Simos are recorded as painters of such pictures (called "ropographia" or "rhyparographia") and are sometimes referred to as the ancient "Dutch" painters. These, together with what is known of Pausias as a painter of flowers and garlands, show again how many of the aspects of Hellenistic painting had already appeared in the 4th century. The work of Chairephanes, a painter of lascivious scenes, has been assigned to the first half of the 3d century (Plutarch, *De audiend. poët.*, 3); his choice of subjects relates him to Nikophanes, who was his master, and to Pausias himself. Although nothing more is known of these so-called "Dutchmen," or of the products of their immediate successors in the early and middle Hellenistic periods, in the earliest Pompeian painting and in late Hellenistic mosaics are numerous and outstanding examples of still life (fruit; flowers; game and fish — sometimes live animals as well as dead; and glass or silver vessels), floral paintings, and scenes of the sea with its fish. These are the immediate and sometimes unsurpassed predecessors of the products of the Roman Imperial period. The work of the Greek artist Possis was approximately contemporary with the oldest examples of Pompeian still life; he was quite famous for this genre of painting in the period of Varro (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 155).

Still life is found as splendid isolated elements in the Pompeian Style II architectural system and, more often, in the representations of small shuttered pictures. These last are modest craft products, but the fondness for still life is seen also in the polychrome vases from the Alexandrian necropolis of Hadra (III, PL. 137; representations of garlands, a pair of shoes, Panathenaic amphora with palm branches). One of the most famous mosaics from the House of the Faun in Pompeii (PL. 191), dated to the 2d century B.C., represents a still life of which there are two later variations; this is the mosaic with two registers, representing a cat catching a bird, and a pair of ducks between fish, lotus flowers, shells, and a group of thrushes. The original can be no later than the first half of the 2d century B.C. Along with an interest in precise observation of nature and well-defined modeling of form, the mosaic has a fine composition, a strong sense of space, and an intense but sober coloring designed to contrast the figural elements with the various zones of the background. Among the most beautiful examples of still life conceived as decorative elements on Style II walls (not as independent pictures) are the exquisite representations of fish and fowl painted as though hanging against the wall (as on a wall from the Villa of Julia Felix in Pompeii, now in Naples, Mus. Naz.), and a large transparent glass vase filled with apples which was represented on the rear wall of the cubiculum of the Villa at Boscoreale (now in Met. Mus.). In this period among the most beautiful still lifes in the form of shuttered panel paintings are those in the House of the Cryptoporticus at Pompeii (PL. 190).

It is reasonable to believe that even the still lifes reproduced on Style IV walls continue to be substantially faithful copies of Hellenistic originals. Among the most beautiful in their rich effects of light and in the variety and harmony of their colors is a group of small pictures from Herculaneum. Related to still life and genre painting of humble subjects is the work of the mosaicist Sosos, who did the pavement of a room in Pergamon, called the "Unswept Room" (ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, asarotum), that is, a floor strewn with the refuse of a banquet. Part of this mosaic (probably it was the emblema) was the basin with doves perched on the rim (Pliny, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 184). There are other mosaics which are certainly copies or imitations of that of Sosos: of the emblema with doves in a well-known mosaic from Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli (Rome, Cap. Mus.) and in a mediocre and unfaithful variation from Pompeii (Naples, Mus. Naz.); of the asarotum in a Roman mosaic signed by Herakleitos (Lat. Mus.), in a better mosaic from Aquileia, and in others. In the asarotum various objects are depicted as though thrown on the pavement: fishbones, bones of birds, mollusk and snail shells, and a mouse nibbling a nut (reminiscent of the motif seen in Campanian still lifes of a rabbit nibbling a fig). If the preserved copies are accurate, it would appear that Sosos was a naturalist, interested in the effects of shadows but nonetheless careful to use well-defined forms. His date is uncertain, but he perhaps lived in the period between the late 3d and early 2d centuries.

Some fragments of mosaics that have been found at Pergamon

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drobably belong to the first half of the 2d century: one of them bears one of the oldest signatures of a mosaicist, Hephaistion, placed in a corner on a still-life representation of a piece of curled and folded paper. Others include a very fine emblema with an elegant parrot, in various tones of green with touches of yellow and red, and some beautiful fragments of masks and garlands. From the House of the Faun in Pompeii (PL. 179) come some of the finest examples of mosaic work: garlands, animals, fish, and a Nile landscape. A garland border with fruits, flowers, and tragic masks, which decorated the fauces of the house, is a work of the highest mastery in the keen observation of nature, the vivid and rich polychromy, and the opulent, grandiose conception. The painting from which it derives is thought to date from the 3d century B.C. The Nile landscape mosaic decorated the entrance to the exedra, which was paved with the Alexander mosaic; another mosaic had the completely Alexandrian motif of a winged Dionysian genius riding a tiger (a similar subject has been found in a Hellenistic mosaic from Delos; X, PL. 175); lastly, in the waters of the marine mosaic numerous fish swim around a beautiful central group of an octopus fighting a lobster (PL. 179). This mosaic, too, is certainly derived from a lost original of which there are other replicas; it is, along with the other mosaics, an example of the maintenance of classical traditions during the Hellenistic period, rather than of the newer impressionistic style. This is seen in the loving study of nature, in the firmness of the forms, in the rich and varied chromatic scale concentrating on quiet tones, and in the use of gentle harmonies rather than violent contrasts.

Whereas the Pompeian fish mosaics are apparently replicas of an older mosaic emblema, the fragments of the fish mosaic at Praeneste (mod. Palestrina; PL. 198), dated in the Sullan period, derive from a large original painting representing a large body of water surrounded by its shores, with an open-air sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon placed on one of the points of land. Certain other fish mosaics probably derive from the same original: for example, the fine mosaic of the republican era from S. Lorenzo in Panisperna in Rome (Conserv.). The Praeneste mosaic differs from the Pompeian examples in its livelier color; highlights are not greatly emphasized. The original was probably Alexandrian and of the first half of the 2d century B.C. Other fragments of Hellenistic fish mosaics have been found in Pergamon, Solunto, Syracuse, and Cyrenaica. The subject probably originated in Hellenistic Alexandria and was a favored one even in the latest period of Roman mosaics.

The art of caricature is frequently found in Pompeian paintings and mosaics of the late Hellenistic and later periods and certainly derives from earlier originals. The figures are sometimes human with animal heads (caricature of Aeneas who carries Anchises and Ascanius to safety), often Pygmies in parodies of myths and legends — the Judgment of Solomon (PL. 191), Theseus and the Minotaur, the Rage of Aphrodite, and other scenes in the House of Menander are among the most pleasing and oldest examples of the genre — but more frequently the Pygmies are pictured in Egyptian landscapes. There is no doubt that these are copies or reflections of Alexandrian paintings. (See also COMIC ART AND CARICATURE; GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS; STILL LIFE.)

*Landscape.* Even more than genre and still life, landscape painting was a characteristic Hellenistic invention. There is still a widely held misconception that Greek art could not create landscape, and that it is rather an expression of Italic and Roman taste. In truth, both the literary sources and the date of the earliest preserved examples indicate that landscape painting belongs to the Greek cultural tradition. Likewise, the motifs in the repertory of Romano-Campanian landscape painting demonstrate that this art must be considered within the stream of Hellenistic painting. The feeling for nature and space is already present in Greek art: the first existed in the poetic imagination of the classical period and increased in the Hellenistic; the representation of space was a conquest of Greek art and one of its contributions to modern developments in painting. The introduction of foreshortening in relief, the idea of a figure immersed in the surrounding space, the representation of interiors, and the introduction of perspective and the effects of light are Greek innovations which prepared for the rise of landscape painting. Further, sure testimony of the Greek interest in landscape is offered by reliefs of the early Hellenistic period, the subjects of which are very close to Roman painted landscapes.

The first artists who can be considered landscape painters, Demetrios and Serapion, were Greeks, and probably Alexandrians. The former was probably an artist of considerable fame in his own period, as he appears to have been a friend of Ptolemy VI. Serapion was active in Rome during the same period (the 2d century, or earlier), as Varro says that a painting of his, of architectural perspectives or landscapes without figures, covered the front of the galleries over the Old Shops in the Forum. The decorators whom Vitruvius already considered as the "ancient" painters had introduced into their repertory "seaports, promontories, shores, rivers, springs, straits, sanctuaries, thickets, mountains, flocks, and shepherds"; these probably were represented in large paintings which covered entire walls. The "ancients" referred to by Vitruvius must have belonged to at least the 2d or the beginning of the 1st century B.C. and must be understood as Greeks. The mosaic with the Nile landscape from the House of the Faun in Pompeii belongs to the 2d century and to the Alexandrian milieu; it is the oldest preserved example of the genre, but it certainly goes back to older prototypes. Of the same period and provenance are the originals from which the two large Praeneste mosaics derive: the above-mentioned fish mosaic and the famous Nile mosaic (PL. 197). The most important landscape paintings known, the Odyssey landscapes from the Esquiline (PL. 180), were executed about 50 B.C. and represent a mature stage in the development of landscape painting, of which nothing is otherwise known. There is nothing more Hellenistic than the idyllic and romantic tone, the taste for the episodic, and the acute realism which characterize Romano-Campanian landscape painting. It is arbitrary to consider the beautiful landscape backgrounds of many Pompeian paintings (which are copies of even very early Hellenistic originals) additions by the Roman decorators.

Elements from which a history of landscape painting can be developed are few and uncertain; both the information from the literary sources (Demetrios, Serapion) and the date of the oldest preserved examples lead one to believe that a true art of landscape painting already existed in the 2d century — an art in which the human figure either occupied a secondary place or was actually absent. But certainly before this phase of development was reached there must have been a rather long period of progressive introduction of naturalistic elements, such as the landscape background, into figure compositions. The Pompeian painting of Achilles and Briseis, with ships on the sea represented in the background (this has been proved a part of the original composition), and the reference to the ships painted by Protogenes as accessory elements in his picture of Paralos can be considered examples of the classical period which show an incipient interest in setting a scene with landscape elements. Nor is it difficult to imagine that in the painting by Nealkes of the battle on the Nile between Persians and Egyptians (already mentioned) the landscape element played an important role. From the available information it would seem that Hellenistic landscape is inspired with a delicate taste for the idyllic and bucolic, even when a sacred landscape is intended (the altars, chapels, and open-air sanctuaries are the most frequent motifs); a frank realism is at times introduced, especially in the Nile landscapes, where it almost always tends toward caricature and the grotesque. Hellenistic landscape painting can be said to lack the elevated lyricism and the sense of cosmic drama which nature in its most solemn and impressive aspects has so often inspired in landscape painters of the modern age. Landscape painting could have developed contemporaneously in various centers of the Hellenistic world, but it is quite untrue that there is no basis for considering Alexandria one of the most active and fruitful centers. There are numerous indications of Alexandria's importance: first, the previously mentioned tradition of Demetrios and Serapion as Alexandrian landscape painters; further, the fact that the taste for bucolic and idyllic

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landscape is seen specifically in Alexandrian reliefs; and finally, the fact that Roman landscapes contain so many reminiscences of Alexandrian Egypt in the Nile mosaics, the marine mosaics, and the stuccos and paintings of a character at once sacred, idyllic, and bucolic.

The broad mosaic band with representation of the Nile landscape, from the House of the Faun, is not only the oldest preserved example of the Nile genre; it is in a certain sense one of the oldest preserved Hellenistic landscapes. If the mosaic is an original work, this landscape belongs to the period of the house itself, that is, about the second half of the 2d century B.C.; it belongs to an even earlier period if, like others in the house, it is a copy of an older painting or mosaic. In style it has characteristics very close to the emblema of the fish and to the broad border with garlands and masks which were mentioned earlier: a firmness of modeling, clarity of the contours, a rich polychromy (based, however, on a quiet scale of colors), and a discreet use of the effects of light (especially present in the reflection of the duck on the smooth surface of the water).

The Praeneste mosaic in the "Cave of Destiny" is later in execution by several decades and goes back to an original of the second half of the 2d century. This mosaic is more vivid in color and shows a greater interest in lighting. The fresh style of the figure of the bather on the seashore, executed as a rapid sketch, anticipates the technique of the large Nile mosaic, which was previously uncertainly dated between the 1st century B.C. and the late 2d or early 3d century, and has now been fixed with sufficient certainty in the Sullan period. It is a revealing document of late Hellenistic, and certainly Alexandrian, painting and is one of the oldest Roman examples of a Nile landscape. Recent studies have proved that, although the mosaic has been greatly restored in modern times, the original passages are of fine execution and similar to the other mosaic, that of the fish, in the "Cave of Destiny" (PL. 198). The painter conceived of a vast composition presenting in one picture an image of the whole of Egypt, from the distant and fabled sources of the sacred river to the lands of the north, perhaps of the Delta. The proportionately large part occupied by the region of the sources (which is the least successful part of the composition) suggests that the mosaicist did not copy the whole of the painted original. The picture consists of isolated vignettes and episodes, united in a bird's-eye view; the apparently free composition reveals a scheme of broad parallel bands, reminiscent perhaps of devices of ancient Egyptian art, which is also revived in the inspiration of the work and in many of the motifs of the figural repertory. The narration is fresh and betrays an acute sense of observation of the realities of life in Hellenistic Egypt — the architecture, the costumes, and the nature of the landscape. The scene is dominated by a rustic note and a realism often tending toward caricature, in spite of the presence of large sanctuaries, sacred aediculae, and solemn priests. But the particular value and interest of the mosaic lie in its pictorial technique; form is dissolved into color, and the artist's predominant interest is in the effects of light: strong contrasts between the areas bathed in sunlight and the shaded parts, the effect of cast shadows, extensive use of white highlights, figures with broken contours, and over all a free, rapid, and sure execution. Perhaps this is one of the methods of that bold *compendiaria* painting of the Alexandrians which lasted until the time of Petronius or a little before. And it is in this Hellenistic painting that is found the precedent for the strongly luminous painting which flourished again and gained its greatest maturity in the Flavian period.

Dated about 30 years later (50 B.C.) are the paintings in the cubiculum of the Villa at Boscoreale and the above-mentioned Odyssey landscapes from the Esquiline (seven panels and some fragments are preserved). These represent the highest level achieved in this kind of painting; here the landscape itself is the protagonist of the picture, and the human figure, although of great importance in the conception of the subject, occupies an altogether insignificant position: it could be eliminated without altering the quality of the picture. For this reason, these landscapes are among the most lyrical of all known ancient painting (compare the completely different inspiration of the landscape in the Praeneste mosaic), even though the lyricism is of the Hellenistic type, which is delicate and loves to create an atmosphere of fable, rather than of horror and drama, for the narration of the old and beloved Homeric legends. The excellence of these paintings, however, rests not so much on their content as on their pictorial quality; here, too, the predominant interest is in effects of light. The picture of Odysseus in the underworld (PL. 180) may be cited as an example: the light enters from the left, clothing the sky, the mountains, and the surface of the water, and from behind illuminates the ship of Odysseus halted at the entrance to Hades; through a vast opening in the rocks the light penetrates the interior of the horrible realm, creating a broad, violently bright splash, and in this the artist has placed the little group of figures (Odysseus and his companions, Teiresias, and the other shades of the dead). From this scene the light casts more delicate reflections on the waters of Acheron, which is seen at the right in the foreground. In the zone of thickening shadow in front of the rock one sees three other small figures: the personifications of Acheron and Cocytus and, at a higher level, the soul of Elpenor, who sadly awaits his entry into Hades. Here the light is used not to create violent and sudden contrasts between light and dark, but to embrace the entire scene in a suffused halo; in this atmosphere the modeling of the rocks, in gradual and continually changing tones, becomes vaporous. The view extends to the horizon, where the blue of sea and sky meet. The Odyssey landscapes show an advanced skill, in the middle of the 1st century B.C., in the use of linear and aerial perspective to represent open space — that is, within the limits of ancient painting's accomplishments in this technique. These pictures, painted as views into the open air beyond the series of pilasters in the upper section of a wall decorated in the oldest phase of Style II wall decoration, cannot help but bring to mind the "Ulixis erationes per topia," which Vitruvius mentions as being among those subjects dear to the decorations of the "ancients." The subject, the Greek inscriptions giving the names of the figures, and the high artistic level have suggested the highly probable hypothesis that the Esquiline paintings derive from Greek originals of a considerably earlier date. But from the point of view of the history of Hellenistic landscape painting, the problem of whether these are copies or originals is secondary. Of much greater importance is the fact that the pictorial quality of the Odyssey landscapes presupposes an evolution of landscape painting which must have taken place during the 2d century B.C. and the first half of the 1st and which is completely unknown. The sketchy execution of the human figures has suggested parallels with the similar technique used on the Alexandrian vases from Hadra and thus the attribution of the possible prototypes of these paintings to the Alexandrian school. The hypothesis seems confirmed by certain details of iconography and by the probable Alexandrian origin of landscape painting in general. Of different character are the landscape paintings which decorated three walls of the cubiculum and its alcove in the Villa at Boscoreale (VIII, PL. 424; Met. Mus.); aside from the landscape, they are of greatest interest for the study of ancient theaters and of the earliest period of Style II. The walls are divided into 11 views into the open air beyond the architectural framework of columns and pilasters. Each of the lateral walls of the cubiculum has an identical triptych consisting of a central panel representing a gated precinct wall, with symmetrical side panels representing a closed door and a view of a city. The short walls of the alcove have two other views through an architectural framework to a tholos and surrounding portico. Another triptych (largely destroyed in antiquity by the insertion of a window) occupies the rear wall of the alcove; its central panel has a monochrome landscape at the base and, above, a portico of columns carrying arches. The symmetrical lateral panels contain rocky gardens enlivened by playing fountains, swaying branches, and birds; above each rock garden arches a magnificent vine-covered pergola. A comparison with two complementary passages in Vitruvius (vii, 5, 2, p. 172.12; v, 8, 1, p. 119.19), as well as some epigraphic evidence, have suggested that these paintings

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are copies of those movable decorations painted on wooden panels (*thyromata*) which were at one time used to ornament Hellenistic stage sets. According to the distinction made by Vitruvius, the city views were sets for comedies, the columns and porticoes were for tragedies, and the views of houses with windows and balconies were for satyric plays. Since the use of painted *thyromata* must be placed approximately between the 2d and the first decades of the 1st century B.C., the originals copied by the Campanian decorator must have belonged to the same period. This interpretation is largely accepted; it adheres so closely to the Vitruvian passages, and the paintings so spontaneously suggest the idea of theater sets, that the recent contrary opinion (that they are not theatrical, but simply true Roman landscapes with villas and their grain storage buildings, porticoes, grottoes, and other details) is not convincing. As must have been the case in Serapion's large painting, the landscape is here the sole subject of the picture. Space is represented mainly by linear perspective with several vanishing points, but the artist also makes extensive use of aerial perspective, by which the objects gradually disappear in the distance. Architecture plays a dominant role in most of the views; the fantastic castle-like pile of houses, towers, porticoes, and hanging balconies pictured on the panels in the *comico more* strangely recall the architectural backgrounds of some of Giotto's paintings. The panel with the rocky garden (*satyrico more*) displays a sensitivity in the details of rich foliage, whose greens fade into the background, and in the treatment of the running water, the hopping birds, and the elegant pergola; the naturalistic tone created is thus different from the more grandiose beauty of the rock formation which occupies a large part of the composition and which indeed has the feeling of a rocky stage wing. The monochrome landscape of the central panel of the rear wall is of particular interest as one of the oldest known examples of the type which occurs with similar technique and repertory of motifs in later decorations (House of Livia, House of Obellius Firmo; fragments of other monochrome friezes from the Villa at Boscoreale, now in Musée de Mariemont, Morlanwelz, Belgium, and in Br. Mus.). Using only various tones of yellow and rapid, direct brushwork, the painter has represented a lakeside landscape with lacy buildings, bridges crossing the water, a boat gliding on the lake's surface, and slender figures of fishermen and wayfarers.

With good reason the most famous example of this genre of painting is the long monochrome yellow frieze in the House of Livia on the Palatine (later by several decades; of about 30 B.C.). The monochrome technique is more fully developed here than in the older example in the Campanian villa; together with the yellow, brown touches are used for the shadows, and white for the highlights. As in the Praeneste Nile mosaic, the subtle lines of the architectural and human forms stand out under strong contrasts of light and shadow. This rapid pictorial technique, in which the solidity of the forms seems to be consumed in the play of light, is combined with a broad and airy composition and a fluid narration with a hundred episodes and vignettes scattered in the landscape. The monochrome painting was executed by a decorator, but a highly skilled one with exquisite taste and facility of invention. His style has often suggested a parallel to the *compendiaria* painting particularly popular among (though not limited to) Alexandrian artists. Many elements in the frieze, especially the camel and the statue of Isis, belong to the Egyptian-Alexandrian world; the assumption that this frieze is an expression of Alexandrian taste and tradition, if not actually by an Alexandrian artist, is apparently well founded (though there are contrary opinions on the subject). In any case, this work of the Augustan period is a mature fruit of Hellenistic art and civilization, which received some of its most felicitous expressions in Rome and Italy.

*Portraiture.* Only a general idea of Hellenistic portraiture may be formed. In the period between the end of the 4th century B.C. and the beginning of the 3d — the only period which Pliny, with his classicistic taste, discusses in detail — the major artists also practiced portraiture. From Apelles to Ktesilochos and Protogenes, from Aëtion to Antiphilos and Leontiskos, there are many portraits of Alexander, of members of his entourage, of women he loved (Pankaspe by Apelles, Roxana by Aëtion in the painting of the marriage of Alexander), and of Hellenistic kings. There must have been portraits in the many battle paintings mentioned in the literary sources, although it is not possible to say to what degree they were idealized. The names of three portraitists of the period of Varro are known: Iaia of Kyzikos, Sopolis, and Dionysios; the last was nicknamed, it seems, the "Anthropographos," precisely because of his practice of this genre (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxxv, 147). Iaia painted in Rome during the time of Varro's youth and used tempera and encaustic. She painted women's portraits in particular, including a self-portrait, using a mirror, and a large portrait of an old woman (formerly in Naples). She painted rapidly and attained such great fame that her pictures sold for higher prices than those of the two other famous contemporary portraitists whose works also filled the painting galleries at the time of Pliny. Perhaps the artist Koinos, who made stemmas (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 139) and was active in Rome in the late Hellenistic period, was actually a portraitist, the stemmas being family trees with portrait busts. These bits of information suggest that the artists who were doing portraiture in Rome at the end of the republican period were largely Greek painters, the last heirs of a tradition about which almost nothing is known. The art of portraiture had also invaded illustrated books — if one can trust the testimony that the *Imagines* by Varro was illustrated with 700 portraits of famous Greeks and Romans, arranged in groups of seven. Information from actually preserved painted portraits is slight but often very significant. Darius and Alexander in the mosaic of the battle (PL. 154) are represented as transfigured in the bloody fight. The figure of Alexander, in its boldly expressive manner, shows most clearly the taste of the new epoch, now far removed from classical ideals. Some of the figures in the *megalographia* from Boscoreale (PL. 192) are true portraits, in the grandiose, dynamic style of the period. There are not many Hellenistic portraits in sculpture which equal the so-called "Menedemos." The portrait of Menander seated, in the House of Menander in Pompeii (ca. A.D. 50), is thought to derive from his picture in the series of portraits of comic authors (some interpret them as actors) painted by Kratinos in the Pompeion in Athens (Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 141). The Campanian painting is of careful execution but is stylistically rather insipid. If it does derive from Kratinos' work, it reveals only that it was a work in the simple style with self-contained rhythms such as are familiar in sculpture of the early Hellenistic period. There are two mosaics of the Seven Sages (Torre Annunziata, Sarsina) which probably derive from a painted Hellenistic original; but the mediocrity of the execution, and the fact that the Sages could only be represented as imaginary portraits, remove these mosaics from a discussion of true portraiture. The many, and frequently excellent, portraits preserved from the Roman period (few but significant examples from Pompeii, and a rich and generally good series of portraits on wood or linen from Egyptian mummy covers of the 1st–4th cent.) reflect the tradition of Hellenistic painted portraits. At one point it was believed that the painted ceramic tondi from Centuripe (anc. Kentoripa; attributed to the 3d–2d cent. B.C.) were examples of this tradition, but their authenticity has been shown to be doubtful.

*Systems of wall decoration.* An important role in the history of Hellenistic painting is played by the study of the painted decorations used by the Hellenistic Greeks, and subsequently the Romans, to cover the walls of their public buildings and houses. Here, too, the main and almost exclusive sources of information are the cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, along with a few important decorated rooms found in Rome. The more important for their rarity are the fragments found in other parts of the Hellenistic world (Priene, Athens, Delos, Alexandria, Pergamon, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Russia, and southern Italy). Valuable evidence is found in Vitruvius, who in a long passage in his book *De architectura* (vii, 5) traces the development up to his time,

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almost in outline form. The monumental evidence substantially corroborates the exactitude of Vitruvius' information. Hellenistic-Roman decorative painting developed in the period between the 3d century B.C. and the end of the 1st century of our era; it subsequently fell into the trap of overworked schematic patterns and finally died. The decoration passed through stages of imitation of structural and architectural forms, becoming increasingly fantastic. In the first stage the stuccoed surface of the wall itself is simply painted with imitations of precious materials (marble, for the most part polychrome); in the later development a rich and fantastic architecture is imagined to project from the actual wall, or is as though seen beyond it.

This basic line of evolution contained variations at different times (in the kind of architectural elements represented, in their arrangement, in the adherence to reality, and in the coloring) which scholars have sought to define as successive "Pompeian" styles, so called because they were first defined on the basis of painting in Pompeii. The four styles first established by August Mau have been increasingly differentiated and given a precise chronology. Currently, the development is seen as follows: imitation of the different structural parts of the wall (socle, orthostate, intermediary cornice, and frieze zone) by means of color seems to have been done first with a series of parallel bands of flat color corresponding to the individual zones of the wall itself ("zone style"). In this phase, imitation of polychrome precious materials is limited to the base of the wall; above the intermediary cornice the wall is plain. This primitive phase of Style I, which is known especially from examples in Alexandria, Thrace, and southern Russia, is followed by another which introduces the imitation of rows of blocks in the upper wall as well, and later adds more complex elements: little galleries and pilasters at the top of the wall (Delos), or rows of pilasters running the entire height of the wall. The principle of illusionism, in which the wall is opened and pushed back, is introduced here and begins its long development.

The oldest known example of Style II (the House of the Griffins on the Palatine, end of 2d cent. B.C.) has a widely spaced row of Corinthian columns on a base, represented in front of a wall painted in imitation of sumptuous polychrome marble. This first phase of Style II (A) is followed by three others (B, C, D) in which the principle of the illusionistically opened wall is accentuated with increasing fantasy. On the other side of the painted projecting members (socle, pilasters, and columns), the eye no longer meets a representation of a real wall but wanders freely over distant views of cities, gardens, and porticoes (Villa at Boscoreale). In the last phase of Style II (in the late Augustan period) the painted architecture becomes more thin and unreal, with increasingly rich decoration. These characteristics are strongly emphasized in Style IV (PL. 214; VIII, PL. 93), which in Pompeii is found particularly in those houses reconstructed after the earthquake of A.D. 63. Style III is today considered to have been parallel, at least in part, to the last phase of Style II. It was an attempted reaction against the excessive illusionism of Style II: the decoration flattens out and becomes linear; large panels are preserved plain, almost in imitation of large cloth hangings stretched from point to point. In the development from Style I to Style II, to the horizontal division of the wall is added (or even substituted) a vertical foreground system of simulated architecture (pilasters and columns). In the most advanced phase of Style II begins a standard tripartite division of the wall by vertical units: a central aedicula with lateral views. Within these systems of wall decoration, figure and landscape paintings are inserted in various ways; they play no role in Style I decorations, with a few exceptions such as the frieze of Erotes in the house on Delos (mentioned above). In the later styles paintings are sometimes introduced as shuttered panels placed on the fictitious cornice or hung on the wall and columns; at times the figure paintings take the form of broad friezes covering the entire wall above the painted socle, as in the Villa of the Mysteries and the Villa at Boscoreale; or the figure compositions are seen within an aedicula, or as actual paintings inserted in the walls; at times isolated figures are placed in the center of the broad panels of the wall decoration or are distributed in the architectural system; and finally, at times they are inserted as small friezes. For this part of the decoration — the figured compositions — the Romano-Campanian painters quite frequently copied and varied Greek paintings, deriving entire paintings and figure motifs from pattern books. It is wrong to undervalue the art of these decorators; they were often very capable masters gifted with refined taste. One should not forget that these Romano-Campanian decorations often have been a source of inspiration for artists of the modern period, even great ones. The grotesques of the Italian Renaissance derive from the decorations of the Golden House (Domus Aurea) of Nero (PL. 215; the buried rooms were known in the Renaissance as grottoes), and the Empire style of decoration, popularized especially by Percier and Fontaine, derives from the decorations of the then newly discovered houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

There can be no doubt that the system of decoration in the Italy of the republican period was an imported one. The Pompeian examples of Style I decoration date as early as the 3d century B.C., but earlier examples are known in Alexandria, Priene, Delos, Athens, Pergamon, and southern Russia. There are several indications that Style II (which some consider to be typically Italian) is also of Greco-Oriental origin — perhaps from Syria, and especially Alexandria in Egypt — in addition to Vitruvius' testimony concerning the decoration of the Ekklesiasterion at Tralles by Apatourios of Alabanda, which has all the characteristics of the last phase of Pompeian Style II. The origin of Style III is more uncertain; perhaps the theory that it resulted from a new eclectic taste for the exotic in the Augustan period is preferable to the theory that the abundance of Egyptianizing motifs (V, PL. 195) prove it to be of Alexandrian origin. The next development, Style IV, seems also to have originated in Italy. It is an accentuation of Style II in its imitation of architectural elements and its sense of color. Many scholars agree that Hellenistic and Roman theater decoration influenced the later phases of Style II and, later still, Style IV (see above concerning the Villa at Boscoreale).

CERAMICS. The features which characterize the history of Hellenistic ceramics can be summarized as follows: (1) survival and decay of traditional 4th-century ceramic types in the late 4th and early 3d centuries; (2) the popularization of new shapes with decoration painted on a monochrome ground, generally black; (3) the spread of various types with monochrome decoration, generally black, on the natural clay ground; (4) the frequent appearance of pieces with lively polychrome decoration on a uniform light ground, usually white; (5) broad diffusion of relief ceramics of various types; (6) production of enameled ceramics. For the most part, Hellenistic ceramics abandoned the figured scenes of Attic and Atticizing ceramics. These were replaced by minute decorations with human figures in reduced scale or very often with purely ornamental motifs — geometric, plant, or animal — which were sometimes combined in the manner of still-life compositions. The mark of the new times is found in the naturalistic repertory, the refined elegance, the grace, the decorative detail, the touch of grotesquerie and caricature, and in the often sketchy rendering of the subject.

The prolongation of traditional ceramics, a secondary phenomenon, represented a deterioration of all the types that had been popular in the various centers of production (Attica and especially southern Italy and Etruria) in the 4th century. These types include vases with red figures on reserved ground, with the addition of rich polychromy and gilding; black-ground wares with figures superimposed in white; monochrome ceramics with black glaze and often with relief decoration, with smooth surfaces or ribbing, frequently with restrained decorative motifs in white or gilded yellow (small bands, branches, or garlands); and late Panathenaic amphoras. The production of Panathenaic amphoras — those in the traditional black-figured technique as well as those with white ground — continued throughout the Hellenistic age and even beyond. Not a few of the established groups and recognized masters discussed in the most recent criticism of late red-figured production seem to date to the end of the 4th century or to the beginning of the 3d. Mention

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should be made of the very last production of the Kerch vases; of the richly polychromed and gilded hydria from Alexandria (found in the Hadra cemetery), depicting the Judgment of Paris, the work of an Attic workshop of some quality (ca. 330–320); of Apulian wares, the Sarpedon Painter, and the vases of Lykourgos and of the Ilioupersis; of the works of the Red Swan group and the Xenon group, related to Gnathia products; of Lucanian production, with the Painter of Naples 1778 and the Painter of Naples 2585, and the contemporary Jason crater (Naples, Mus. Naz.); of the Braniki Painter, the Painter of London F. 229, the Siamese Painter, and the Vitulazio Painter, all Campanian; and of the Lentini group, perhaps Siculan. Etruria is one of the areas in which the production of red-figured ceramics continued longest and the one in which the quality most deteriorated. The so-called "Volterran" craters (dating from between 330 and 275) are of particular interest for the Italic portrait profiles that decorate them. The "Hesse group" products do not have a provincial character. These products, found in southern Etruria, are decorated with putti and Erotes painted in a uniform white on a black ground (first half of 3d cent. B.C.). Another type of Italiote ceramics (Campanian or Apulian) continued to be reproduced well into the 3d century B.C. This was the plate whose interior was richly decorated (in the usual red-figured technique) with multiple fish, often rendered with considerable vivacity and compositional skill.

The monochrome ceramics with black glaze (mentioned above) enjoyed widespread use in the Hellenistic age. Noted for its fine technique and beauty of form, the type originated in Attica and was imitated in many centers. From this ware is descended the popular and economical so-called "Etrusco-Campanian" ceramics, which are black and lack painted decoration. Crowns of palmettes and short lines were often impressed on the bottoms of "Etrusco-Campanian" plates and cups. A particular type of ceramics marks a genuine transition from the 4th century to the Hellenistic period. This is a black monochrome ware, usually ribbed, with relief decoration limited to certain areas of the vase and generally consisting of small figures or groups made from a mold and applied before glazing (*Plakettenvasen*). This category of ceramics (which can roughly be dated to the 3d cent.) had a precedent in the famous Cumae hydria (Leningrad, The Hermitage) with Eleusinian scenes depicted in relief on the shoulder. This work dates from the late classical period, or it is an exceptional piece from the late 4th century. The most recent criticism has attributed the hydria to a Tarentine workshop and dated it between 310 and 300.

Many of the types mentioned have white decoration superimposed on the glazed black ground (the Hesse group and the last-mentioned category of vases, in which painted decoration often accompanies the relief). This technique was used widely by numerous Hellenistic workshops between the end of the 4th century and the first half of the 3d. The principal types so far distinguished, more or less approximately, are the so-called "West Slope" ware (perhaps of Attic origin), the kind called "Gnathia," and a Campanian-Latian type, of which there are few examples. Studies of the first were begun after some chance discoveries on the west slope of the Acropolis in Athens, but products of this type have come to light in many localities of the ancient world (e.g., the Greek mainland and islands, Asia Minor, and Thracian Chersonesos). The decoration (plant, geometric, thyrsos, bucranium, dove, and dolphin motifs; occasionally human figures) is painted for the most part in yellow-orange with touches and details painted in white or incised. The pieces are rather small and include oinochoai, skyphoi, kantharoi, and plates. Gnathia ware is of Apulian or Tarentine origin but probably was imitated elsewhere. It differs from the preceding Attic type in various details, though the styles are closely related. Besides small vases, the repertory of Gnathia ware includes the hydria, the crater with knotted handles (PL. 194), the volute amphora, and such typically Apulian forms as the epichysis and some variants of the askos. A fairly extensive use of bead designs on certain parts of the vase is common. The painted decoration in white, yellow, and red (mostly in white) consists of plant motifs, bands, clusters, and trellises of grapes, masks, musical instruments, and figures of animals. The human element occurs rather frequently, either in the form of single heads (generally female, occupying the shoulder of the vase or the bottom of the kylix), whole figures, or fairly complex scenes (e.g., cupids racing in chariots, women playing at games). Besides at Gnathia, vases of this type often are found in other parts of Apulia and Italy in general, as well as in Greece, Cyprus, Egypt, and elsewhere. Their production began toward the mid-4th century and continued in the 3d.

The Campanian-Latian group of ceramics with overpainted decoration is represented by very few pieces (ten vases and five small pitchers). They are distinguished by a Latin inscription of the name of the god to whom each vase was dedicated followed by the word "pocolom" (poculum). The color used for the decoration was yellow, orange, or white; plant forms (leaves and twigs) accompany, and often surround, human motifs (female heads, small figures of Eros). These pocula, dated to the first half of the 3d century, appear to be from a Latian or Campanian workshop. Some examples of uninscribed plates very similar to those with inscriptions can also be considered part of the group. A famous example (Rome, Villa Giulia) is from Capena and bears a representation of a war elephant with a tower and soldiers on his back followed by a smaller elephant. Another example is in Tarquinia (Mus. Naz.) and shows a vivacious little Eros holding a tray with offerings and a small pitcher; it is rendered in a lively and sure style.

Three exceptional, large ceramic pieces (two of which are certainly of Alexandrian provenance and the third, in Munich, Antikensamml., probably of that origin) have overpainted decoration (white, orange, pink) on a dark ground and probably date from very early in the period. The Alexandrian workshop that produced them was probably subject to some Apulian influence. One of the pieces is an amphora from the necropolis of Shatby (Alexandria, Greco-Roman Mus.) with two parallel bands of varied motifs; the principal band has a rich plant motif in spiral design of Apulian taste. The second piece is an elegant hydria formerly in the Von Bissing Collection (Munich, Antikensamml.), with sprigs of leaves in relief on the lower part, beading above, and, in the middle, a band of figures (Herakles and Geryon; a griffin and a bull). The third piece is a very rare kalpis (from Hadra; Alexandria, Greco-Roman Mus.) with the form and decorative idiom of Hadra vases but exceptionally painted in the previously mentioned technique; on the front between the handles is a panel with two fighting centaurs. This centaur vase marks the point of transition between the early Hellenistic ceramics, which are more faithful to the technical traditions of the 4th century (a dark ground with superimposed decoration in color), and one of the two categories of the so-called "Hadra" vases (PL. 194). This category is characterized by painted decoration of uniform color, black or brown (sometimes also reddish), traced before firing on the natural ground of the clay. (The other category has a white ground with polychrome decoration; see below.)

Vases of this type have been found in large quantities in Alexandrian necropolises of the early Hellenistic period, but occasionally specimens have been found in such localities as Cyprus, Crete, and southern Russia. In a certain sense the technique represents a return to that of black-figured vases, as did that of the vases from the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi near Thebes (before 335), and, beyond the prolongation of the black-figured Panathenaic amphora, that of the so-called "Cumaean" lekythoi and other secondary groups. It was precisely the kalpis (the so-called "hydria"), seen earlier in the centaur vase, that was the vase type used as a cinerary urn. The decoration is composed of horizontal bands and lines of uniform color, variously distributed around the foot, the body, and the neck of the vase; of palmettes of various types, spirals, olive branches, rosettes, bucrania with bands; of dots used as secondary motifs at the place where the handles are attached, around the neck, and on the shoulders; and of one or more bands containing motifs of branches, small festoons, rows of wreaths, dolphins, human or animal figures, and griffins. Sometimes the decoration forms an actual picture, such as the battle of centaurs on the polychrome Hadra vase. Other scenes include little

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cupids hunting a stag, a small funeral monument flanked by two Harpies, athletes, and a cockfight (III, PL. 137). The principal bands are generally on the upper part of the vase between the two lateral handles, but they are sometimes found on the back of the vase below the vertical handle. Touches of white and incised drawing are often applied to the dark glaze.

The execution is usually of rather ordinary quality, but a number of examples are marked by skill and virtuosity in the rendering of the black silhouettes of the decoration. The manufacture of both classes of Hadra ceramics probably started in the last years of the 4th century, but its major flowering was in the 3d. A group of examples with inscriptions (New York, Cairo, Alexandria) appear to date from between 259 and 212. The other category of Hadra vases belongs to the class of Hellenistic ceramics with polychrome decoration on a white ground. In a certain sense it harks back to the white-ground Attic ceramics of the 5th century (though differing in technique and color sense), but it also continues the taste for lively polychromy, often brightened with gold, that had characterized the red-figured ceramics of the 4th century. All the vases of the second Hadra category are cinerary urns in the form of a kalpis, but they are more bulging and squat than the vases of the other category. The entire surface of the vase was covered with a thin white wash, on which simple polychrome motifs were executed. The garland, with or without taenia, was the most common motif and decorated the front of the vase between the lateral handles. Other motifs included swords, cuirasses, shields with Gorgon heads, vases, and, occasionally, human figures. The repertory of subjects may have been much richer than it appears today, for most of the examples recovered have lost their polychrome ornamentation, which was executed in a very delicate process similar to that of tempera. The colors most frequently used were pink, green, yellow, violet, and brown. In these vases, too, the decoration sometimes takes on the aspect of a still life. The standard of production must have been quite high. Among the well-known examples of vases of this category are one in New York with a beautiful Gorgon head in the center of a shield; one in Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Mus.; formerly Six Coll.) with the representation of a Panathenaic amphora, a palm branch, bands, and a torch (similar examples in Cairo, Eg. Mus.; Alexandria, Benaki Coll.); one in Cairo (Eg. Mus.), decorated with a pair of large shoes (a similar example in Leipzig, private coll.); and another (Leipzig, private coll.) with the representation of a covered pyxis, a fan, and a mirror. These vases, like those of Centuripe (discussed below), are those which most likely reflect something of the technique and style of contemporaneous painting.

Some examples of light-ground ware with superimposed polychrome decoration can perhaps be attributed to 3d-century workshops in Canosa, Apulia. Among others are a fine Canosan pitcher (Bari, Mus. Arch.) with a pink ground, restrained relief decoration on the neck and at the springing of the handles, and a broad row of figures painted in red, pink, yellow, blue, and brown (a woman on a quadriga preceded by Eros; hippocampus); and a kantharos with high handles, formerly in the Campana Collection (Louvre), with whitish ground and polychrome decoration in dark red, blue, and light brown (a nude ephebos with a torch and a tympanon, a woman with a pyxis and a mirror, and a luxuriant plant motif under the handles). Some oinochoai found in Tunisia (museums in Carthage and Tunis) have a smooth white ground decorated with plant motifs (sometimes in color) that envelop the body of the vase; secondary motifs (rays and waves) adorn the base, neck, and shoulders.

Lagynoi constitute another class of polychrome ceramics. These bottles, which have squat bodies and high necks with handles, were produced from the second half of the 3d century throughout the Hellenistic age. They have come to light in various places (Greece, Asia Minor, Cyprus, southern Russia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica) and probably were produced by several workshops. The polychrome decoration of these bottles is similar in the sureness of its technique to that of the Tunisian vases, though quite different from the tempera decoration of the Hadra vases (and perhaps from that of the Canosan vases). The colors, however, are less bright in the bottles than in the Tunisian vases. The decoration of the bottles is reddish-brown on a smooth off-white ground. The most important motifs appear on the shoulder of the vessel; the most frequent motifs are linear, plant, marine, and depictions of single objects such as amphoras, masks, lyres, and garlands. Many other Hellenistic vases, more modest and of the most various provenance, are decorated in a similar technique and polychrome style. These pieces include small pitchers of various shapes, pyxides, and incense burners. Decoration with bands and parallel lines is used frequently and generally enlivened with plant and other motifs. Consciously or not, this union of geometric and naturalistic elements revives a decorative concept close to that of Geometric vases, especially in some wares coming from Egypt and southern Italy. The entire surface of the vase is covered with a close network of geometric motifs (parallel lines and bands, checkerboard designs, serpentine lines, meanders, and rays); the colors used are subdued tints.

In the Hellenistic age, relief decoration assumed the most varied forms. It has already been noted in black-glaze vases with small figures, single or grouped, applied to the surface. Sometimes the decoration of polychrome ware becomes high relief or even a completely freestanding projection, as in the vases of Centuripe in Sicily, the so-called "Canosan" vases, and others (PL. 78; III, PL. 138). At times relief constitutes the principal or entire decoration, often depicting rather complex scenes, as in the "Megarian" cups (II, PL. 59) and Calene ware. In two tall, elegant, covered amphoras which may have come from a Tarentine factory of the 3d century B.C., the relief is still an accessory element (Baltimore, Walters Art Gall.). At the bottom of the gadrooned body is a clump of leaves, and at the top a frieze of little Dionysian putti or Erotes in low relief. A lively but restrained polychromy completes the decoration (a white ground with details in pink and gold). A considerable number of vases from Centuripe are extant (about 90, most of which are in Sicilian museums; others in Rome, Villa Giulia; Met. Mus.; Louvre). The most popular types are a kind of deep crater (bell- or chalice-shaped) and a kind of lekane or cup. These works are generally composed of separate pieces: a removable base or foot, a body, and a cover with a finial (III, PL. 138). Secondary or occasional types are the kotyle-crater and the lekythos. The relief elements (plant motifs, astragals, wave motifs, lion and Medusa heads, Erotes, animals, and hippocampi) were generally executed separately and variously applied on the foot, base, and cover of the vase.

Both relief and smooth surfaces were brightly painted, and gilding was often applied (especially to the relief portions). The principal decoration, painted in tempera, was figured and was almost always limited to the front of the vase. It generally comprised three figures (though there are also compositions with two, four, and even five) drawn on a solid ground and only rarely supplemented by some architectural element to set the scene. Often the scene has no specific reference, but sometimes it is related to the Eleusinian or Dionysian mysteries. (In spite of the scarcity of information about the nature of the sites in which they were found, these vases seem to have had a funerary purpose.) In general, the Centuripe ceramics show a decidedly provincial taste in their inelegant forms and heavy, cumbrous plastic decoration. Because of the fragility of the technique, only an evanescent shadow of the painted decoration has survived in many cases. In the best-preserved examples (Met. Mus.) the subject has a marked nobility and fineness of style which makes the delicate and graceful little female figures comparable to the finest examples of painted funerary steles and of Hellenistic Campanian painting. The Centuripe vases ought to be dated about the 3d century, although some authorities have proposed the 1st century for the entire class or part of it.

The further elaboration of plastic decoration gives a still more provincial character to another category of Hellenistic vases found in Italy — the so-called "Canosan" vases, largely discovered in the Canosa area of Apulia. For the most part, they are large heavy askoi, from the bodies of which reliefs and freestanding figures project: female figures, Nikai (Victories), Erotes, Amazons, Gorgon heads, and protomas of Triton (PL. 78).

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On some better-preserved examples the painted decoration (e.g., palmettes, floral motifs, griffins) of the smooth areas has survived. Relief and painted decoration flash with violent contrasts of intense pink, red, blue, and white. These works, which seem to be contemporary with the fine Canosan vases with simple painted designs, are believed to date from between the end of the 4th century and the end of the 2d. A vase from Lampsakos (Istanbul, Arch. Mus.) with gilded ground, rich polychrome decoration, and very high relief is completely different in quality. It is a hydria very similar in form to the polychrome Hadra vases. Almost the entire front surface of the body and shoulders is covered with a depiction of the hunt of the Calydonian Boar. The vase probably dates from the last years of the 4th century and is one of the many products of Hellenistic ceramics which imitate contemporary metalwork. This is also true of many ceramic products decorated with silvered or gilded relief (the cycle of Herakles, a Nereid riding a pistrix, the Amazonomachy), most of which have been found in the region around Bolsena, Orvieto, and Orbetello. In spite of the Etruscan provenance, it is believed that they were produced in the factories of southern Italy (Apulia) that were active between the 3d (or 2d) and 1st centuries B.C.

The other type of relief ceramic, the one in which relief is the only decoration, was very widely distributed throughout the Hellenistic world. It is the prototype of the Arretine and terra sigillata types of ceramics. In the very wide production of this type two principal groups have been differentiated: the so-called "Megarian" vases (PL. 194) and the Calene ware. The Megarian vases are generally covered with a black or red glaze, more or less glossy and dilute. The basic form is that of a hemispherical cup without handles. It has relief decorations of various kinds, including a luxuriant calyx of leaves growing from the bottom and embracing the greater part of the surface (the motif most frequently used and richest in variety and refined expression). Other motifs include long, stylized rays, the tile motif, and bands and parallel lines between which figures are enclosed (isolated figures, hunting scenes, rows of Amazons, mythical scenes). The edge of the vase is decorated with meanders, circular forms, rosettes, spirals, and other motifs. The numerous Megarian factories were situated in Athens, Delos, Antioch, Pergamon, and Alexandria. Recent studies made after the stratigraphical excavation of the Agora and Kerameikos in Athens indicate that production began in the 3d century and extended almost throughout the 1st century B.C. It passed through a series of stylistic phases, with naturalistic accents and finer execution in the earlier periods, and a progressive stiffness and technical decline in the later ones. There is a great affinity of form and motif between the cups with leaf calyx decoration and silver vessels (from Egypt, Bulgaria, and Civita Castellana in Italy), gilded and polychrome glassware, and faïence (from Egypt). The often proposed hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of Megarian vases, through silver models and perhaps through earlier ceramics, is likely.

A special group of these cups comprises the so-called "Homeric" or "literary" skyphoi, decorated with subjects drawn from the cycles of epic and tragic poetry [e.g., Iphigeneia in Aulis (II, PL. 59), the birth of Oedipus, the slaying of the suitors of Penelope, the destruction of Troy, the murder of Polyxena, etc.]. These illustrations are generally accompanied by inscriptions with the names of the characters, the literary sources from which they originate, and even quoted passages of these texts. In several cases the names of the potters are also mentioned: Dionysios, Asklepiades, Ariston, Menemachos, Aphroditos, Herakleides. The elements of the relief decoration were either made from separate molds and put together later, or they were included in a mold for the whole vase. Almost forty types are known, in large part from Boeotia. The Homeric skyphoi were formerly attributed to the 3d century but now are more correctly assigned to the period from the middle of the 2d to the end of the 1st century B.C. Although of very poor artistic quality, they are interesting because of their relation to literature and possibly to illustrated books of the Hellenistic age; some of the compositions may have been derived from these books. A group of Megarian vases has been identified as coming from Italian factories, less because of where they were found than because of the signatures inscribed on them of C. Popilius, C. Lappius, L. Quintius, and L. Atinius. The works signed C. Popilius, who seems to have had two workshops, in Otricoli and in Mevania, are particularly interesting. In the form and in the subject and handling of the ornamentation, the vases are very similar to those of eastern factories. Of works with continuous friezes, a particularly noted one was produced in the workshop of Popilius. This vase represents a battle between Greeks and Persians with a composition deriving in part from the same pictorial source as the great Pompeian mosaic of the Battle of Alexander (PL. 154). The production of the ceramics is today attributed to the early 1st century B.C.

The figured relief decoration of the so-called "Calene" vases is of greater importance and stylistic value than that of the Megarian vases. The former are attributed to workshops in Cales, Campania, on the basis of the ethnic indication accompanying the signatures of some of the potters, that of L. Canoleius in particular. A recent disputable hypothesis, based principally on a vase inscription which reads "Caio[s] Serponio[s] Calebus fece[t] Vico Esquilino" (Caios Serponios from Cales made [it] in the Esquiline quarter), proposes that the potters were from Cales but that they worked in Rome. Other known artists are Titus Lucius Servius, Caius Gabinius, Caesus and Numerius Atrifius, L. Anicius, and Calonos, who adds to his signature the expression "Calibus" (from Cales). It seems certain that a good part of this ceramic production is to be attributed to Cales, even if one admits that there may have been other workshops on Italian soil. (Vases have been found, as well as in Cales, in Ruvo, Canosa, Etruria, and Teano.) The production is assigned to the period between the beginning or middle of the 3d century and the first decades of the 2d. The vases are covered with a dilute black glaze of a leaden color. The principal types are the guttus with decoration on the upper part, the patera with a central medallion, and the mesomphalos patera with decoration on the internal walls around the "navel." The decoration of the medallion patera generally consists of divinities or mythological personages in full figure or just heads, single or in groups. (These also appear on the gutti.) There often occurs the singular use of depictions that are derived from celebrated works of antiquity (e.g., the Athena Parthenos of Phidias, or the boys of Boethos); sometimes elements were even cast from Syracusan coins of the 5th century. The repertory of classical art was a source also for the decoration of mesomphalos paterae, which generally depict mythological scenes (the Rape of Persephone, Dionysian cortege, cortege of Nikai in quadrigae, little cupids hunting, wreath of flying cupids and Nikai); the scenes were sometimes copied from silver paterae of the 5th century (Br. Mus.; Met. Mus.). The decorative style of metal vessels occasionally was imitated in terra-cotta vases (examples in Alexandria). The procedure consisted in covering the surface of the vase with a thin film of stucco, which was gilded after being ornamented in low relief with motifs typical of metal vases (ribs, egg-shaped molding, astragals, bands, interwoven palmettes, and spirals). Among the many other relief ceramics, Egyptian products of the late Hellenistic or Roman age are notable. Most are of small proportions, and their relief decorations were generally inspired by the Greco-Egyptian repertory (Isis, motifs of the Nile and of local flora). The manufacture of these vases seems to have been in Memphis rather than in Alexandria.

Other classes of relief ceramics are the so-called "Pergamene" vases and the enameled vases. The former come from various places (Pergamon, Priene, Delos, Athens, Alexandria, southern Russia, and Antioch) and are characterized by the use of a very fine, purified clay whose polished surface is a beautiful coral red. The most popular forms are the skyphos, with or without handles, the lagynos, the lekythos, and the fairly deep plate. The decorative elements consist of geometric and plant motifs, griffins, masks, Erotes, maenads, satyrs or seilenoi, and small figures of divinities; these elements were made separately and applied to the surface of the vase, generally in a band around the body. In many cases the influence of metalwork is evident. The production does not seem to have begun before

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the 2d century, but it continued in the Roman age. Enameled ceramics, mainly with relief decoration, are certainly the least known and studied of Hellenistic wares, in spite of their wide distribution and very interesting character. They come mostly from Egypt, various localities in Asia Minor, Greece, Syria, Mesopotamia, Russia, and southern Italy. In many cases the finds are certainly importations, hence it is not possible to establish with exactness the manufacturing centers, which must have been numerous. However, two large classes of these enameled ceramics can be recognized, the Egyptian and the Near Eastern, which differ in technique, in vase shapes, and in decorative repertory, even though points of contact naturally are not lacking between them. Egyptian enameled ceramics of the Hellenistic age (whose manufacture was to continue until the late Roman era) resume and continue the ancient tradition of the type. They unite vase forms and decorative motifs of purely Greek character with others of the old Egyptian repertory. In color they are of gradations from green to blue with the frequent use, especially for accessories, of reddish-brown, milk-white, and yellow. The most popular shapes are small globular vases with high flaring necks, small shallow plates decorated with tapering leaves, open cups with barely curved sides, and deep cups formed like the calyx of a lotus, all in Egyptian taste, and the skyphos, alabastron, oinochoe, kantharos, and askos, all Greek types. The decorative motifs are generally impressed or incised on the surface of the vase, and are often completed by details in low relief or by masks and little figures made separately and then applied. Their repertory ranges from linear geometric forms to plant and animal motifs; the composition is in parallel zones and in panels or, in a manner more appropriately Hellenistic, in no fixed scheme. In many cases the vases repeat the ornamentation of metalwork. The "Queens'" oinochoai are a separate class, on which generally appears the figure of a Ptolemaic queen (identified by an inscription of her name) in the act of pouring a libation near an altar and at the side of a baetylic (sacred stone) pillar. Examples are known with the names of Arsinoë II and Berenike II and even with the name of Ptolemy IV, all, therefore, of the 3d century B.C.

The Near Eastern enameled terra cottas have more brilliant and stronger enamels than the Egyptian ones (whose surfaces are extremely crumbly). The vases from Asia Minor are colored green, brown, or yellow, but the class is less varied than that of Egypt, and the imitation of metal vessels is even more common. The usual shapes are skyphoi with double handles, mugs, cups with feet, and small pitchers. The most frequent motifs are plant (branches, garlands, festoons of various types), little figures of satyrs or seilenoi, maenads, small masks, and not infrequently figured scenes (mugs with skeletons or fishermen). While the Egyptian type certainly began in the 3d century, or perhaps even at the end of the 4th, the Near Eastern category was later, starting not before the end of the 2d or beginning of the 1st century and continuing in the Roman age.

Gold- and silverwork. In the Hellenistic age the production of metal, and especially silver, vessels with relief decoration (pl. 195) expanded enormously. The new economic and social conditions and the spread of luxury among the new courts and upper classes favored this development. Even though most of the production has vanished, its popularity can be deduced from many references in the written tradition. Kallixenos of Rhodes (in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, v, 196A ff.) records that innumerable vases of every kind — of gold, silver, and precious stone — appeared at a most sumptuous feast given in honor of Dionysos during the reign of Ptolemy II. Objects and vases of precious metals were among the gifts which that monarch sent to Eleazar, the high priest of the Temple in Jerusalem [Aristeas (pseud.), 51 ff.]. Epigraphs record that gifts of silver and gold vases were sent by Seleukos Nikator to Didyma (W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903–05, 214); that similar objects often were included among the votive gifts to sanctuaries is known from Hellenistic texts. Precious vessels appeared in great quantities at a banquet of Antiochos IV Epiphanes described by Polybios (Athenaios, v, 194C, 22). It is well known that victorious Romans transported vast numbers of precious vases to Rome from Magna Graecia, Sicily, and the Hellenistic East. For example, in 190 B.C., in the triumph celebrated by L. Scipio for his victories in Asia, 1,424 gold repoussé vases were displayed (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, xxxiii, 148; cf. Livy, xxxvii, 159). An exceptional piece of evidence is given by a great bronze vase from Antium (mod. Anzio; Rome, Conserv.), which bears a dedication by Mithradates VI Eupator and which probably came from the booty of a Roman general returning from the east (Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey?). Between the end of the republic and the early Imperial age, rich Romans so desired to possess precious vases by famous Greek artists that a flourishing commerce developed in antiques, as well as a production of, and commerce in, forgeries. This Roman passion for silverware is indisputably confirmed by numerous discoveries of complete table services and single pieces, almost always of very high quality, in the small Campanian towns buried by the eruption of Vesuvius.

Little is known about the artists who worked with precious metals in the Hellenistic age. Pliny gives a bare account (*op. cit.*, xxxiii, 156) which in many cases leaves in doubt the chronology of the artists mentioned. There are some other isolated records and some names incised on existing silver pieces. Stratonikos of Kyzikos seems to have worked in the middle Hellenistic period and to have belonged to the Pergamene school; Boethos was active in the first half of the 2d century; and Pasiteles, Poseidonios, Hydistrachides, and Zopyros can be assigned to the age of Pompey. The name of Nikon is inscribed on a silver pyxis from Tarentum, of the 3d century B.C., and the names of Cheirisophos (cups from Hoby, Denmark), M. Domitius Polygnos (a vase from Boscoreale), and Apelles (two pairs of vases from the House of Menander in Pompeii) are engraved on later silver objects of the Roman age. Apelles, an *argentarius*, was a restorer of the vases from Pompeii (which are different in style) rather than the artist who created them.

A number of pieces coming from a Roman milieu provide information about Hellenistic metalwork. They are dated for the most part from the end of the republic to the beginning of the empire. The principal groups of these objects are from Bernay (Paris, Bib. Nat.), Hildesheim (Städt. Mus.), Boscoreale (Louvre), the House of Menander in Pompeii (pls. 195, 216); there are also numerous individual pieces and minor groups. For the rest of the Hellenistic age, however, documentation is relatively poor.

The products of metalwork created for the luxurious courts of Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamon, Macedonia, Pontos Euxeinos, and other centers has disappeared entirely; this fact must be considered in any evaluation of Greco-Roman metalwork in relation to that of the Hellenistic period. The lack of adequate means for comparison with earlier production is a serious obstacle to the assessment of the later production; thus it is difficult to judge the measure of its originality and the exact dates of individual pieces (certainly not all of the same time), and to answer the often recurring question whether the extant works are originals or copies. However, in the forms, in the figural repertory, and in the style, Greco-Roman toreutic art is largely in the genuine Hellenistic tradition; in fact, it could be said to be truly Hellenistic. The decoration of earlier Hellenistic silverwork is limited in most cases to the emblemata (inlaid ornament) inserted in plates, covers of pyxides, backs of mirrors, and other objects. The forms were generally busts and heads of various types (maenads, satyrs, divinities, portraits), but more complex subjects were used also, with the full figure and occasional landscape elements. Examples include a cover of a pyxis from Tarentum and plaster models of silver emblemata from Begram, certainly Alexandrian (pl. 195). Also from Begram is a model of an emblema decorated with those vines which generally covered vase surfaces. However, the use of figured decoration all around the sides of the vase (see, for example, the enameled ceramics of the same period which derive from metalwork) must also belong to the middle Hellenistic period; this use became widespread at a later date. The vases are believed to have been created often in pairs. Themes sometimes were taken from mythology or daily life; but the

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motifs peculiar to Hellenism are those derived from nature — various plant forms, figures of animals, either isolated or depicted in a natural setting, and still-life subjects. Decorative motifs, even when they are figural, often are limited to the handles or to the juncture of handle and body (e.g., in plates, pitchers, cups). In these cases, the most distinctly Hellenistic features are the profusion of plant forms, the rather common introduction of landscape elements, an idyllic tone, a taste for genre scenes, and a vein of caricature. Metalwork was a rich source of inspiration for the more modest products of relief ceramics; its forms were repeated and its subjects were imitated and often mechanically reproduced; there are typical examples in Megarian vases, Calene ware, Apulian products, ceramics from workshops in Volsinii Novi (mod. Bolsena) and Volsinii Veteres (mod. Orvieto), and, later, in Arretine vases and the extensive production of terra sigillata. If our interpretation of the scanty historical evidence and of the data provided by the various finds is correct, then it seems that centers of Hellenistic metalwork must have existed in southern Italy (especially in Apulia), Egypt, Asia Minor (perhaps in Pergamon or on an island off the coast, such as Rhodes), Syria, northern Greece (Thessaly, Thrace, Macedonia), and southern Russia.

Some of the most beautiful Hellenistic silverware that has been recovered has been attributed to Apulian workshops, which probably had their principal center in Tarentum. These works include the Treasure of Taranto, emblemata from Canosa and Tarentum, and vases from Civita Castellana, Ancona, and other centers. This production dates mainly from the middle Hellenistic period and has the simple nobility of form of 4th-century art. The Rothschild pyxis (Treasure of Taranto), a work of major importance, has a cover with a relief of Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus on its exterior, and on the inside a vigorous floral motif in the form of a rosette. The name of the artist, Nikon ("Nikon epóiese"), is incised on its outer face. More decidedly Hellenistic are the emblemata on two plates from the same treasure; these emblemata show two small busts of Dionysos and Ariadne in a voluptuous embrace. Among the most beautiful silver pieces of the early Hellenistic age is a kantharos from this treasure, with its elegant, slender form, its luxuriant plant motifs around the neck and base, and the fresh grace of the two amphora-carrying cupids who appear below the juncture of the handles. An incense burner of high technical and stylistic quality has on its cover one of the most ancient examples of that bucranium and garland motif which was to be used throughout the Hellenistic and Roman ages and extensively in the Italian Renaissance. The emblema in the Jameson Collection (formerly Sir John Evans Coll.) is another fine example of Tarentine silverwork. Its vibrant maenad head with a rich vine-leaf crown is a work of exceptional stylistic vigor and perhaps dates from the end of the 4th century B.C. rather than later. The three hemispherical cups from Civita Castellana in Naples (Mus. Naz.) are superb products of the middle Hellenistic period and can certainly be attributed to Tarentine workshops. They have an opulent plant decoration in bold relief, the forms and design of which also appear on Megarian cups. A beautiful silver rhyton in Prague, dated about the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3d century, has also been attributed to a Tarentine workshop.

It is no longer possible to accept the opinion, widely held at one time (after the studies of Theodor Schreiber), that most of the oldest preserved silver treasures (Berthouville, Hildesheim, Boscoreale) are either Alexandrian originals or imitations; however, it must be admitted that Hellenistic-Roman Egypt was a very important center for the production of metal vessels. The previously noted evidence of the written tradition and, especially for the Roman age, the data of papyri, as well as objective evaluation of the surviving works, compels acknowledgment of this importance. Among these works are to be noted some groups of the middle Hellenistic period which predominantly reflect Egyptian traditions (the treasures of Mendes and Tuh el-Karmus); a pair of plates with emblemata from Hermoupolis, with two beautiful heads of Herakles and a maenad (Berlin, Staat. Mus.); a silver beaker from the Nile Delta with a Dionysian subject (perhaps of the Roman age; now lost); and a gilded silver beaker with cupids (or infant bacchants) gathering grapes (Alexandria, Greco-Rom. Mus.; from the early Imperial age but certainly of local tradition and manufacture). A Hellenistic bronze cup with landscape scenes (Alexandria; PL. 195) is of particular importance. With some plaster models it provides important evidence of the Alexandrian origin of such landscape representations, which were found throughout the Roman world. The numerous molds and plaster models for the manufacture and commerce of silverwork document the knowledge of Alexandrian toreutic art. Almost all either have been found in Egypt (especially in Memphis) or probably come from that country (the discoveries in Begram, Afghanistan). Moreover, many ceramic works with relief decoration that have been found in Egypt are obvious derivations or copies of metal models (Megarian cups and enameled terra-cotta vases).

The iconography and the relationships with products of proved Egyptian provenance justify the attribution to Alexandrian workshops of numerous vases found in other places, or of unknown origin [the Boscoreale phiale with the bust of Alexander; an emblema formerly in the Czartoryski Coll., Goluchow Castle, Poland, with the Tyche of Alexandria; a pair of beakers from Boscoreale with a parody scene of skeletons of Hellenistic poets; a kalathos from Herculaneum with a Homeric allegory; a landscape cup from the House of Menander in Pompeii (PL. 216); silver and bronze vases with relief representations projecting from the handles in the form of birds' beaks, etc.]. The silver vase from Stevensweert (Netherlands) with Dionysian relief motifs could be a product of Alexandrian metalwork of the 2d century B.C. (According to other opinions it is Siceliot.) The revival of the old Egyptian technique of niello, which often employed a Greco-Egyptian repertory in vases of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (e.g., vases of Egyed in Hungary), should evidently be attributed to the workshops of Hellenistic-Roman Egypt. No one has so far undertaken a close study of this evidence. According to present knowledge, the technique extended through the Hellenistic age and beyond. It reveals a most varied production, in which are reflected the diverse tastes of Alexandrian art: those of the Egyptian tradition, of Greco-Egyptian eclecticism, and of purely Greek origin. Some of the most beautiful Alexandrian silverwork of completely Hellenistic character is known through such plaster models as the emblemata with portraits of the Ptolemies (Ptolemy I and Berenike, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Mus.; Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II, and Ptolemy III, Hildesheim), the emblema with the head of a poet or philosopher (from Begram), models with landscape elements (in Munich; in London; from Begram), models with plant motifs (from Memphis and from Begram), and others.

More obscure is the subject of Syrian and Iranian metalwork, successor to the metalwork of the Achaemenids, which also had a great flowering in the kingdom of the Seleucids during the Hellenistic age. Of the great quantity of gold and silver vessels used by the Seleucids, only a few isolated pieces survive. Three gilded silver emblemata (Czartoryski Coll.), attributed to the Hellenistic age, come from Syria. Some gold and silver cups from Nihawand (Persia) and from Siberia, which are close to Megarian types, are authoritatively assigned to early Hellenistic Seleucid metalwork, as is a phalera of unknown provenance (Leningrad, The Hermitage), with a representation of a war elephant. A silver emblema with a portrait of Antiochos VII Sidetes (?) is representative of late Hellenistic metalwork. Found in Syria but of foreign origin, an emblema formerly in the Loeb Collection may be Tarentine, and a bronze cup of Megarian type from Ras Shamra is perhaps Egypto-Alexandrian.

We know very little of Pergamene production, but it must have been notable. Two very beautiful emblemata (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), of the first half of the 2d century, come from Miletopolis near Pergamon. One bears a fine portrait of Demosthenes, the other a superb mask of Seilenos. The latter shows stylistic similarities to some of the heads of the great Pergamon frieze and is even closer to other works of the Near Eastern-Pergamon school such as the *Hanging Marsyas* (the Istanbul replica). Some metal vessels found in southern Russia

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and in the Roman world are considered to be of Pergamene origin, and a certain reflection of Pergamene work can be recognized in some ceramic relief products. The great plate of Athena from the Hildesheim Treasure and a superb cup from Pompeii with Triton and Nereids (PL. 195) are among the works probably attributable to (or inspired by) Pergamon. In the former there are echoes of Pergamene seated statues and coin representations, while in the latter the fullness of the bold relief and the emphasis on plasticity and pathos present singular similarities to the taste which inspired the great frieze.

Material from the Greek mainland is also scanty. This includes the small treasure from Metropolis (Thessaly) of about 200 B.C. [golden bracelets; a silver vase in the form of an alabastron, with relief decoration of dancing Erotes (above) and Dionysos with the nymphs of Nysa in a landscape (below); a silver pyxis with dancing maenads, precedents of Neo-Attic types]; small, undecorated silver vases from Gormenion (mod. Goritza); gold medallions and a gold *naiskos* (shrine) from Thessaly (see below).

The Greco-Pontic toreutic production, which was plentiful in the classic age, continued in the Hellenistic era, but it was less flourishing. The elegant forms of some early Hellenistic pieces (skyphoi, kantharoi, phialai, and pyxides) are closely related to traditional types of late Attic black-glazed ware. These pieces have, in general, only relative interest, as their relief decoration is limited to sober floral motifs on the foot, neck, or shoulders of the vase.

For historical and stylistic reasons, mention should be made of Roman work in precious metals from Pompeii, Herculaneum, Boscoreale, and other centers. In more than one case, it is certain that among the finds are pieces of various periods preceding that suggested by the excavations themselves. These works would include the pieces which the ancients considered *argentum vetus* (old silver). The Treasure of Berthouville is a typical example: it was buried in A.D. 275 but includes much silverwork of the early Roman Imperial age and some that very probably is of the Hellenistic age. Unfortunately the present state of knowledge does not permit clear discrimination of earlier works from those of more recent date found at the same sites. Although such works as the emblema on the large plate of Athena in the Hildesheim Treasure, the pair of cups with still-life motifs in the Treasure of Boscoreale, and the pair of cups of similar form with scenes from the myth of Dionysos and Semele, from the House of Menander, seem more surely datable to the Hellenistic age, there is the greatest uncertainty regarding the dating of a great many other works. Observations on the forms of the vase and of the relief decorations, which tend to become heavy and to lose their freshness and elegance, sometimes can be useful, but this criterion is rather fluid and subjective. However, if a precise chronological distinction between Hellenistic and older Roman products is difficult and often impossible, a comparison on the stylistic level would be absurd in the majority of cases. Such works as the landscape cups from the House of Menander, the two pairs of cups with centaurs, female centaurs, and cupids from the Berthouville and Pompeii treasures, and the several vases decorated with branches of olive, plane, and vine, from the treasures of Hildesheim, Boscoreale, and Pompeii, also may have been conceived and executed in the Roman age. Nevertheless, in form, subject, and style they are in the purest taste and most vital tradition of Hellenistic culture. On the whole, the silverwork executed toward the end of the republican and beginning of the Imperial ages must be considered expressions of late Hellenistic toreutic art and of its prolongation into the Roman age.

The repertory of figural subjects is characterized by a taste for epigrammatic allusions (centaurs and centauresses with Erotes; Dionysian sprites riding panthers, lions, or elephants), as well as by a taste for genre subjects, caricature, and the grotesque (the boatman, the peasant with his cow, the sacrifice before a country shrine, the sorceress, and skeletons of celebrated poets and philosophers). There was a particularly strong feeling for nature, and entire vase surfaces were covered with branches, fruit, and garlands, sensitively rendered with a keen sense of naturalism. The interest in nature frequently led to the introduction into figural compositions of such elements as trees, plants, small shrines, and rocks, occasionally transforming the scenes into veritable landscapes. Artists still turned to myth and legend for subjects, but they emphasized those aspects nearest to human passions; the world of Dionysos and that of Aphrodite and episodes from the Homeric cycles were the most common sources of subjects. The formal idiom was richly varied, and the wide range of approaches includes both vigorous plastic sensibility and pictorialism; forms which are clearly separated and those articulated by emphatic chiaroscuro contrasts; delicate rendering in the style of miniatures and the broad rendering of powerful volumes. A silver cup from Ingolstadt, decorated with scenes of the Ilioupersis (1st cent. B.C.; Munich), merits special consideration, as it preserves the likeness of a pictorial composition of excellent quality from the late 4th–early 3d century B.C. Also worthy of mention are two silver kantharoi from the first half of the 1st century B.C., if not earlier: the kantharos from Alesia (mod. Alise Sainte-Reine), with relief decoration of myrtle branches (VI, PL. 254), and the Corsini vase, from Antium (mod. Anzio), with a representation related to the myth of Orestes. The latter may be connected with the work of Zopyros (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxiii, 156), an artisan of the time of Pompey, and may have been inspired by a 4th-century painting by Timanthes. Metalwork is one of the fields of artistic production in which Hellenistic themes and stylistic ideals were clearly and extensively perpetuated in the late-antique and Byzantine ages. Satyrs, maenads, bucolic themes, and scenes of hunting and fishing continued to adorn vases; frequently these were rendered in styles so close to those of Hellenistic art as to raise the question whether such pieces may not be Hellenistic rather than late works. Examples include a small vase from Alexandria, with a similar subject (Br. Mus.).

The metalwork considered up to this point has been primarily silver, often with parts, varying in prominence, covered with gold. That the production of gold vases was smaller is evidenced by the sparseness of the finds and by the testimony of Pliny, who gives the names of silver-vase makers but observes that the names of gold-vase makers have not been preserved. The fact is that gold was used chiefly for jewelry of every kind: bracelets, rings, diadems (VI, PL. 242), necklaces, and fibulas, which were made in immense quantity and often in the most refined taste and technique. Some medallions of divinities (Artemis, Aphrodite, and Athena; PL. 195; VI, PL. 253) from Thessaly (Nat. Mus. and Benaki Mus., Athens; Princeton, Univ. Art Mus.) are of gold; some plaster models of them were found in Egypt. A beautiful golden naiskos with a favorite motif of Hellenistic sculpture, Dionysos leaning on a satyr, also comes from Thessaly. The medallions and the naiskos have been assigned to the 3d century B.C. A treasure of sumptuous gold vases, perhaps from the second half of the 4th century, was found in 1949 at Panagyurishte, Bulgaria (VI, PL. 255). Its date raised some discussion (H. Hoffmann assigned it to the late-antique period); however, the very provincial forms and style are of the late classical age rather than the early Hellenistic period.

GEMS AND GLYPTICS. The wealth of the courts and the general spread of luxury favored Hellenistic production of gems and jewels; in addition to a renewal of the traditional production of incised stones, there appeared the splendid cameo worked in relief. Work ranged from the simple ring bezel to the sumptuous vase decorated with relief. There is much literary and epigraphical evidence to testify to the wide distribution, under the increasing influence of the East, of the use of precious stones to increase the splendor of vases, jewelry, crowns, household goods, and even clothing, as well as of entire vessels carved of precious stone. According to Appian (*Mithradates*, 115), the Romans found, among other things, in Mithradates' treasury about 2,000 onyx vases adorned with gold. Although much of Hellenistic glyptic work is lost, a large number of incised gems and cameos have survived (PLS. 37–39). Many of these can be counted among the most exquisite and significant expressions of the art of that time. The production of Hellenistic gems can be distinguished even less than other fields of

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artistic endeavor from the production of the Hellenistic-Roman period, which was a direct continuation of the Hellenistic era. Even for the expert eye of the specialist, it is often difficult to establish whether a gem should be dated to the Hellenistic or Hellenistic-Roman period. (The latter covers the end of the republican and beginning of the Imperial eras.) The Hellenistic gem is usually characterized by an elongated oval form with decoration incised on the upper, convex part. The preferred stones were garnet, hyacinth, emerald, beryl, topaz, amethyst, sardonyx, and carnelian. Translucent stones of several layers, especially the different varieties of sardonyx, were preferred for the cameo, but such transparent stones as rock crystal, amethyst, and garnet were used as well. Glass paste was often substituted for precious stones. The choice and workmanship of the materials aimed to obtain the greatest effects of transparency, luminosity, and polychromy and seem to have served the artistic ideals of the epoch particularly well. These ideals were further reflected by the cutters in the choice of subject and the treatment of form. Among the favorite mythological subjects were those taken from the cycle of Dionysos and his thiasos, Aphrodite, Psyche and Eros, Apollo and the Muses, or such divinities of Near Eastern origin as Serapis and Isis. Subjects from daily life also appeared frequently; and individual motifs of animals and plants were employed. Portraiture was particularly popular and was given impetus by the use of gems as personal seals, which became common in this period and was to survive in the succeeding period. Hellenistic glyptic art is also a faithful mirror of the art of the time. Although several 4th-century forms survived, all the new tendencies of Hellenistic art were present in glyptics — a taste for full and fleshy modeling as well as for delicate pictorialism, a tendency toward vivid naturalistic observation and emphasis on pathos, reflections of the more grandiose baroque style and those of the fragile rococo (which was to be particularly popular in the Hellenistic-Roman period), and, at a certain point, the affirmation of classicizing and archaizing tendencies. One of the particular characteristics of this period was the extraordinary technical refinement with which its stylistic concepts were often realized.

Many of the engravers of Hellenistic cameos and gems are known from their signatures: Athenion, Boethos, Daidalos Lykomedes (VI, PL. 37), Onesas, Pheidias, Protarchos, Sosis, and numerous others, among whom is that Dioskourides who executed the seal of Augustus (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 2, 8; Suetonius, *Octavius*, L); several of his signed works are extant (VI, PL. 38). Some scholars attribute to him the so-called "Gemma Augustea" (VI, PL. 39) and two celebrated cameos with the head of the Emperor, the Strozzi Cameo in the British Museum and the Evans Cameo in the Metropolitan Museum. Dioskourides and his three sons, Eutyches, Herophilos, and Hyllos, were among the numerous Greek artists who brought a strong wave of Hellenism to Italy between the late republican and early Imperial ages. The impact of this vigorous trend submerged local glyptic traditions. The Hellenistic fashion was so popular that the execution of gems with portraits of illustrious Romans (Brutus, Caesar, Gnaeus Pompey, Sextus Pompey, Maecenas, and Agrippa) was commissioned to Greek artists, and artists who are known to have been Roman signed their works with Greek letters (Aulos, Gaios, Cnaios, Leukios or Lucius, Kointos or Quintus, Roufos or Rufus, and Saturneinos). Particularly Roman subjects are often clearly conceived in ways which have their origins in the world of the Hellenistic monarchies (Augustus with an aegis and diadem, in the fashion of the Diadochi; Augustus beside the personification of Rome, as an heir of the Ptolemies or the Attalids, with the traditional symbols of these princes).

The engraver Onesas seems close to the classic ideals of the 4th century. Three pieces are signed by him: an intaglio with the figure of Athena (Br. Mus.; Furtwängler, AG, III, pls. 14, 43; Walters, 1926, no. 1143); a work with elegant figures of Muses, in glass paste (Florence, Mus. Arch.; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 59, 3); a carnelian with a head of Herakles (Florence, Mus. Arch.; G. Lippold, 1922, 35, 2). Formerly attributed to Bryaxis, the fine cameo with the head of Serapis, in Naples (Mus. Naz.), is by an anonymous artist and also expresses classic ideals. The cameo with the head of Ptolemy I has all the interior fire of Lysippian works, but its forms are fully Hellenistic and forecast the baroque phase of Hellenistic art (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 59, 3). The heroic portraits of Alexander often inspired (as in coins) the portraits of his princely successors or of private individuals, which repeat such characteristics as the long, curled locks and the upturned glance (Lippold, 68, 5 and 6; 68, 2 and 4). More often the portraits are marked by an incisive realism (Lippold, 69, 2, 3, 6; 70, 1). The delicate modeling of Alexandrian pictorialism is recalled by a chalcedony in Paris (Bib. Nat.) with the head of a Ptolemaic queen, but the gem with the head of a queen with long, Libyan curls is close to types, of the same eclectic taste, modeled according to late Hellenistic concepts. The latter work is signed by Lykomedes (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 32, 31). The Alexandrian taste for small pictures with bucolic and landscape elements is revived in a large cameo in Berlin depicting the Judgment of Paris, which has fine color effects. Near Eastern baroque conceptions and forms inspire the large Leningrad Cameo (Lippold, 3, 1); the cameo in Venice with the head of Zeus (from Ephesos; Lippold, 3, 2); the cameo in Naples (Mus. Naz.), signed by Athenion, with a quadriga bearing Zeus in the battle with the Giants (Lippold, 3, 4); and an amethyst, formerly in the Laurenti Collection, with a Medusa head (Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 59, 2). Among the cameos with portraits of princes, the two sardonyx pieces in Leningrad (The Hermitage; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 53, 2) and in Vienna (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, 1) stand out because of their unusual size, the beautiful polychrome effects, and the nobility of style. They show a pair of monarchs of the early Hellenistic age, perhaps two Ptolemies; identification of the subject is uncertain. Among Hellenistic examples of cameo art applied to figured vases two important pieces have miraculously survived, the so-called "Tazza Farnese" and the so-called "Ptolemy Cup" (Paris, Bib. Nat.). The outer surface of the bottom of the "Tazza Farnese" (a sardonyx in two strata) is completely covered by a large mask of Medusa (VI, PL. 38); the interior of the vase comprises a celebration of the fertility of the Nile (PL. 196). In the "Ptolemy Cup" two very similar, rich compositions, Dionysian and Eleusinian in content, appear on the two opposite faces. A *trapeza* (table) with vessels and objects of worship is depicted under a pergola in the shade of an awning. A number of tragic and comic masks appear along with votive gifts suspended from branches and lying on the ground. The scene is enlivened by a panther, a goat, and some flying birds. The subject of the "Tazza Farnese" is typically Egypto-Alexandrian, but in the "Ptolemy Cup" it is the interest in landscape elements, the idyllic and bucolic spirit which the sacred landscape acquires, and some figure motifs that indicate Alexandrian origin. These two great cameos can be considered among the most significant expressions of Alexandrian art, and this evaluation will remain valid even if those who judge them to be of the Roman age are proved correct.

COINS. In the Hellenistic age the Greek or Hellenized type of coin spread throughout the ancient world — through the great and small Hellenistic kingdoms and to the peripheral and semibarbarous countries and those far from the centers of Greek civilization. These areas ranged from Mauretania, Numidia, and towns of Spain to Bithynia, Pontos, Parthia, India, the Celtic populations of the east and west, and to Rome, as well as to Macedonia, Pergamon, Syria, and Egypt. The political and economic physiognomy of the Hellenistic world is wonderfully expressed in its coinage; the autonomous coins of the old city-states tended to disappear and to reflect the vicissitudes of the losses and ephemeral reconquests of civic liberty. The coins of the new kingdoms, especially the more powerful ones, were used in wide areas. The great iconographic innovation was the portrait of the monarch on the obverse; the fashion derived from the east, spread through all the Hellenistic kingdoms to Rome, and has survived to modern times. (Coin portraits constitute a valuable source for the study of Hellenistic iconography.) The representations on the reverse, stylistically inferior, are often crowded by a long legend with

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the titles of the prince. Generally the initials of officials who supervised the coinage appear on coins along with the mint marks. (There often were several mints in the same realm.) Often included as well are the dates of a reign.

The dating of Hellenistic coins is by no means invariably easy. The information provided on coins is often very uncertain. Iconography taken by itself can be misleading, because several coin types with portrait heads were repeated many times in successive ages, and some continued through the entire Hellenistic age (e.g., the coins of Alexander, those of Lysimachos with the head of Alexander, those of Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II, and Arsinoë II). Cities with the right to mint coins often issued, in addition to their own local coinage, other types bearing portraits of monarchs to further economic or political aims (e.g., Carthage and Tarentum). In general, the coins of cities are stylistically more conservative and perpetuate or revive the noble traditions of classical coinage. The coins of Syracuse, southern Italian cities, and, farther afield, those of some Asiatic towns are, even as late as the period of the 3d and 2d centuries B.C., among the finest of Greek production. In the East the mints of Bactria, Bithynia, and Parthia produced some of the most beautiful coin portraits of the Hellenistic age. In other countries whose coins have an Oriental look, kings are represented in exotic costumes; on the reverse, small figures of local subjects are introduced, and legends are written in the native language.

In general, of course, the style of coin portraiture reflects the art of the time; nevertheless, caution must be employed when using coins to study large-scale sculpture, because, in general, even portrait coins must have been rather conservative in style, if not actually behind the times, and because the style of earlier coins, which were often used as models, could not but influence the style of newer coins. Yet coin portraits do reflect the same tendencies, tastes, and signs of stylistic change that can be observed in contemporaneous sculpture. Thus the portrait of the monarch depicted as a hero is very popular in early Hellenistic coins inspired by the ideals of the portrait bust of Alexander. The Hellenistic taste for realistic portraiture is present in the majority of coins; sometimes it is a restrained realism of subtle psychological penetration, sometimes a more harsh and unsparing realism. As in sculpture, forms are structurally more unified and powerful at the beginning of the period, more slack and weak at the end; there are images modeled so as to create moving and dynamic form, and others modeled with a delicate and refined pictorialism. Macedonia, Bosporus Cimmerius, and some of the satrapies of Asia Minor produced coins that were precedents for Hellenistic portrait coins. The coin portraits of Pharnabazos from Phrygia, of Tissaphernes from Lydia, and of Orontes from Mysia frequently have a high esthetic value. An important precedent for the strongly realistic portrait is the wrinkled and strong head of an old man (Timotheos?) that appeared on a coin of Kyzikos as early as the first half of the 4th century B.C. Alexander added the title of "basileus" to his coins after the conquest of Persia. The title was retained by Philip Arridaios, while the Diadochi inscribed it on their coins only after their assumption of the title of king (300 B.C.). At first they used the head of Alexander-Herakles with a lionskin or the head of Alexander with an elephant skin and with the horns of Zeus Ammon. Later they introduced their own portraits; Ptolemy I put his portrait on a coin type which was to last throughout the Lagid dynasty. On the reverse of the royal coins images of divinities, allegorical personifications, and dynastic insignia (e.g., the eagle of the Ptolemies) appeared together with the royal titles. Occasionally the reverse recorded historical events, which were sometimes also commemorated on the obverse (e.g., coins of Demetrios I Poliorketes depicting Nike on the prow of a ship, commemorating the defeat of Ptolemy I at Salamis in 306 B.C.; III, PL. 396).

With the expansion of Roman power the royal coins gradually disappeared. Coins of individual towns survived for a long time or were revived, and these towns often adopted the widely distributed coin types of Alexander, adding their own crests and the names (or initials) of their magistrates. About 200 B.C. a certain type of coin, the *kistophoros* (Lat., *cistophorus*; see below), was first minted; it survived through almost the entire 1st century B.C.

*Macedonia.* Philip II initiated Macedonian coinage on a national scale (many mints, and the first great issue of gold coins); many types were widely copied later, from Asia Minor to Gaul, Britain, and Germany. The more common obverses were the head of Zeus with a laurel crown, the head of Apollo, and the head of Herakles with a lionskin. Alexander created some types which were coined in various areas as he added them to his empire. (There were Macedonian mints in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, and Babylonia.) These coins were distributed widely even among the semibarbarous tribes of eastern Europe and were to continue almost unaltered for centuries. By far the most common coin was the "Alexandrine," which bore the head of a young Herakles with a lionskin on the obverse and a seated Zeus Aetophoros on the reverse. As mentioned above, the epithet "basileus" was eventually added to the name of Alexander. The image of Herakles, which had appeared on the coins of Philip II, must, then, have acquired the character of an idealized image of Alexander as Herakles. The most important aspects of later Macedonian coinage include the appearance of the portrait and name of the monarch accompanied by the title "basileus," (coins of Demetrios I Poliorketes); the introduction of commemorative coins (the naval victory of Salamis, issued by Demetrios); the frequent appearance, on the obverse of coins beginning with Antigonos II Gonatas (283–239), of the Macedonian shield in whose center was a profile head (of Pan, King Perseus, or Artemis); portraits, which are among the most refined of all Hellenistic coinage, on the coins of Philip V (220–179; PL. 196; III, PL. 397) and of Perseus (179–167); the frequent presence of Athena Promachos, executed in an archaizing style, on the reverse of coins (Demetrios, Antigonos II Gonatas, and Philip V); the issue, between 158 and 148 B.C., of coins for each of the four divisions of the country established by the Romans after 168 (the defeat of Perseus at Pydna), with "Makedonon protes," etc., on the reverse; and, finally, the issue of coins of Macedonia as a Roman province (after 146 B.C.).

*Kingdom of Lysimachos, including Thrace, Crimea, and western Asia Minor.* Until 303 B.C., Lysimachos, ruler of Thrace and Crimea, minted coins exclusively of the types of, and in the name of, Alexander. After the Battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.) there was a large issue from several mints in Asia Minor of coins of the same type but with the name of Lysimachos and his insignia (the forepart of a lion). In 297 a splendid new coin type was issued which enjoyed great popularity even after the death of Lysimachos (281 B.C.). It bore a heroic portrait of Alexander as the son of Zeus Ammon on the obverse and Athena Nikephoros enthroned on the reverse.

*Pergamon.* The first Pergamene coins, issued when Philetairos was still custodian of the famous treasure of 9,000 talents entrusted to him by Lysimachos, are like the last described type of the coins of Lysimachos. When Philetairos proclaimed himself independent, passing under the protection of Seleukos I Nikator, he adopted the coin type of Alexander with the legend of Seleukos. Then he adopted a coin with the image of Seleukos on the obverse and the seated Athena of Lysimachos' coins on the reverse but added his own name. The strong portrait of Philetairos was to appear on the very beautiful coins of Eumenes I (263–241 B.C.), which bore the usual type of Athena with the name of Philetairos on the reverse. The same type was adopted by Attalos I (241–197), Eumenes II (197–ca. 160), and Attalos II (ca. 160–138); Attalos III does not seem to have issued coins at all. At the time of Eumenes II coins were also issued with the portrait of the king (obverse) and a pair of standing youths (Dioskouroi or Kabeiroi) with the name of Eumenes (reverse). During the reign of Attalos II a coin was minted in Pergamon (with the abbreviation II E P) of a type which seems to have originated in Ephesos. This type became a kind of Pan-Asiatic coin, especially among the cities of western Asia Minor (e.g., Pergamon, Ephesos, Smyrna, Nysa, Stra-

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tonikeia, and Tralles) and were still issued in the Roman age. These coins are the *cistophori*, so called because of the *cista mystica* (ritual container) which decorated the obverse.

*Syria.* The coinage of the long series of Syrian monarchs began with Seleukos I Nikator (321–280), founder of the dynasty. He first adopted the usual types of coins of Alexander and introduced his own name in issues after 306 B.C. In the new types Seleukos I was depicted with bull horns (on the reverse was the head of a neighing horse) or wearing a helmet (reverse with Nike in the act of crowning a trophy; III, PL. 396). Some of his coins issued after the battle at Corupedion (281) have the head of a neighing horse with horns on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. Others, which may commemorate the Indian campaign, have the head of Apollo or Zeus on the obverse, and Artemis and Athena in elephant chariots on the reverse. Between the death of Seleukos (280 B.C.) and the year Syria became a Roman province (64 B.C.) several internal and external wars occurred, there were losses, conquests and reconquests, and dismemberments of territory, and some thirty monarchs succeeded one another. Most were named Seleukos, Antiochos, or Demetrios, generally accompanied by an attribute or epithet. Their portraits constantly appeared on the obverse of coins (PL. 196), and on the reverse most frequent were such motifs as Apollo seated on the Omphalos, or sometimes standing with the *kithara* (cithara), Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, the eagle with a thunderbolt, Tyche or Demeter enthroned; occasionally there were figures alluding to the East, such as an elephant, Sandas' pyre, a helmet surmounted by a tall horn, or the goddess Atargatis. Sometimes the image of a divinity appeared on the obverse (Athena, Apollo, or Zeus). Among the more important representations of Syrian monarchs were those of Demetrios II Nikator (in his second reign, 129–125), who was the only one to appear in a beard, and Cleopatra Thea (125–121), who was successively the wife of Alexander I Balas, Demetrios II Nikator, and Antiochos VII Sidetes, and the only Syrian queen represented on coins, where she was depicted alone or with her son Antiochos VIII. The large quantity of Syrian coins permits us to follow their evolution and progressive decadence. The most beautiful coins are those of the 3d century and of the first half of the 2d. Among them the coins of Seleukos I Nikator, Antiochos I Soter (especially those which represent him in old age), Seleukos II Kallinikos, Antiochos Hierax, and Antiochos III of Syria (III, PL. 396) excel in their incisive power, sureness of design, richness or delicacy of modeling, and effectiveness of psychological penetration. In general, the plastic beauty of Syrian coins later diminished, resulting in the stylistically weak images of the last monarchs and the defacement of inferior designs of the reverse by certain long legends invading the field from all directions. In the portraits of rulers the interest in facial characterization survived for a long time; certain coins of Demetrios I Soter (162–150), Alexander I Balas (150–145), Antiochos VII Sidetes (ca. 138–129), Antiochos VIII Grypos (125–121), and Antiochos IX Kyzikenos (115–95) were still of notable power and fine quality.

*Egypt.* The coinage of the Ptolemies of Egypt was less rich in variety of types, but very often it was of greater stylistic quality than Seleucid types. The most beautiful coins are without doubt those issued by Ptolemy I Soter (323–285; III, PL. 396) both as satrap and as independent monarch. The first coinage comprised the types of Alexander IV and Philip Arridaios, but soon (perhaps after 316) Ptolemy substituted (the first of the Diadochi to do so) the head of Alexander with an elephant skin for the traditional head of Herakles. At first the usual reverse of Zeus Aetophoros was paired with the head of Alexander, while later a splendid archaizing figure of Athena Promachos was used. For the first time, on some of these issues, appeared the name of one of the successors of Alexander ("Ptolemaiou"). Ptolemy I was also the first (after 305 B.C.) to have his own image put on the coins of the kingdom — a magnificent, vigorous head with a diadem. On the reverse of the coin was the symbol of the eagle on a thunderbolt. The type was imitated widely in coins of other countries, and after the death of Ptolemy I (285 B.C.) the successors still reproduced this type extensively.

Among the new coins of Ptolemy II were those with the head of Arsinoë II Philadelphos (with an eagle or a double cornucopia on the reverse), and those having portraits of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II Philadelphos (legend: "Adelphon") on the obverse, and of Soter and Berenike I (legend: "Theon") on the reverse. Among the coins of Ptolemy III were the one with the portrait of Berenike II, daughter of Magas, which seems to have appeared on coins of Ptolemy II as well (reverse bears a cornucopia and the name of the queen), and the coin with a head of Ptolemy III with a diadem and nimbus along with an aegis, trident, and scepter (III, PL. 396; reverse has a cornucopia and the name of the king). Another coin of the same king shows his head with only the diadem (reverse bears an eagle); it is broader and more powerful in style than the precise, minutely rendered head with the nimbus. Fine realistic portraits of Ptolemy and his queen, Arsinoë III, still appeared on the coins of Ptolemy IV (221–203), but the coins of Ptolemy V (203–181) were less significant and weaker in style, and those of his successors showed progressive decline. In the Ptolemaic as in the Syrian coins, the portraits (both the new ones and those repeating old types) became increasingly inferior in quality — in the general composition, in the flaccid and disintegrating forms, and in execution. However, strongly individualistic portraits still appeared occasionally in some rare coins of Ptolemy VI from the Ptolemaic mint in Palestine and of Cleopatra VI from the mint in Ascalon (Ashkelon). The portrait of the queen appeared coupled with that of Mark Antony on the coins of Antiochia. In general, it may be said that the most beautiful Ptolemaic coins were those of Ptolemy I. Something of the grandiose style of his profiles reappears in some coins of Ptolemy III (from the mints of Lebedos in Asia and Ainos in Thrace). In the original issues, the images of Arsinoë II Philadelphos show a broad and solid style, while those of the more common coins of Berenike II and Ptolemy III were executed in an excessively minute and careful technique. On the other hand, some of the heads of Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy VI, and Cleopatra displayed a certain tendency toward realism. In general the traditional types of the reverse — the simple or double cornucopia and the eagle on the thunderbolt — long maintained a sober elegance and fine composition, even in the arrangement of the legends; but the process of progressive weakening and structural disintegration affected them also.

*Minor Hellenistic kingdoms.* The minor Hellenistic kingdoms (Bithynia, Pontos, Cappadocia, Armenia, India, Bactria, Parthia, Syracuse under the dynasty of Hieron II, Numidia, and Mauretania) produced coin series which often prove to be of great artistic as well as historical interest. The most artistically significant coins of the kingdom of Bithynia (297–247 B.C.) are those of Nikomedes I (278–250), which bear a handsome portrait of great realism, presaging that of certain portraits of Bactrian kings; and the beautiful coins of Prusias I, some of which tend toward idealization, others toward greater realism, but almost all characterized by great refinement and a soft, moderately coloristic modeling (III, PL. 396). These qualities are partially preserved in the coins of Prusias II (192–148) and Nikomedes II (142–91), but with a timid return to the heroic tone of early Hellenistic portraits. As usual, the reverse sides are not so beautiful as the obverses; the reverses, for the most part, reproduce the image of Zeus Stratios of Nikomedia, perhaps after the statue by Doidalsas. Among the coins of the kingdom of Pontos, those of Mithradates III (246–190), Pharnakes I (ca. 183–170), and Mithradates IV (ca. 170–150) display a clear, incisive realism achieved by fine workmanship. Those of Mithradates VI Eupator (120–63) tend to revive the heroic portrait, but in the idiom of the centrifugal style of the time. On the reverses of these coins appear the traditional type of Zeus Aetophoros enthroned, a standing male pantheistic divinity, a kind of Hermes-Dionysos, and a grazing stag or Pegasos drinking from a spring, the scene framed within a ring of ivy. Among the long series of coins issued by the successive kings and dynasties of Cappadocia from the end of

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the 4th century B.C. (Ariarathes I) to the beginning of the 1st century of our era (Ariarathes X, 42 B.C.–A.D. 17) there are few of genuine stylistic value. Those of the pretender Orophernes (158–157) present a beautiful head with diadem in a noble, classicizing style. Those of Ariarathes IX, son of Mithradates VI of Pontos, repeat the heroic type of the one just mentioned, and some coins of Ariarathes X display a lively realism and notable delicacy of execution. The series of coins of the kings of Bactria (250–135) presents some of the most lively portraits and at times the most unsparing realism of Hellenistic coinage. Among those that stand out are the coins of Diodotos, first a satrap of the king of Syria and later independent (250 B.C.); those of Demetrios (who extended the borders of the kingdom into India), whose powerful head was frequently portrayed with an elephant skin; those of Antimachos, with an incisive profile, a diadem, and a large-brimmed hat (III, PL. 398); and the strongly realistic ones of the last Greek dynast of the region, Heliokles. The reverses of the Bactrian coins are also particularly fine (Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, Herakles sitting or standing, the Dioskouroi). The coins of Armenian, Indian, and Parthian kings are characterized by the encounter of iconographic traditions and Greco-Oriental tastes (the latter always more accentuated). The Parthian coins with portraits of Mithradates I (171–138), Phraates II (ca. 138–128), and Artabanos I (ca. 128–123) excel for their delicacy and stylistic purity. An interesting detail to be noted is that busts on the coins of Mithradates III of Parthia (56–55) are represented frontally.

The coins of Hieron II and his family and those of the kings of Numidia and Mauretania also figure in the numismatic history of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Agathokles (316–289) was the first tyrant of Syracuse to issue coins in his own name, and Hieron II (ca. 270–215) was the first to place his own portrait on coins. Syracusan coinage was then influenced strongly by Ptolemaic types. In addition to the youthful head of Hieron II with diadem, the veiled head of Philistides (his wife) and the heads of Gelon and Hieronymos (216–215) also appear on Syracusan coins. The reverse sides, often of unusual beauty, reflected the old traditions of classical coinage (traditions also followed on the obverse sides of other coin types of the reign of Hieron). The older traditions are reflected in the composition and choice of subject (Nike in a biga or quadriga; a galloping rider); the Ptolemaic symbols of the eagle and the thunderbolt were used as well. The coins of the kings of Numidia and Mauretania are generally of semibarbaric taste and poor technical quality; they are of very slight artistic interest.

*City coins.* The coin production of the Greek city-states (which more or less preserved their independence, real or apparent, for a long time, and consequently the right to mint their own coins) is a secondary phenomenon, compared to the development of the new coins issued by the various kingdoms, especially the more powerful of them. Nevertheless, from a qualitative point of view the coins of independent cities, which generally could boast a long and glorious tradition of numismatic art, maintained a notably high level, particularly in the early period.

Of great numbers of coins minted by Greek cities of the east (Knidos, Rhodes, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Magnesia, Elis, Gortyna, Hierapytna, and Amastris) during the end of the 4th century and the first decades of the 3d, there are coins of great stylistic beauty and fine execution. Those of Amastris (Paphlagonia) with a head of Mithras are in the noble traditions of 4th-century idealism. Those of Kios (Bithynia), Ephesos, Knidos, and Cyrene, with heads of Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Zeus Ammon, respectively, are faithful mirrors of the idealistic trends of 4th-century art. On Spartan coins, while the reverse depicts the archaic statue of the Apollo of Amyklai, the obverse bears the head of a king with a diadem, probably Areus (310–266). In the rich series of coins from the Greek cities of the west, there is an even more pronounced conservatism (in typology, style, and technique). From Neapolis to Taras, from Metapontion to Thourioi, Kroton, and Lokroi hoi Epizephyrioi, from Syracuse to Carthage, the obverses of coins display very noble profile heads of divinities; the reverses are of comparable beauty. The coins produced in Syracuse between the reigns of Agathokles and Hieron II revived the type of Euainetos (5th-century coin designer), with Persephone on the obverse and a running quadriga on the reverse, or with another type of Persephone, her hair falling on her neck, on the obverse, and Nike with a trophy or running quadriga and the names of Agathokles and Hiketas, on the reverse. Coins from Metapontion of the last years of the 4th century show a fine head of Demeter or Persephone in a pure classical style on the obverse and a graceful ear of wheat on the reverse. Contemporary coins from Lokroi have, on the obverse, a magnificently modeled head of Zeus and, on the reverse, an eagle devouring a hare; this latter is one of the finest ensembles to adorn the reverse of a coin. The coins of Carthage imitate the Syracusan types with the head of Persephone or Arethousa, or they are modeled after the coins of Alexander with the youthful head of Herakles with a lionskin. Through the remainder of the 3d and the succeeding centuries the coinage of the cities slowly lost its splendor and seriously deteriorated in style or, because of political events, was suspended altogether. Sometimes the heads of divinities on the obverses reflect the influence of contemporary coin portraits. The classical ideals receded further and further, and Roman expansion gradually halted the fine coinage of Sicily and Magna Graecia.

About the end of the 3d century and the beginning of the 2d, Spanish cities issued coins with the head of Herakles-Melkarth with a diadem (obverse) and an African elephant (reverse). The campaign of Pyrrhus of Epirus in Italy (280–274) brought about the issue of a series of coins minted with his name in Sicily and Magna Graecia; they were of notable stylistic quality, showing, on the obverse, heads of Athena, Artemis, Zeus, and Persephone and, on the reverse, Nike advancing with a trophy, and Athena Promachos. In the 2d century the coins of Carthage repeated in stereotyped forms the type of Persephone which had become traditional in Syracusan coinage. After the period of Macedonian supremacy, Athens had established friendly relations with Rome and in 229 began new issues, elaborating its traditional types (obverse: head of Athena with a helmet; reverse: owl on a Panathenaic amphora within an olive wreath, the monograms or names of magistrates). These coins, which were not of great stylistic value, invaded the world market. The coinage of cistophori began about 200 B.C. (the *cista mystica* with a snake, obverse; a pair of coiled snakes, reverse). They were coined by many cities of Asia Minor (e.g., Ephesos, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardis, Tralles, Laodikea), and were to become, especially after the creation of the province of Asia (133 B.C.), the coin type of western Asia Minor. Hellenistic coinage exerted a strong influence on that of republican Rome and that of barbarian peoples, especially the Celts.

GLASS, TEXTILES, RUGS. Two important branches of Hellenistic craft arts, glass and decorated fabrics, can be only mentioned here. They exercised wide influence and continued in subsequent periods. Glass techniques varied widely and included molded and decorated glass paste, gilded glass, fused glass paste in various decorative motifs (e.g., mosaic glass), painted glass, incised glass, glass relief imitating cameos, and blown glass. There are very beautiful examples of gilded glass, glass of *a mosaico* type, painted glass, and relief glass; included are gilded cups from Canosa (Br. Mus.) and from Syria (Paris, Rothschild Coll.); several splendid "millefiori" cups from Caucasia (in Leningrad); painted, or gilded and painted, glass in Locarno, Turin, Berlin, and Paris (Louvre); and cameo glass: blue glass from Pompeii (VI, PL. 219), and the Barberini (later Portland) Vase (Br. Mus.). The dates of these pieces range from the 2d century B.C. to the 1st century of our era. Decorated glass was employed for vases as well as for tesserae of varied sizes used in inlay adorning jewelry, furniture, and even ceilings and walls. The principal workshops were in the east and later spread to the west. Alexandrian factories, heirs of the old Pharaonic glass industry, were especially important.

Many written records attest to the magnificent Hellenistic production of rugs, tapestries, upholstery, cushions, clothing, and other decorated fabrics. There are contemporary reflections of decorated Hellenistic fabrics (woven, embroidered, or painted) in mosaics, paintings (beds and ceilings of Alexandrian necrop-



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olises and of southern Russia), and sculpture (the veil of Despoina in the Damophon group); however, surviving examples are very rare. (There are fragments of about the 4th century from southern Russia, and some dating from before 2 B.C. from northern Mongolia.) On the other hand, a large number of fabrics of late antiquity still exist, particularly those from Egypt; they are sometimes very beautiful. Many repeat motifs and forms of the Hellenistic age (e.g., floral motifs, Erotes, Nereids, bucolic scenes, Nile motifs). There were several centers of production, but the Asiatic and especially the Egyptian manufactories remained important for many centuries.

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Achille ADRIANI

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**HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART.** The sphere of Hellenistic art includes not only the work and direct influence of Greek artists in Italy and Rome from the 3d to the 1st century B.C., but also much of the artistic production of the Roman Empire and Rome itself. Even in the official art of Rome and in the art of the western Roman provinces, Hellenism, acting both as a stimulus and as a formal ideal, assumes a special aspect and function. It provides a continuous thread of Hellenistic tradition in a world which was spiritually, politically, and linguistically not Hellenistic but Roman. It is useful, therefore, to assemble and discuss separately the most important features of this phenomenon. See also AFRICAN-ROMAN ART; DANUBIAN-ROMAN ART; GALLO-ROMAN ART; HELLENISTIC ART; HISPANO-ROMAN ART; ROMAN IMPERIAL ART. For the eastern provinces, see ROMAN ART OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

SUMMARY. General considerations (col. 393). Architecture (col. 395). Sculpture (col. 402): *Mythological themes and Greek types; Portraiture; Narrative relief*. Painting (col. 408). Ceramics (col. 409). Glassware (col. 410). Metalwork (col. 410).

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. Excluding the contacts established through Campania and Etruria (see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART), the first signs of a direct and significant Greek influence on the cultural life of Rome appear toward the end of the 4th and in the 3d centuries B.C. During the Samnite Wars, statues in honor of Alcibiades and Pythagoras were erected in the Comitium by order of the Delphic oracle (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, xxxiv, 26). The first military triumph in which works of art were brought to Rome seems to have been that celebrated by M. Curius Dentatus in 275 B.C., after the victory over Pyrrhus (Florus, *Epitomes*, 13; cf. O. Vessberg, 1941, p. 21).

The traditional date for the arrival of Hellenistic culture in Rome is 212 B.C., when Syracuse was captured by M. Marcellus. He brought back to the capital numerous works of art which were placed in the temple he dedicated to Honos and Virtus near the Porta Capena. According to Livy (*Annales*, xxv, 40, 1–3), "Inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera . . . factum est" ("From that came the very beginning of enthusiasm for Greek works of art"). Another important event in this field was the capture of Tarentum (209 B.C.). In 194 B.C., after the defeat of Philip V of Macedonia, T. Quinctius Flamininus brought back a large number of Greek bronze and marble sculptures — the first we hear of the presence in Rome of works executed in marble (Livy, *op. cit.*, xxxiv, 52, 4–5). Of particular importance, too, were the Asian campaigns of L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Manlius Vulso, which came to a victorious conclusion in 186 B.C. It was probably Scipio who was responsible for the influx into Rome of many artists and craftsmen from Asia Minor and Syria (Livy, *op. cit.*, xxxix, 22, 9–10). At this time (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxiv, 34), *luxuria* made its first appearance in Rome, where, until then, the sacred images in the temples had normally been built of wood or clay. The introduction of the new forms of art aroused the opposition of a group of senators led by Cato the Censor (Livy, *op. cit.*, xxxix, 4, 4). Another decisive influence was exerted by the extensive relations with Pergamon, which became even closer when Attalus III died in 133 B.C., having made the Roman people the heirs to his kingdom. With the victories of Fulvius Nobilior (Livy, *op. cit.*, xxxix, 5, 13–16) and Aemilius Paulus in Greece, many other Greek works of art made their appearance in Rome; but it was above all L. Mummius, the Roman general responsible for the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., who filled Rome (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxiv, 36) and other Italian cities with masterpieces. This information is confirmed by the inscriptions placed on the statues forming part of Mummius's booty which have been found in Samnium, in the territory of the Sabines, in Parma, and even outside Italy (Vessberg, 1941, p. 33). In the 1st century B.C. the plundering of works of art following military operations was more limited, but the triumphs of Sulla, of the brothers Lucius and Marcus Licinius Lucullus, of Pompey, and of Caesar contributed in their turn to a further enrichment of the public and private art collections of Rome.

ARTISTS ACTIVE IN ROME AND IN ITALY DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD. *a. Architects*: Hermodoros (Ἑρμόδωρος) of Salamis, active at Rome in the second half of the 2d cent. B.C.; worked on Temple of Mars, dedicated in 138, Temple of Jupiter, dedicated in 146, Temple of Juno Regina and portico (uncertain); to him is also attributed Navalia in the Campus Martius (*ThB*, s.v. Hermodoros; G. Pesce, *EI*, s.v. Ermodoro). – Batrachos and Sauras (βάτραχος, Σαύρας) of Laconia, 2d cent. B.C., recorded by Pliny as builders of the temples of Jupiter and Juno Regina, but probably they were only artists engaged on temple decorations; they appear to have executed representations of a frog and a lizard on the base of the temple columns. Vitruvius attributes the temples to Hermodoros of Salamis (H. Thiersch, *ThB*, s.v. Batrachos; G. Carrettoni, *EAA*, s.v. Batrachos). – Cyrus (Κῦρος), from southern Italy, active in the first half of the 1st cent. B.C.; worked in Cicero's villa at Arpinum, in 55 and 60; for Cicero's brother Quintus in 56; and may have been concerned with the planning of Caesar's Forum (Weickert, *ThB*, s.v. Kyros; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 10). – Chrysippus Vettius, freedman of Cyrus and continuer of his work in the Ciceronian villas (L. Guerrini, *EAA*, s.v.). – Aemilius Crescens, freedman, probably flourished in the last period of Pompeii, known from two wall inscriptions in the house Reg. VII, 4, 5, Pompeii (M. Della Corte, *Case e abitanti di Pompei*, Rome, 1954, p. 181 ff., n. 430 A; I. Calabi Limentani, *EAA*, s.v. Architectus). – Vettius, freeborn, known from an inscription found on the site of the ancient Grumentum in Lucania, where he is recorded as the architect of a portico, remains of which were discovered at the site (I. Calabi Limentani, *EAA*, s.v. Architectus). – Mucius, according to Vitruvius, built the Temple of Honos and Virtus on the slopes of the Capitoline hill in 101 B.C. (E. Fabricius, *RE*, s.v., n. 4). – Chiattus or Chiatius, known from the correspondence of Cicero as the designer of his daughter Tullia's funerary monument and perhaps also of a *fanum* (temple) (I. Calabi Limentani, *EAA*, s.v. Architectus). – Valerius, of Ostia, 1st cent. B.C., according to Pliny, decorated a theater for the games of Libo (Ziegler, *RE*, s.v., n. 281). – Hospes, slave of a certain Appia, active in Samnium in the time of Caesar, began construction connected with the *duoviri quinquennales* of Caiatia in Samnium (E. Fabricius, *RE*, s.v., n. 1). – Numisius, thought to have been active in Rome in the 1st cent. B.C. (E. Fabricius, *RE*, s.v., n. 1).

*b. Sculptors*: Kleomenes I (Κλεομένης), son of Apollodoros and probably father of Kleomenes II, was Athenian, active at the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. His signature appears to have existed in the 16th cent. of our era on the base of the Medici Aphrodite (preserved in an impression), but the authorship of the statue is dubious. Attributed to Kleomenes are the lower part of a colossal statue of Antonius Musa from Piacenza and the signature (false) on the altar bearing the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Florence (Lippold, *GP*, p. 381; G. A. Mansuelli, *JdI*, LVI, 1941, p. 151 ff.; G. Lippold, *RE*, sup. VIII, s.v. Kleomenes, 15a). – Kleomenes II (Κλεομένης), probably son of Kleomenes I, active ca. middle of the 1st cent. B.C., signed a statue of the Caesarian period (the *Germanicus* in the Louvre). Among his lost works may be attributed the Muses which, according to Pliny, formed part of the collection of Asinius Pollio (Lippold, *GP*, p. 381; G. Lippold, *RE*, sup. VIII, s.v. Kleomenes, 15 and 15a). – Arkesilaos (Ἀρκεσίλαος), of uncertain origin, who worked also in metal, was active in Rome toward the second half of the 1st cent. B.C., and died in 42. His lost works include a statue of Venus Genetrix, set up in 46, known through contemporary coins and reliefs. He is tentatively identified with a torso from the Palatine, now in the Mus. Naz., Rome; a statue of Felicitas, unfinished owing to his own death and that of Lucullus the Younger, who commissioned it; a group of centaurs bearing nymphs, acquired by Asinius Pollio; a group depicting lioness and *amores*, acquired by Varro; a crater for the Roman knight Octavius (W. Amelung, *ThB*, s.v. Arkesilaos II; Lippold, *GP*, p. 386; M. T. Amorelli, *EAA*, s.v. Arkesilaos II). – C. Avianus Evander, Athenian, active in Rome in the second half of the 1st cent. B.C., was a sculptor in bronze and marble and a worker in metal. Antony took him to Alexandria and then as a prisoner to Rome, where he was slave and freedman of Aemilius Avianus, and probably also an art dealer. His lost works include a restoration of the head of the Artemis of Timotheus; it is not clear whether he executed the two bacchantes and a Mars acquired by Cicero together with a *trapezophoros*, or whether the works thus described were paintings he obtained for Cicero. As a worker in metal he is recorded by Cicero for a *trapezophoros* and by Horace for a *catillum* (W. Amelung, *ThB*, s.v.; Lippold, *GP*, p. 381; L. Guerrini, *EAA*, s.v.). – Coponius, of unknown origin, active at Rome in the first half of the 1st cent. B.C., executed for Pompey the statues of Pompey's 14 conquered nations, which were displayed in or near the Theater of Pompey and perhaps in the Portico of Pompey (M. T. Amorelli, *EAA*, s.v.). – Ophelion (Ὠφελίων), son of Aristonidas,

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1st cent. B.C., was perhaps also a painter (Bieber, 1955). His signature appears on the reverse of a breastplate used as a support for the statue of Sextus Pompeius, from Monte Porzio Catone, near Tusculum, now in the Louvre (Bieber, *ThB*, s.v.; Lippold, *GP*, p. 383).

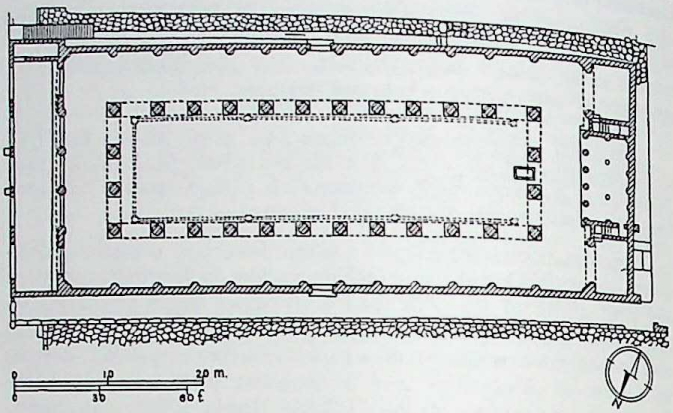
*c. Painters*: Pacuvius, the famous dramatist, 219–129 B.C., also painted a picture of which nothing is known beyond the fact that it was placed in the Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium (Pfuhl, II, 830; *ThB*, s.v.). – Theodotos (Θεόδοτος), active about 200 B.C. in Rome, where, according to Naevius in his *Tunicularia*, he painted with an ox's tail the dancing figures of the Lares on the Ara Compitale (Pfuhl, II, par. 987 and 994; G. Lippold, *RE*, s.v. Theodotos, 54). – Plautius Lykon (Λύκων), perhaps from Asia Minor, 2d cent. B.C., received Roman citizenship, changing his Greek name of Lykon for the Roman P. Plautius. According to Pliny, he decorated the Temple of Juno Regina at Ardea; according to some writers, he also painted the nude figures of Atalanta and Helen at Lanuvium (Pfuhl, II, par. 825; G. Lippold, *RE*, s.v. Plautius, n. 62). – Sopolis (Σώπολις), 1st cent. B.C., was mentioned by Pliny as one of the most famous portrait painters of his time. According to Cicero, he had a school of painting at Rome (Pfuhl, II, par. 918 ff.; *ThB*, s.v.). – Antiochus Gabinius (Ἀντίοχος Γαβίνιος), perhaps of Syrian origin, freedman of Gabinius, pupil of the portrait painter Sopolis, was active in the 1st cent. B.C. (L. Guerrini, *EAA*, s.v.). – Iaia (Ἰαία), or Laia(?), from Cyzicus, was active at Rome about the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. and, according to Pliny, executed mainly portraits of women (Pfuhl, II, pp. 631, 745, 825, 838, 839; G. Lippold, *RE*, s.v.). – Mallius Lucius, of Rome, 2d cent. B.C., mentioned in an anecdote of Macrobius, was perhaps author of the paintings for the triumph of L. Cornelius Scipio (Pfuhl, par. 910, p. 851; G. Lippold, *RE*, s.v. Mallius, 17). – Arellius, of Rome, active shortly before the time of Augustus, was noted for painting goddesses with the faces of the women he loved (M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *EAA*, s.v.).

*d. Gem engravers*: Herakleidas (Ἡρακλεῖδας), from Sicily or Magna Graecia, probably made the gold ring (signature uncertain; VI, PL. 254; from Capua, now in Mus. Naz., Naples); the bezel is engraved with the portrait of a Roman, ascribed by Furtwängler and Breglia to the 3d cent. B.C., by Pernice to the 2d cent., and by Becatti to the 1st cent. of our era (Furtwängler, *AG*, III, p. 163; Pernice, *ThB*, s.v.; G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, Rome, 1956, p. 116). – Agathopus (Ἀγάθοπος) was the engraver of a gem with the portrait of a man, preserved in the Mus. Naz., Florence, and dated 2d cent. B.C. (Pernice, *ThB*, s.v.).

*e. Other artists*: Apelles was a silversmith or dealer whose name was recorded in a graffito on four cups from Pompeii, House of Menander. Two were decorated with country scenes and two with the Labors of Hercules, datable between the 2d and 1st cent. B.C. (A. Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*, Rome, 1933, p. 308 ff.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 52, n. 4). – D. Segulius Alexa, goldsmith and freedman who lived at the end of the republican period, was known from an inscription at Forum Novum in the Sabine territory (I. Calabi Limentani, *EAA*, I, s.v. Aurifex). – C. Carvilius, a freedman, was a worker in bronze whose name appears on a votive inscription of a college of the republican period at Rome (I. Calabi Limentani, *EAA*, s.v. Aerarius).

ARCHITECTURE. In the first half of the 2d century B.C. a series of monumental buildings began to appear in the city of Rome. Among these the most important were the basilicas erected in the forum. Even their name (βασιλική, royal hall) suggests their derivation from Greek architectural forms. The Basilica Aemilia dates from 179 B.C., and the Basilica Sempronia, which served as a model for the Basilica Julia, was built ten years later. The building material employed was tufa, of a harder and more compact quality than that of Grotta Oscura used in the 4th century; and use was also made of peperino, or *lapis Albanus*, from the area of present-day Marino. Because of its fine grain, peperino was probably more suitable for use in those parts of the structure intended for decoration; but since its appearance did not match the marble of the Greek temples which inspired these buildings, it was covered with stucco. White travertine, which would have provided a better substitute for marble until the exploitation of the marble quarries of Luni and Carrara, was brought into use — and even then to a very limited degree — only in the second half of the 2d century B.C. An example is the Milvian Bridge, built in 109. In the 1st century B.C., however, travertine was employed in a variety of buildings, including the Tabularium of 78 B.C., the tomb of Caecilia Metella, and the Theater of Marcellus. In general, it can be said that peperino is the characteristic stone of the 2d century B.C., and travertine that of the 1st century.

The first temples of marble — that is to say, of Greek marble — were constructed in the second half of the 2d century B.C. (Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, i, ii, 5), when Q. Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, engaged a Greek architect, Hermodoros of Salamis, to build two temples in the Campus Martius in honor of Jupiter and Juno.




Pompeii, plan of basilica (*from NSc, 1951, p. 277, fig. 1*).

Pliny (*op. cit.*, xxxvi, 45) refers to the arrangement by Sulla for the transportation to Rome of marble capitals taken from the Temple of Zeus Olympeios in Athens for the subsequent reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Pliny also relates (xxxvi, 49) that thresholds made of African marble in the house of M. Lepidus, consul in 78, caused Lepidus to be much censured. Similar criticism was made of Lucius Licinius Lucullus four years later, when he imported from Greece a black marble, to which he gave his name. The orator L. Licinius Crassus was called "the Palatine Venus" because his house contained columns of Hymettian marble, which were considered more suitable for a temple than for a private dwelling. On the introduction of Italian marble from Luni, Pliny (xxxvi, 48) relates that, according to Cornelius Nepos, the Roman knight Mamurra, Caesar's prefect in Gaul, was the first to place marble slabs over the walls of his house on the Caelian hill and also to erect columns of Carystus and Luni marble. This information refers to 50 B.C., and though one need not consider this date as precise for the first employment of Italian marble, one can deduce that no great use was made of it prior to the middle of the century. Only with the Augustan age was there any large-scale exploitation of the Luni quarries.

In the last two centuries B.C., there occurred a very important technical innovation — the employment in foundations and podia of a mixture of lime and small stones, called by Vitruvius (*De architectura*, ii, 4, 1) *caementicia structura* and generally known as *opus concretum*. This method of construction is used in the podium of the Temple of Concordia, which goes back to 120 B.C., but recent discoveries in Ostia, and the Portico of Octavia and Portico of Aemilia in Rome, show that it was already in use at the beginning of the 2d century B.C. (A. Boëthius, Palladio, N. S. VIII, 1958, p. 2 ff.). In the 1st century B.C., most of the great Hellenistic buildings of Rome and of Latium were built of this *opus concretum*, covered with a facing of tufa or other stone, and then of brick.

The few surviving temples of the last three centuries of the republican period in central Italy show that the Etrusco-Italic tradition was much influenced by Hellenistic taste, without, however, entirely losing its native characteristics. The four temples at Largo Argentina in Rome (FIG. 397) go back in their original form to the 3d century B.C., save for Temple C, which belongs to the 4th century. Temples A, C, and D stand on rectangular bases, while Temple B is circular, with a tetrastyle pronaos. In Temple C, the most interesting of the

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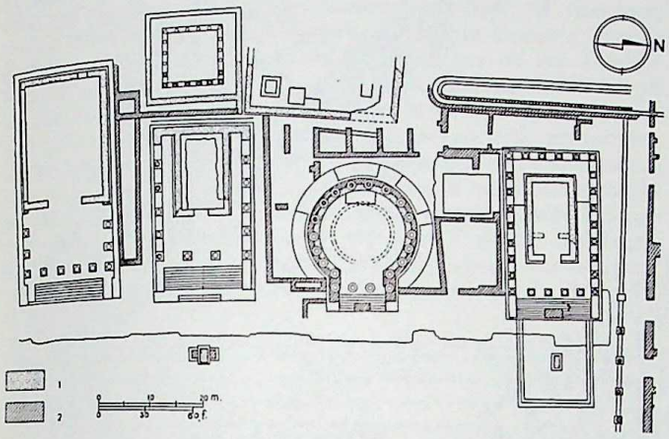
four, entrance to the high podium is by a flight of steps at the front, and a colonnade runs the entire length of the flanks; while the back, in the traditional Italic manner, is without columns and is closed at the extremity of the podium by the prolongation of the rear wall of the cella. Temple A, in the first phase of its existence, was a relatively modest structure, on a high podium and probably *in antis* and Doric. In the 2d century the podium was raised, and the pronaos became tetrastyle and Ionic. In the 1st century B.C. the temple was completely rebuilt and transformed into a peripteral hexastyle




Rome, plan of temples in Largo Argentina. *Key*: (1) Walls of the republican period; (2) walls of the Imperial period. From right to left are temples A, B, C, D (*from G. Lugli, Monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio, III, Rome, 1938*).

structure, the old podium remaining as the foundation of the cella, while outside, at about $6^1/_2$ ft. distance, a new podium, abutting the old one was constructed to support a Corinthian colonnade. Also characteristic of the final Hellenistic period in Rome were the three temples in the area of S. Nicola in Carcere, situated in the old Forum Holitorium. The southernmost temple was Doric and built of travertine; the northernmost, Ionic and built of peperino; the central one, also Ionic, was restored during the Empire and had marble columns resting on a podium of tufa faced with travertine. Of great interest are the vicissitudes and restorations undergone during the course of centuries by the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Etruscan temple, which remained standing until the fire of 83 B.C., underwent a series of modernizations in the 2d century B.C. In 179, columns and walls were restored; a few years later the floor was paved with mosaics, and in 172 the ceiling was gilded. In the Hellenistic temple of marble, rebuilt after the fire and decorated with Corinthian capitals taken from the Temple of Zeus Olympeios in Athens, the old base was preserved for constructional and religious reasons as the podium of the new building.

A comparison of the temple of Cori, the round temple of Tivoli (PL. 201), and the two temples in Piazza Bocca della Verità in Rome clearly reveals the progressive weakening of Italic characteristics and the triumph of Hellenistic taste. In the little Doric temple of Cori, which in all probability dates from the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the high Etrusco-Italic podium is preserved untouched. The temple is approached from the front by a flight of steps and has a deep pronaos and rather slender columns, with slight entasis and fluting of a kind very common in Italic Hellenism although not without Oriental prototypes — confined, that is to say, to the upper two-thirds of the shaft, the lower third being a polygon of 18 sides. The small round temple in Tivoli, which also has a high podium and a flight of steps giving access from the front only, is another example of the graceful style of temple building in the age of Sulla. The capitals, with their groupings of lush acanthus leaves and the large flowers adorning the abacus, are altogether Italic in type. The two temples in Piazza Bocca della Verità, however, show a closer adherence to Greek forms. The rectangular, pseudoperipteral Temple of Fortuna Virilis has, like the others described above, a high podium approached by steps from the front only, but the prolongation of the half columns of the cella along the rear side is indicative of a non-Italic influence. The small circular temple with its low podium surrounded by steps, and constructed throughout of Greek marble except for the tufa base, has no specifically Italic characteristics and would seem to date from the Augustan age.

Hellenistic influence is visible not only in the fields of architectural form and of building materials but also in that of fictile decoration, a characteristic feature of the local tradition (see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART). Its presence can be seen in the composition and the figures of pediments, for example, at Falerii ("Scasato" temple), at Telamon, at Civitalba, and at Rome in the important group of Via S. Gregorio (PL. 202) depicting a sacrifice, a motif which was to become dominant in Roman iconography. The very short toga worn by a male figure suggests that the piece should be ascribed to a period a little before 100 B.C.; the figure of the seated goddess reveals stylistic affinities with the frieze of the Hekateion at Lagina (PL. 187), which belongs to the last decades of the 2d century B.C.

In the late republican period there is evidence in Latium of the spread of the Hellenistic taste for colossal buildings and complex theatrical effects. A striking example is provided by the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina (PLS. 197–199; FIG. 399). This vast structure, conceived on a rigidly axial plan, comprises no less than seven terraces, the highest of which supports a semicircular atrium with double colonnade enclosing an auditorium, and a small round edifice where in all probability we should recognize the actual Temple of Fortuna itself. Another example of this combination of atrium and auditorium can be seen in Italic architecture of the final republican period, in the Temple of Venus Victrix over the auditorium of the Theater of Pompey in Rome. The Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia is built of *opus incertum*, that is, *opus concretum* faced with small stones of irregular shape but with fairly flat surfaces; the shafts of the columns are of tufa and travertine, the capitals and bases of travertine. This imposing architectural achievement, which probably belongs to the period of Sulla (though attempts have been made to date it at an earlier period, about the middle of the 2d century B.C.), has obvious precedents and models in the Hellenistic East; here there are many examples (such as the Acropolis of Pergamon or the Sanctuary of Asklepios on the island of Kos) of works of architecture designed for monumental effects through the interplay of terraces, colonnades, and courts surrounded by porticoes. But it has been rightly pointed out that Italic monumentality differs substantially from its Greek counterparts by virtue of its dynamic rhythm and highly developed and organized symmetry. In the Sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli (FIG. 401), also built in terraces on the side of a hill, there is more emphasis on the sacred character of the edifice, a complete temple being placed at the center of the structure. The building adheres more closely to Hellenistic models, such as the Sanctuary of Asklepios of Kos, and is clearly later in date than the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, providing a link with the first monuments of the Empire, such as the Forum of Augustus. The Temple of Jupiter on the Acropolis of Terracina must have presented its architect with extremely severe topographical problems. Though stylistically related to the sanctuaries at Palestrina and Tivoli, this building, constructed during the Sullan period of *opus incertum*, lacks the artistic qualities of Palestrina and the monumentality of Tivoli.

Public and private buildings also were subject to a constant Eastern influence during the last two centuries B.C. We have already referred to the basilicas. Much the same can be said for the imperial forums, the prototype of which appears to have been Caesar's Forum (FIG. 402), begun in 54 B.C. and, as Appian says (*Bellum civile*, ii, 424), intended not for trade but for the transaction of public business, on the model of certain squares in Persia especially set aside for this purpose. Caesar's Forum, laid out on a strictly axial plan, contained a temple at one end of the square, constituting the focal point of a perspective created by the porticoes running along either side of the

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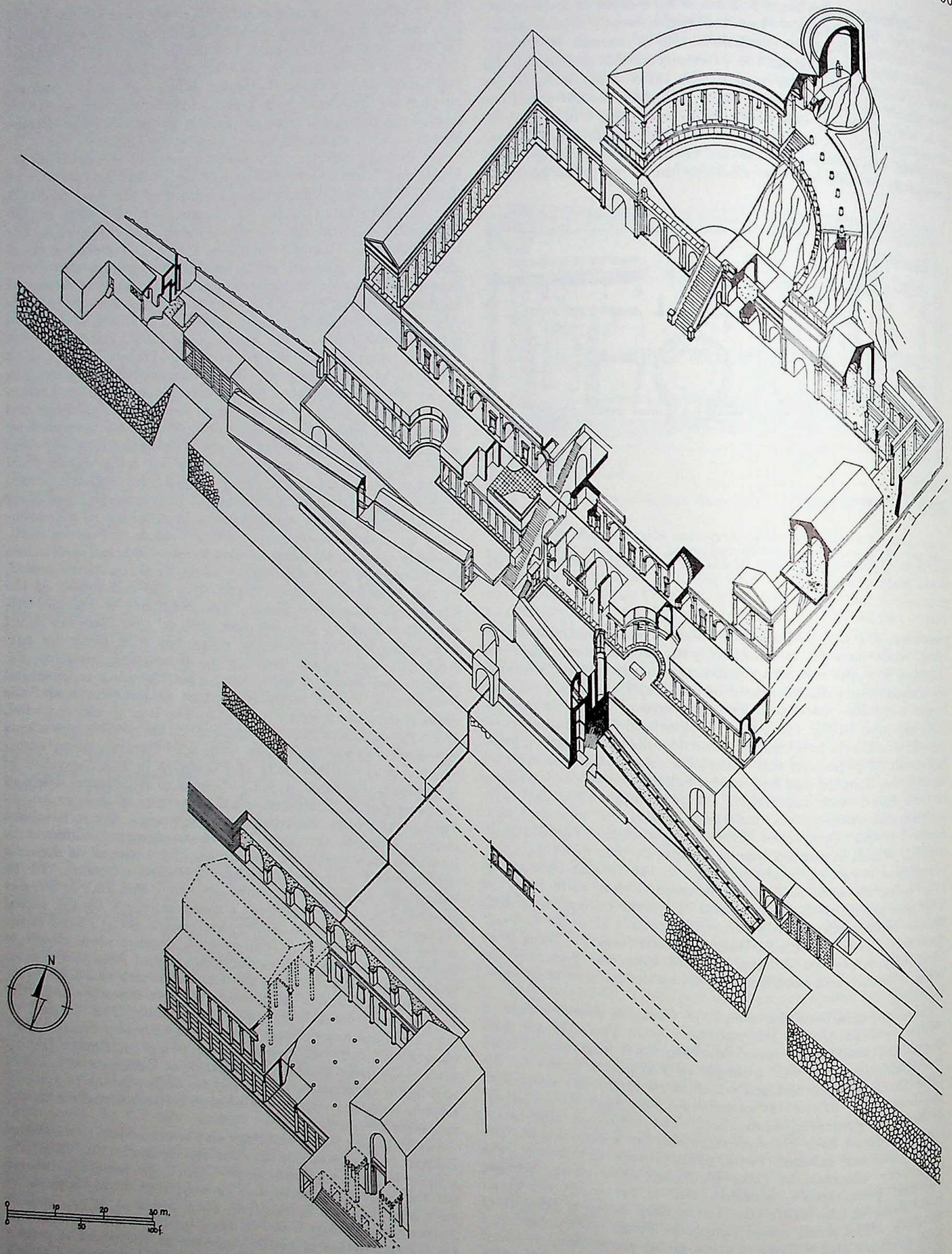


Palestrina, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, isometric reconstruction (*from Fasolo-Gullini*).

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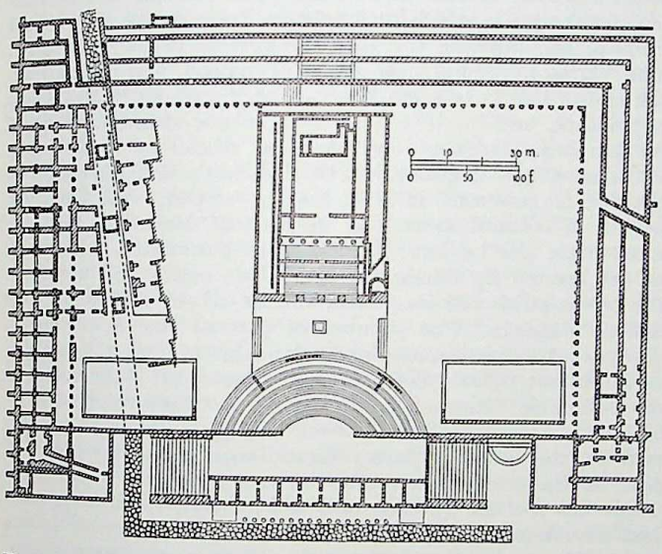
square. This arrangement owes something to the old Etrusco-Italic model of the temple with its temenos (cf. also the forum at Pompeii), but the decisive influence in this and similar plans came from the Hellenistic agoras of the East. The most obvious parallels are in Asia Minor at Pergamon (FIG. 310), Priene (FIG. 311), and Miletos. Further, in the process of urban Hellenization at Rome in the last two centuries of the republic, a notable feature is provided by the numerous porticoes adorning the streets and the squares, and often embellishing the sumptuous villas of the wealthy, particularly those by the sea at Stabiae. (Such porticoes also constitute a characteristic element of landscape paintings containing views of maritime cities.) The adoption of Hellenistic canons in Caesar's Forum is demonstrated by the colonnaded porticoes of the Basilica Aemilia and of the Tabularium, a building constructed in 78 B.C. and designed for use as an archive; its two porticoed stories look down from the slopes of the Capitoline hill, completing the general architectural effect. The very idea of concentrating in a great central archive a number of small scattered archives is a cultural element of Hellenistic origin, though it also belongs to a process of specialization in the use of public buildings, bound up with the complexity of administering a vast empire.

The Theater of Pompey, the first permanent building of

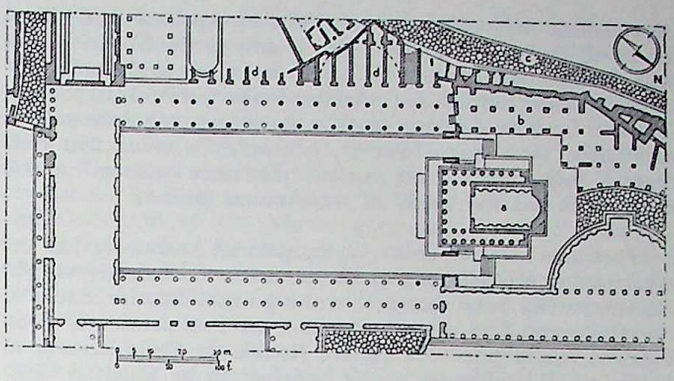


Tivoli, plan of Sanctuary of Hercules; details uncertain, particularly for the central temple (*from L. Canina, Gli edifici di Roma antica, Rome, 1856, VI, pl. CXXVI*).

its kind constructed in Rome (55 B.C.), was, with its enormous portico and its temple, an example of Hellenistically inspired architecture and very close, from the architectural point of view, to the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina and the sanctuary at Tivoli. One should, however, mention in this connection the temple-theater of Carthaginian-Roman origin discovered at Cagliari in Sardinia (P. Mingazzini, *Il santuario punico di Cagliari*, Studi Sardi, 10–11, 1952, pp. 156–168).

Earlier in date than the great markets built by Trajan on the slopes of the Quirinal are the small enclosed markets built at Tivoli and Ferentino toward the end of the republican period. The origin of this type of building is still not entirely clear, but the most acceptable theory seems to be that which ascribes it to Eastern influence, on the grounds of the great number of covered streets, bazaars, and khans which exist and have always existed in Near Eastern countries. It is perhaps significant that Apollodoros (q.v.), the architect of the Trajan markets, was a native of Damascus.

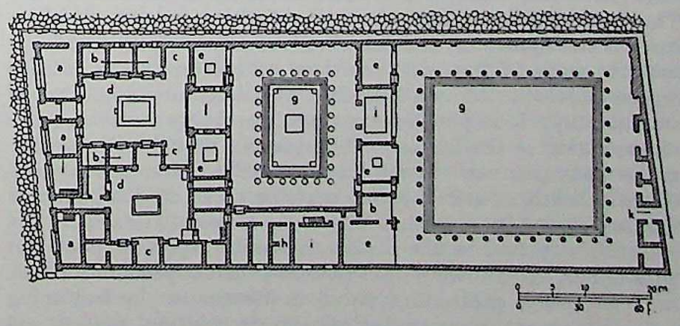
The influence of the Hellenistic East is also visible in the development of dwelling houses under the late republic (PL. 200; FIG. 402). In the Roman atrium, Hellenistic columns surround the impluvium, and the Greek house with its peristyle is incorporated into the traditional Italic house with atrium; however, in contrast to Eastern practice and in deference to a prin-



Rome, plan of Caesar's Forum: (*a*) Temple of Venus Genetrix; (*b*) Basilica Argentaria; (*c*) Clivus Argentarius; (*d*) tabernae (*from G. Lugli, Roma antica, il centro monumentale, Rome, 1946*).

ciple of rigid axiality, the peristyle is generally situated behind the tablinum. Archaeological sources and discoveries — for example, at Tyre and at Alexandria — prove that Roman city architecture of the late republican period derived some inspiration from the tall constructions of Hellenistic cities; nevertheless, the insulae and blocks of dwelling houses, known to us especially through the excavations at Ostia, underwent a vast, independent, and characteristically Roman development in the imperial period, with important consequences for the history of Western architecture.

SCULPTURE. *Mythological themes and Greek types.* The appearance of Hellenistic influences in temple decoration has already been mentioned. To the 2d century B.C. belongs an extremely interesting group of works carved in peperino, probably of Roman workmanship, many of them characterized by a lively pathos and reminiscent of contemporaneous works from Asia Minor, such as the frieze of the gigantomachy of Pergamon (PLS. 172, 173), which exerted a considerable influence upon the sculpture of central Italy. Typical of this group are the heads of a Gaul, of Minerva, and of Apollo in the Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori at Rome (D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, Rome, 1938, pls. III, IV, V), originally probably covered with stucco or painted. They can be compared with the fictile heads from Arezzo belonging to temple friezes (Andrén, 1940, pl. 90, nos. 322–24; also the two heads on pl. 89, nos. 318 and 319, which for reasons of style and age must belong to the same group, though hitherto attributed to an earlier period). The 1st century B.C. is dominated by the activity of copyists belonging to the school of Pasiteles and by the new production of the classicistic movement (see ANTIQUE REVIVAL; CLASSICISM; NEO-ATTIC STYLES). While the main source of inspiration of these tendencies is Athens, another current of influence derives from Asia Minor and from Rhodes. The Pudicitia type, so common in funerary statues and reliefs, is of a classicistic style which reached Roman sculpture from Asia Minor; numerous Hellenistic sculptures were brought to Rome in this period. Among these we should mention the group



Pompeii, plan of House of the Faun: (*a*) Taberna; (*b*) cubiculum; (*c*) ala; (*d*) atrium; (*e*) triclinium; (*f*) tablinum; (*g*) peristyle; (*h*) bath; (*i*) kitchen; (*j*) exedra; (*k*) posticum (*from D. S. Robertson, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture, Cambridge, Eng., 1929*).

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representing the punishment of Dirke, by Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles, a copy of which is now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples (the Farnese *Bull*), and had been in the collection of works of art formed by C. Asinius Pollio (probably in 30 B.C.), and the *Laocoön*, by Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros of Rhodes (PL. 189). However, it should be noted that Hellenistic originals did not arouse the same interest among copyists as did the works of the classical period.

*Portraiture.* It is above all in portrait sculpture that the contribution of Hellenism to Roman art is most clearly visible. Recent studies have shown that the portrait bust or statue of the late republican period was not, as had previously been believed, the result of a purely Roman or Italic process of evolution. The Romans' habit, referred to by Polybius (*Histories*, vi, 53), of preserving in a cupboard (*armarium*) in the atrium of their houses the masks of their ancestors, which were carried in procession during important funerary ceremonies, undoubtedly stimulated interest in portrait sculpture; but it did not of itself lead to the creation of an independent form of art. Neither in Rome nor in any other part of Italy are there traces of an autochthonous and genuine tradition of portraiture. From historical sources we know that in the late 4th and in the 3d centuries B.C., statues in honor of famous men, living and dead, began to appear in Rome; but it is unlikely that either this custom or the statues themselves had a genuinely Roman character, the origin of this practice being traceable to a similar use prevailing in 4th-century Greece. In this connection, much significance attaches to Pliny's information, already mentioned, concerning the erection in the Comitium of statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, undoubtedly of Greek influence, probably even imported. No Roman portrait belonging to the years 350–200 B.C. has come down to us, so that to form an idea of Roman portraiture of this period we must turn to Etruria. Etruscan portraits which precede or coincide with the advent of Hellenism show little or no tendency toward the individualization of physical features but, on the contrary, display an inclination toward idealization, which is certainly derived from Greek art. As examples one might cite the sarcophagus of Cerveteri (Rome, Mus. Vat.) and the portrait of Arnth Paipnas from Tarquinia (G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. CCLVI, 1–2), which represent the Italic version of the Greek ideal portrait. Works such as the statue of Sophocles in the Lateran and 4th-century Attic funerary steles are the sources from which the first Italic portrait sculptors drew their inspiration; but between the latter and Roman portraiture there is no continuity, the art of the Roman portraitists deriving from the great centers of Hellenistic art via the large-scale importation of works of art and of artists in the last two centuries B.C.

In central Italy (Etruria and Latium), portraiture in the final period of Hellenism, particularly in the 2d century B.C., was dominated by a simplified and often very expressive taste. As an example we might mention the figure on a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Tarquinia (Vessberg, 1941, pl. XX, 8); the features are rendered in a vigorous but summary fashion, while, to intensify the expression, some elements are deformed in an unnatural way, the eye sockets being excessively emphasized and eyes, mouth, and chin depicted in abnormal size. The same expressionistic style, simplified but vigorous, can be seen in the figures on Roman 2d-century coins, particularly in the treatment of the head of Roma. This crude but intense expressionism in various branches of 2d-century Italic art is undoubtedly a local phenomenon, but it probably found a source of inspiration in the baroque of Pergamon, though reelaborated in the Italic manner. The influence of Pergamon can be seen in some Roman portrait coins, such as those of T. Quinctius Flamininus (PL. 209) and of the elder Scipio Africanus. The former is depicted in the almost romantic aspect of poet and philosopher, reminiscent of the so-called "pseudo-Seneca" (PL. 170), on a gold coin minted in Greece at the beginning of the 2d century B.C. Stylistically, both coin and portrait are Greek and closely resemble portraits appearing on Macedonian coins of the first decades of the 2d century. Scipio is depicted on a Roman denarius coined about 91 B.C.; the helmet, the face, and the upturned gaze all suggest the portrait of a Greek strategos carried out in conformity with the baroque taste of Pergamon.

In the middle of the 2d century, this dramatic tension seems to have slackened, as can be seen in the Pergamene frieze of Telephos (PL. 174), which is serene in comparison with the gigantomachy, as well as in Hellenistic portraiture of this period, which displays a less emotional realism. Among portraits on coins we should mention those of Demetrios I of Syria (162–150 B.C.; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen hellenischer und hellenisierten Völker*, Leipzig, 1885, pl. III, 23), Alexander I Balas of Syria (150–145 B.C.; Imhoof-Blumer, pl. III, 24), Orophernes of Cappadocia (158–157 B.C.; Imhoof-Blumer, pl. V, 21), and Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt (181–145 B.C.; Imhoof-Blumer, pl. VII, 13). This 2d-century Hellenistic realism in Italic territory offers some outstanding examples, such as the so-called "Hellenistic ruler" (Mus. Naz., Rome; PL. 185) and the so-called "Orator," or "Arringatore" (V, PL. 53; Mus. Arch., Florence) both in bronze. Although the first of these was found in Rome, there are no grounds for attributing it to a Roman artist: it was imported or was executed by an immigrant artist from the east. The face shows a curious mixture of realistic and baroque elements, and the statue constitutes an interesting example of that Hellenistic sculpture which took root in Rome at the time of the Scipios, encountering the keen disapproval of the elder Cato. The "Orator," found near Lake Trasimeno, and dating from the end of the 2d century, has the sober qualities of Hellenistic portraiture, and in the simple and realistic characterization of its provincial subject — probably an official of some minor Etruscan city — it anticipates the bourgeois Roman realism of the 1st century B.C. It is in the age of Sulla and Caesar, a period of cultural as well as of political formation, that one must place the beginnings of Roman portraiture, which was an art created by immigrant Hellenistic artists and was from the outset cultivated by a local Roman school of decided Hellenistic leanings. The number of portrait statues erected in this period was extremely large; the subjects were not confined to important figures like Sulla and Caesar but included much more humble citizens. In 85 or 84 B.C., according to Pliny (*op. cit.*, xxxiv, 27), statues were set up at Rome *in omnibus vicis* to the praetor Marius Gratidianus (who had played a part in the introduction of a monetary reform) and on the Capitoline and the Palatine hills to M. Seius, aedile in 74 (who had distributed cheap corn to the people). Cicero's speech against Verres reveals the tremendous number of portrait statues, mostly of gilded bronze, which existed in the public places in Rome and in the cities of Sicily.

The painters, sculptors, and gem engravers who descended in hordes on Rome from Athens, Alexandria, and the artistically rich cities of Asia Minor quickly adapted themselves to the tastes of their new patrons, while arousing in the Romans a profound interest in their own art. In the course of a generation, between the dictatorship of Sulla and that of Caesar, these foreign artists created Roman portraiture, influenced by all that their adopted country had to offer; the portraiture of the final republican period was thus the result of a process of fusion, out of which there emerged as a dominating trend that Hellenistic realism represented by 2d-century portrait coins and by the "Orator." There are, however, several imponderables in the development of Roman (or Italic) art history. The new atmosphere into which the artists were plunged influenced them socially, through the taste and demands of their patrons and the social function of portraiture at Rome (cf. the ancestral masks), and artistically, through the ancient art of central Italy, with its skill in catching the essential characteristics of the individual human face. The preference shown for the sober rather than the emotional aspect of Hellenistic portraiture — represented, for example, by the portrait of Attalos — was probably due more than anything else to the taste of the times and to the spiritual atmosphere of Rome during the bitter struggles of the civil wars.

At the beginning of the 1st century B.C., Roman portrait sculpture presents, as one might expect, a mixture of styles

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and tendencies producing three main currents; one can apply to these currents the conventional classifications of pathetic, realistic, and classicistic. The first of these, the pathetic, was prominent in the first half of the 1st century B.C. and includes some brilliantly executed portraits, idealistic and at the same time pathetic in nature, following the Hellenistic trend represented by the portrait of Attalos. This trend, from its source of inspiration, Pergamene baroque, can be called a postbaroque style. As surviving works which can be dated with any degree of certainty are very rare, the best source for our knowledge of the portraiture of this century is offered by portrait coins. In this group can be included the portraits of Sulla and Pompeius Rufus found on coins struck about 57 B.C.; the portraits of A. Postumius Albinus, consul in 99, on coins of 49–48 (Vessberg, 1941, p. 132 ff.); and those of Pompey on denarii minted in Spain by his son in 46–45 (Vessberg, 1941, p. 135 ff.). Around these portrait coins, all based on portraits belonging to the first half of the century, can be grouped several works of sculpture which for stylistic reasons can be assigned to the first half or the middle of the century. Among the most typical of these sculptural works are the heroic portrait statue from Tivoli at the Museo Nazionale, Rome (PL. 205; Vessberg, 1941, pls. XLVIII, XLIX); a portrait of which there are copies in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, and the Louvre (Vessberg, 1941, pl. L, 1–3); a head at the Lateran Museum, Rome (PL. 206; A. Giuliano, *Cat. dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense*, Vatican City, 1957, no. 6, pls. 5–6); a portrait, perhaps of Sulla, in the Vatican Museums (Chiaramonti); the portraits of Cicero; and a portrait of an old man with a lively and intelligent face, of which there are copies in the Vatican Museums (Braccio Nuovo), the Louvre, and elsewhere. This last portrait probably depicts a famous personage (Vessberg, 1941, pl. LVI), but, like so many other portraits of this period which exist in several copies, it still eludes every attempt at identification. Closely related to it is a portrait existing in two copies in the Lateran Museum (Giuliano, *op. cit.*, ns. 4–5, pls. 3–4). The link between the members of this group, whose number could easily be increased, is more interior than exterior in that, beyond their physical appearance — undoubtedly a faithful representation of reality — they also reflect a spiritual attitude and content. Unlike works of the Imperial period, these statues are extremely difficult to date precisely, but it is safe to say that the heroic portrait statue in the Museo Nazionale (PL. 205), the chronology of which is much discussed, is in its spirit completely a work of this period. Many details, such as the segmentation technique in the treatment of the head and the Hellenistic design of the cuirass utilized as a support, speak in favor of an early date. It should also be noted that the statue was found in the substructure of the temple at Tivoli, which goes back to the period of Sulla (*NSc*, 1925, p. 252 ff.). Equally important is the dramatic expression of the face, which is clearly connected with the baroque of Pergamon and Rhodes, so that the work finds its natural place in the first half of the century; it would seem an anomaly to place it in a subsequent epoch, when the atmosphere was very different.

It is not this current, however, which predominates in 1st-century portraiture, but that which we have called realistic. This, too, is exemplified in a group of portrait coins dating from the end of the republic, characterized by an adherence to reality, without any tendency toward idealization. Among such portraits are those of Caelius Caldus on coins of about 61 B.C., of Antius Restio on coins of about 46 B.C., of A. Postumius Albinus on those of 49–48 (PL. 209; Vessberg, 1941, p. 132 ff.), and the majority of the Caesarian portrait coins (group A, Vessberg, 1941, p. 139 ff.). This current had particular links with Rome, a fact which emerges clearly from an examination of the most numerous and ancient class of Roman sculptural material, the funerary reliefs of the late republican period. Here there is an obvious development from a moderate realism (still attached to certain often-recurring and little-changing types) to an accentuated individualism full of exaggeratedly realistic details and with a predilection for the ugly, lined faces of old age. This development can be illustrated with reference to specific examples. Among the most ancient and historically interesting of these reliefs is that of Aurelius Hermia (London, Br. Mus.; Vessberg, 1941, pl. XXIV, 2), the inscription of which reveals it as a work of the first half of the century. The figure of the man is clearly reminiscent of the realism of the 2d century B.C. and has an obvious parallel in the "Orator." It is not without interest that this figure also has links with the Hellenism of the final Etruscan period, as is clear from a comparison with the sarcophagus of Hasti Afuna in the Casuccini Collection of the Museo Nazionale, Palermo (Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. 412, 2; Vessberg, 1941, pl. XXIV, 1). In the relief of Blaesius and Blaesia at the Museo dei Conservatori, Rome (PL. 209; Mustilli, *op. cit.*, p. 176, no. 60; Vessberg, 1941, p. 83 ff.), certainly the oldest example of a funerary relief with busts of the late republican period, the busts depict conventional types of sepulchral and votive sculpture. That of the woman, in particular, has certain affinities with similar works produced both in Greece (Athens) and in Asia Minor. The half statue or the funerary bust was, in fact, a very common type in the last period of Hellenistic art, and it was from this source that it passed into Roman funerary sculpture. Later Roman portraits on funerary reliefs present a more accentuated and individual realism than that found in the works mentioned above, in which the types are still conventional. A problem which is still unsolved is whether the type of funerary relief with bust and protruding cornice is an Italian creation or is derived from the East. Reliefs of this type have been found in Asia Minor, but none have been found that can be dated with confidence to a period before the Roman examples. It is an interesting fact, however, that the use of these reliefs in Rome was popularized by foreigners, as can be deduced from the Greek names of the persons they commemorate, among which we frequently find the names Asia and Athena.

Examples of this realistic trend can be found all over Italy. In Tuscany there are some excellent portraits of the late republican and early Imperial periods, for example, a head in Perugia (Vessberg, 1941, pl. LXII), several figures from the covers of cinerary urns in Volterra (the famous terra-cotta group of husband and wife from Volterra certainly belongs to the last century B.C.), and a group of portrait statues from Chiusi (Vessberg, 1941, pl. LXXXV). Good portraits are also to be found on the other side of the Apennines, such as a head from Ancona (Vessberg, 1941, pl. LXXXIV). These last portraits, however, along with some of the portrait coins of Caesar, illustrate the increasing barrenness of republican portraiture.

Parallel to these realistic Roman portraits are certain Greek works, such as a bronze head in Copenhagen (PL. 209; Vessberg, 1941, p. XLVI, 3), a head in Delos (Vessberg, 1941, pl. XLVI, 4), and two heads in the National Museum, Athens (Vessberg, 1941, pl. XLVII, 1–2, 3–4). A comparison between one of these latter heads (Vessberg, 1941, 3–4) and the male figure in the Villa Celimontana relief illustrates with great clarity the links between Hellenistic art and the urban school of Rome. In this regard, other Athenian works can be cited, such as a head in Copenhagen, whose features, even in the surface treatment, realistically portray old age (Buschor, 1949, fig. 43), and a head from the Agora, more solid in structure (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 405 ff.; Buschor, fig. 44). Realistic portraits are also to be found in the eastern Mediterranean area, in Egypt and Cyprus, for example. A good example of Egyptian art is the beautiful "Stroganoff head" in the Metropolitan Museum, which has many affinities with the realistic portraits of Caesar; but with regard to the numerous portraits discovered in Egypt, the problem remains of determining whether they are earlier or later than their Roman parallels. Quite a few so-called "Roman" portraits have also been discovered in Cyprus, which, throughout the Hellenistic period, had strong links with the Egypt of the Ptolemies. Some of these portraits are of a high standard, such as a head in the Metropolitan Museum and another in Nicosia (cf. Swedish Cyprus Expedition, IV, 3, pl. XIV), and their existence shows to what extent the taste for realistic portraiture was international in its appeal. It is highly unlikely that these Cypriote portraits were the work of Roman or Italian artists; the fact that they are of limestone rules out the possibility of their being imported. All this sup-

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ports the theory that Roman portraiture received much stimulus from Egypt. The profound influence exercised by Egypt on Roman culture and art during the period of Caesar and Augustus is well known; and it seems evident that the Roman realistic portrait was inspired by Alexandria and incorporated the ancient and still active tradition of the Egyptian realistic portrait.

The pathetic and idealizing current of the 1st century B.C. reappears occasionally in Imperial times, always clearly under the direct influence of the East, where this tradition was more tenaciously preserved. The magnificent portrait of Trajan in the attic of the arch in Benevento, on the side away from the town, is a figure full of imaginative power and dramatic force and is totally different from the conventional type of the official imperial portrait; the Trajan must have been executed by an Eastern artist during the last years of the Emperor's life in the East. We should also bear in mind the Hellenistic renaissance of the period of Gallienus, which finds expression in the romantic pathos of his portraits and which certainly resulted from a renewal of contacts with Greece. The realistic current, on the other hand, continued to exist uninterruptedly during the Claudian era side by side with the classicistic movement and came to the fore again in portraits of the Flavian period; during the Flavian period, however, realism had a distinct impressionistic flavor, full of illusionistic effects. In portraits of the era of Trajan there was a more obvious return to the portraiture of the late republican period.

*Narrative relief.* The forerunners of the Roman narrative relief are the paintings executed on the occasion of the celebration of triumphs (see ROMAN IMPERIAL ART). Many compositional elements of Roman narrative relief can be recognized in the reliefs on Etruscan urns and sarcophagi, which often drew their inspiration from the narrative art of Hellenism (see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART). The real Roman tradition begins with the so-called "altar of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus"; the altar relief in the Louvre has been linked by Furtwängler to the relief in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen at Munich; the former depicts the wedding retinue of Poseidon and Amphitrite (PL. 210). Furtwängler was also the first to advance the theory — not very plausible despite some elements in its favor — that the two reliefs decorated the sides of an altar in the Temple of Neptune, built by Cn. Domitius in the Circus Flaminius. While the Munich frieze is almost Neo-Attic in taste, the Paris example belongs to the genre of historical narrative. The scene appears to represent the lustrum celebrated at the end of a census with the sacrifice of the suovetaurilia, offered by the censor to Mars. In contrast to the symmetrical, decorative groupings of the Munich frieze, here we have a variety of figures, soldiers, flautists, scribes, and others, who bestow on the scene a vividly narrative character full of the imprint of Roman life and outside the terms of a real artistic convention, which did not yet exist for such subjects. The chronology of the reliefs has been the subject of much discussion, and the dates suggested vary between 100 and 30 B.C. Obviously the question cannot finally be decided on historical grounds alone, for the connections of the frieze with Cn. Domitius are uncertain; but valuable assistance in determining its date is provided by its style. The heads of the Paris frieze show a marked affinity with Etruscan funerary sculpture of the final period of Hellenism: they have the same heavy, structureless faces characterized by a certain pathos which we find in the figures of the dead on many Etruscan urns (Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pls. CCCXCVI, 2; CCCCIII, 1; CCCCV, 4). Stylistic and antiquarian considerations suggest that the altar should be dated in the first half, perhaps even in the first quarter, of the 1st century B.C.

Traces of this narrative art can also be found on coins, such as those of about 59 B.C. showing the consul L. Junius Brutus walking between the lictors (H. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London, 1910, III, pl. XLVIII, 8), or on money of about 40 B.C. showing a lively scene of a warrior attacking a fortification defended by soldiers (Grueber, *op. cit.*, III, pl. LVI, 1).

In the history of the Roman historical relief, the second place in order of time is held by the Ara Pacis Augustae, the reliefs of which (PL. 211; III, PL. 488) already display the influence of classical taste. Here the historically authentic scene of the cortège of dedication, with members of the family of Augustus (PL. 261), alternates with mythological subjects. These reliefs represent for us the point of departure and, as it were, the model for the entire series of reliefs which were to adorn the great public monuments of the Imperial period. The great Cancelleria friezes (PL. 261), the reliefs on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento (X, PL. 154), and those on the Arch of Titus (though to a lesser degree because of their pictorial, realistic qualities) seem to live in the same atmosphere. Only in the Forum of Trajan in Rome, which has definite architectural connections with the Hellenistic East, does the Hellenistic current reappear — notably in the column (PL. 263; III, PL. 329; I, PL. 324) on whose spiral frieze, winding like a ribbon from the bottom to the top of the column, are depicted Trajan's two campaigns against the Dacians; the campaigns are shown much as they are described in the pages of Dio Cassius. Yet this column also shows certain developments from the Hellenistic-Roman narrative art of the late republican period. These developments, taken in conjunction with the sculptures on the column of Marcus Aurelius (PL. 264), betoken the first signs of a decisive break in the classical tradition and of the advent of late antiquity. Elements from the classicistic current and from Hellenistic narrative art are now fused in the renaissance of Greek-inspired art visible in the monumental reliefs of the period of Hadrian (PL. 212) and of Antoninus Pius.

PAINTING. Hellenistic painting in Italy survives only in wall paintings, mainly in Pompeii (PLS. 203, 204), Herculaneum (PL. 214), and Stabiae. Some examples have also been found in Rome, though here this art was introduced at a later date. It was August Mau, in 1882, who first proposed the now classic division of Pompeian wall painting into a series of stylistic periods, encompassing the years from 100 B.C. to the destruction of the city in A.D. 79. Style I, with its characteristic incrustations, is known to us from houses in Priene and Delos and from tombs in Alexandria and south Russia. The walls, covered with stucco and divided into rectangular sections, were painted to resemble various types of marble as a cheap substitute for the splendid marble decorations of the Hellenistic palaces of the East. Examples can be found in the House of the Faun in Pompeii (PL. 200) and in the Samnite house in Herculaneum. In Style II, wall decoration was dominated by the rich columnar architecture of late Hellenism. The wall, with its row of painted columns rising from a dado, seems to retreat into the distance, while the background is often enlivened by a cheerful prospect of colonnades and temples. In its earliest phases, this style had a distinctly architectural character. As an example we may mention the House of the Griffins on the Palatine in Rome, dating from about 50 B.C. or a little earlier. The style, however, is considerably older than that, as we find it displayed in the covered theater of Pompeii, which dates from a little after 80 B.C. The House of the Labyrinth and the Villa of the Mysteries (PL. 203) in Pompeii, the Villa of Boscoreale near Pompeii (PL. 192), and the House of Livia and the House of the Farnesina (PL. 207) in Rome all belong to the later phases of this style, when pictures containing mythological figures or real landscapes (as described by Vitruvius, *op. cit.*, vii, 5) were inserted between the columns. Even the mythological or other scenes often have connections with Hellenistic models, sometimes with models belonging to the first period of Hellenism. This is the case, for example, with the paintings in the Villa of the Mysteries and in the Villa of Boscoreale, while in the House of the Farnesina, Hellenistic motifs mingle with others of Neo-Attic inspiration. The Seleukos who signed his name on a painting in the Farnesina house appears to have been a Syrian artist, and, in fact, Style II gives the impression of having been created primarily in Asia Minor and Syria. In Style III the functional character of the various architectural elements disappears; columns, architraves, and other architectural devices become mere decorative framework. The content and style of the figure friezes and the ornamental motifs employed during the early years of the Empire show clearly an

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Egyptian influence. The tranquil and limpid decorative sense dictating the division of the wall surfaces is in sharp contrast to that tendency to enlarge the confines of the room which more and more characterized the wall decorations of Style II and which reached its peak in Style IV (PL. 214), with its exuberance of fantastic and even theatrical architectural forms, obviously inspired by the art of stage decoration. The dominant nonfunctionalism of interior decoration in the first century of the Empire, both in Style III and in the architectural fantasies of Style II extremes, produced in Vitruvius (*loc. cit.*) a strong reaction: "Quemadmodum enim potest calamus vere sustinere tectum aut candelabrum ornamenta fastigi?" ("How is it possible for a reed to support a roof, or a candelabrum to bear the ornaments on the gable?") Style IV seems to have reached its peak in the Golden House of Nero (PL. 215).

This pictorial material, of which we have given a brief stylistic classification, is all that remains of Greek painting of the late classical and Hellenistic period: the originals on which these Roman works were based have disappeared. The quality of the copies is not always constant, and the faithfulness to their models varies considerably. Styles II and III are marked by an eclectic tendency and draw their inspiration from works of the late classical and Hellenistic periods. In Style IV Hellenistic models seem to predominate, and there are several examples of the use of a technique which today we should call "impressionistic"; it was derived from Hellenism, though certainly it was much perfected on Roman soil. Hellenistic in inspiration, too, are the idyllic mythological motifs, among the most popular of which were the series of myths concerning Dionysos, Aphrodite, and Eros. Also popular were dramatic myths like the punishment of Dirke, in the House of the Vettii (Pompeii), which derives from the same Rhodian archetype as the Farnese *Bull*. Also of Hellenistic inspiration are those caricatures, still-life paintings, and landscapes (PL. 213) which found expression in contemporary literature and in reliefs and which enjoyed special favor among the Romans, with their love of nature and country life. Among the names of Roman artists which have come down to us, one of the foremost is that of the landscape painter Studius, or Ludius, who, according to Pliny (*op. cit.*, xxxiv, 116), created in the Augustan age a new type of wall decoration showing villas, harbors, gardens, groves, woods, hills, rivers, and shores; the landscapes were peopled with figures on foot or on horseback. Pliny's description corresponds exactly to numerous wall pictures dating from the beginning of the Imperial period, such as those in the House of the Farnesina (PL. 207) and the frieze depicting a garden in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (PL. 208), which may actually be by Studius (see HELLENISTIC ART).

CERAMICS. In the minor arts, particularly in ceramics and glassware (PL. 216), we can clearly trace the influence exercised upon Rome by the Hellenistic East. Very common in the last Hellenistic period is a type of pottery found in great abundance in Asia Minor, Greece, the Aegean Islands, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, and known as "Pergamene." The term is slightly inaccurate, since Pergamon was not the only place of manufacture of this pottery; rather the city was one of the principal centers of production, and its workshops were still famous in Pliny's day. Pergamene pottery, which had its period of greatest splendor between 150 and 50 B.C., was usually fired at a relatively high temperature and was covered with a dark red glaze. The pottery normally took the form of large plates, cups, and bowls. Decoration, where it existed, was most often in appliqué relief obtained from molds and attached to the body of the vase; sometimes the decoration was impressed. Another type of pottery widely diffused in the last period of Hellenism is known as "Megarian" ware, mainly cups or bowls (PL. 194), first found at Megara and subsequently discovered in many other places. This pottery was made from molds and decorated externally in relief, sometimes through a stamping process, with leaf patterns and occasionally with figural scenes. Early examples of this ware have a black surface, but in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. they are red in color. Pergamene and Megarian pottery types (see HELLENISTIC ART) are the forerunners of the red-glazed Roman Arretine pottery, the manufacture of which at Arezzo achieved its finest period between about 30 B.C. and A.D. 50. Arretine ware (PL. 216) is undoubtedly the result of a craft introduced by potters who went to Italy as a result of Roman campaigns in the East. Without passing through any experimental phases, it makes its first sudden appearance as an already fully developed product. It is significant that the oldest and most refined pieces come from the workshop of Marcus Perennius, whose first collaborator was a freedman named Tigranus, undoubtedly of Eastern origin, who had perhaps brought with him a group of potters from Asia Minor and Syria. The simpler pieces have the name of the maker impressed on the base, while pieces of higher quality have a decoration in relief produced by molding the ware in hemispherical forms, in the interior of which the design had been impressed by means of stamps. In the Roman provinces, especially in Gaul and in the Rhineland, this ware has been discovered in vast quantities and had a long and flourishing history (see GALLO-ROMAN ART).

GLASSWARE. The art of glass blowing, which probably originated in Phoenicia in the 1st century B.C. (Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxvi, 190–91), soon spread to Rome. Strabo (*Geography*, xvi, 2, 25) relates that in Rome the manufacture of glass reached such a state of technical proficiency that glass bowls could be bought very cheaply. This indicates a mass production of glass, brought about by the use of glass blowing. The common type of glass in the Hellenistic period was made by molding or fusing the liquid glass over a sand core. This technique had little importance in Italy, but after the invention of glass blowing, an Italian national industry quickly developed, taking its inspiration from Syrian and Phoenician models. Pliny speaks of a glassworks in Campania beside the river Volturno; perhaps this was the source of much of the glass, some of it fused in molds and decorative in character, but most of it designed for domestic use, which has been found in large quantities at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Glass of high quality was imported on a large scale, principally from the coast of Syria (Sidon), but also from Egypt; in addition, glass blowers like Ennion emigrated from Syria and settled in Italy. It is scarcely possible that glass was as common in the Augustan age as Strabo would have us believe; nevertheless, it is to this period that we must trace the origin of the long and artistically important development undergone in the following centuries by the art of glassmaking. The manufacture of glass spread to northern Italy and Gaul, and in the 2d century of our era to the Rhineland and Belgian Gaul. The use of glass for domestic purposes was widespread and attained its peak of quality during the age of the Antonines and the dynasty of the Severi.

METALWORK. The use of vessels made of metal, particularly precious metal such as silver, was widespread in the area affected by Hellenistic-Roman culture; but their production remained the prerogative of the more Hellenized provinces within the Roman Empire rather than of the capital itself. The capital constituted a commercial area which absorbed rather than produced such works, even though some craftsmen came to Rome from the Hellenistic East in order to carry on their trade. Some Italian cities such as Tarentum were centers of metalwork, mainly specializing in copies of Greek originals that were usually made from plaster casts. But the supremacy of Alexandria was never challenged in this field, nor, later, was that of Magna Graecia, the Levant, or Asia Minor. The treasures of Hildesheim, of the House of Menander (PLS. 195, 216), of Boscoreale (PL. 216), and of Berthouville all bear witness to the great popularity, in certain Roman circles, of the products of that elegant and refined craftsmanship which looked to Alexandria as its source and inspiration (see HELLENISTIC ART). No real evidence exists that there ever was an autonomous Italic production of these objects; on the contrary, literary sources, though containing some indications of the use of other metals and imitations in pottery — undoubtedly Italic because clearly attributable to factories producing ware of Arretine type — bear witness to the foreign origin of fine household vessels of metal.

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The information that we possess about some of the Roman collectors shows that there was an eager interest in the acquisition of metal vessels of high artistic standard, even if the caliber of the collectors was unequal to that of the objects collected. Verres, for example, did not hesitate to strip original vessels of their decorations in order to remount them on objects made in his own workshop, which was largely staffed by eastern and Greek craftsmen (Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. I). Pliny (*op. cit.*, xxxiv, 8, 11) speaks of bronzes, "Corinthian" vases, and candelabra of Tarentine and Egyptian manufacture, and cannot resist poking fun at those who collected fake Corinthian bronzes. His pages contain no reference to any sort of production in Latin or Roman workshops.

In these circumstances we can speak only of a Hellenistic taste, not a Hellenistic-Roman taste, in the production of metalwork; this taste changed according to the time and place of production in deference to the differing tendencies and preferences of the area concerned, with that variety and richness of inflection so characteristic of Hellenistic culture. It is worthy of note, too, that in this branch of art Hellenistic taste survived long after its normal chronological limits, permeating works created when taste in sculpture or painting, to remain in the field of the figural arts, had already greatly changed. A typical example of this is the treasure of Graincourt-lès-Havrincourt (J. Charbonneaux, *RArts*, VIII, 1958, p. 2 ff.), belonging to the 2d century of our era, which faithfully reproduces schemes, models, and styles of silverware typical of an earlier century.

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Olof VESSBERG

Illustrations: PLS. 197–216; 6 figs. in text.

**HERETICAL SUBJECTS.** In the sphere of religious art of Christian inspiration or directly associated with Christianity, there are a number of images and figural objects inspired by heterodox movements. They are characterized by various themes emphasizing heterogeneous pagan reminiscences and their own particular symbolism. The character of these types became increasingly autonomous until, in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the movements themselves developed ideological and cultural traditions of definite form and parallel to orthodox traditions. Later the Church became the absolute arbiter of artistic expression. For the influence on art of the Christian Churches in modern times, see CHRISTIANITY; REFORMATION AND COUNTER REFORMATION.

SUMMARY. The Christian concept of heresy and its development (col. 412). Heretical movements from the 2d to the 9th century (col. 412). Heretical subjects in art (col. 413): *Monuments of Gnostic-Syncretistic heterodoxies; Arian monuments; Anti-iconoclastic themes; Surviving Manichaean themes.*

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPT OF HERESY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. A heretic is a baptized person who wishes to remain a Christian in name, but who obstinately denies or doubts some truth that is binding by authority of the Church. According to the definition of the Roman Catholic Church, a heresy is, objectively, a proposition that is at variance with dogma; subjectively, it is a denial, or at least serious doubting, of doctrinal truth by a member of the Church (*Codex Iuris Canonici*, canon 1325, par. 2).

In the Septuagint the Greek word for "heresy" (αἵρεσις) is used only in the literal sense of the term, "choice" or "selection"; in Flavius Josephus (*The Jewish War*, I, II, VIII, and *passim*) the word is used in the sense of "group" or "faction" but with neither a positive nor a negative connotation. (Josephus applied the term to Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.) In the New Testament the Greek term is used in the sense of "sect," and so translated (e.g., Acts 5:17; 15:5; 24:5), but it is also used in a pejorative and condemnatory sense, translated in English by the term "heresy" (e.g., Gal. 5:20; I Cor. 11:19). Beginning with the Christian apologists of the 2d century, the term "heresy" always signifies a negative choice outside or against the Christian faith and the Church, in other words, a false doctrine. For example, Ignatius of Antioch says: "You should all live according to the Truth so that no heresy may insinuate itself" (*Epistula ad Ephesios*, VI); and "I admonish you all to take nothing but Christian (spiritual) nourishment; shun alien pastures, for there is heresy" (*Epistula ad Trallianos*, VI). The same sense and sometimes the same words are used by Justinus (*Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*) and by Irenaeus, whose *Tractatus adversus haereses* (usually known as *Against the Heresies*) is the first of its kind known. In other passages by Justinus and in Irenaeus the expressions ἑτεροδοξοῦντες or ετερόδοξοι ("heterodox") are used in contradistinction to τὰ αυτὰ δόξαντες that is, to the Church.

Definitions of the kind given in the *Codex Iuris Canonici* appear for the first time in Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*) and Tertullian (*De praescriptione haereticorum; De baptismo*, 15). The criterion for defining heresy is, since Tertullian, the *regula fidei* ("the rule of faith"). Cyprian of Carthage (*Epist.* 69, 7) also speaks of the *lex symboli* (i.e., the articles of belief), which distinguishes true believers from schismatics. An exact distinction between "heresy" and "schism" does not appear before the 4th century: *haeresis* is *perversum dogma* ("false doctrine"), whereas schism divides from the Church *propter episcopalem dissensionem* ("because of hierarchal dissension").

HERETICAL MOVEMENTS FROM THE 2D TO THE 9TH CENTURY. In the 2d century the Christian communities, which had gradually begun to mold themselves into the Church, were confronted not only with paganism and Judaism but with a number of sects more or less closely linked to Christian teaching and practice, whose origins, however, mostly lay outside Christianity, in the Gnostic-Syncretistic systems. What separated these groups from the Church was not only their deviations from the established liturgy and their refusal to acknowledge ecclesiastical teaching (in place of which they put their own highly "secret" revelations) but, above all, their distinctive eschatological notions. It would, therefore, be more exact to call them "heterodox" instead of "heretical."

Heresies, in the strict sense of the term, did not begin until the body of Christian doctrine and cult — including liturgical practice and canonically authoritative teaching — had assumed definitive form, itself evolving to a large extent under the impact of the dispute with Gnosticism.

The earliest artistic documentations of those heresies and heterodoxies date from the 3d century; their number is relatively small, chiefly because the ascetic sects were opposed to the veneration of images (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). And a great deal of their art was later destroyed by the orthodox.

For the Christian communities, which themselves were *religio illicita* during the 2d and 3d centuries, there existed only two ways of combating splinter factions: ecclesiastical penalties (above all, exclusion from the church community) and theological disputation, in which it was attempted to convince dissidents of the sole truth of the doctrines of the Christian Church.

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Later the formulation of church doctrines and ordinances during and after the First Nicene Council (A.D. 325, at Nicaea) as well as the rise of Christianity, first to a position of equality and after 381 to the position of sole official state religion, made it possible to define "heresies" much more precisely and, above all, in a universally binding manner. Furthermore, it enabled the Church to make increasing use of the coercive powers of the state in its struggle against heretics. As time went on, transgressions against church doctrines and ordinances were regarded more and more as crimes against the state and were punished at an even earlier date and more severely than paganism. While participation in pagan sacrifices was punished with banishment and confiscation of property only after 423, and the death penalty and withdrawal of the last privileges of the temples were imposed at an even later date, the first in the long series of edicts against heretics made its appearance as early as the 4th century. The heresies of Manichaeanism, Sabellianism, and Arianism were already excluded from the general freedom of cults expressly granted in the year 370. Further laws in 372, 380, 381, and 395 progressively increased the severity of the punishment of heretics. The punishments included ignominy, denial of the right to bear witness, confiscation of private and communal property, and burning of writings. In 410 and 415 the death penalty was instituted against heretical priests and leaders of sects. The heretics, in turn, proceeded against the orthodox with the same harshness whenever they succeeded in getting the state on their side, as the Arians did during the 4th century and the iconoclasts in the 8th and 9th centuries. Proof of the bitterness with which the dispute was conducted on both sides, apart from the evidence contained in literary sources, appears in violently antiheretical art, especially during later periods. This hatred resulted in the extensive destruction of heretical art, of which the few survivals owe their preservation mostly to chance.

HERETICAL SUBJECTS IN ART. *Monuments of Gnostic-Syncretistic heterodoxies.* Of all the adversaries of the nascent church — paganism, Judaism, Gnosticism — the last was the most dangerous. The Gnostics formed their doctrines from pagan-Oriental, Hellenistic-philosophical, Jewish, and Christian ideas and concepts (hence the term "syncretism"), especially those doctrines which deal with the origin of the divine persons and of man and with the destiny of the believers after death. The interpretation of what survives of their artistic monuments is largely hypothetical. A great deal must remain completely unexplained, because the Gnostic revelation was restricted to a small circle of initiates who observed a strict arcane discipline, and because of the almost complete destruction of the Gnostic literary legacy by the Church.

The most important group of monuments that has survived from the Gnostic-Syncretistic heterodoxies consists of a number of underground burial chambers in Rome. As in the paintings of the Christian catacombs of the 3d and 4th centuries, the central theme of the monuments is the believer's hope and assurance of overcoming death. For Christians this is expressed in Biblical paradigms, prefigurations (e.g., Daniel in the lions' den, the deliverance of Jonah, the raising of Lazarus), and symbolical representations of the water and the bread of life (i.e., baptism and the Eucharist), sometimes depicted openly and sometimes in the guise of Biblical scenes or single figures. The most frequent representation of Christian salvation, however, is the Good Shepherd gathering the lost sheep into the heavenly flock (see BIBLICAL SUBJECTS; ESCHATOLOGY).

In the decorative scheme of heterodox tombs these representations are either supplemented or replaced by scenes appertaining to specific heterodox rites and concepts (see CATACOMBS). Thus, for example, in the Hypogeum of the Flavii of the Catacomb of Domitilla (first third of 3d cent.), next to two scenes from the Old Testament, there are a depiction of a funeral feast, hallowed pagan landscapes, fertility idols (herms of Priapus), and pictures of the myth of Cupid and Psyche, the last being the most frequent pagan symbol of immortality at that time. The paintings on the attic slab and ceiling of the rear chamber of the tomb of Clodius Hermes in Rome are partly Christian and partly heterodox. Above the entrance there are scenes from the New Testament; a prothesis (i.e., a lying-in state) and a Judgment of the Dead are depicted in two lateral clipei in the burial chamber itself; in the central octagon (the place where the Good Shepherd is usually depicted) is the floating "appearance" of the Mystagogue or so-called "Saviour" addressing his followers, the members of the secret sect that used the burial chamber (PL. 217). Particularly striking about this figure is his costume: instead of the white pallium in which saints, apostles, philosophers, and masters were usually depicted in the 3d century, he wears a red military cloak, and he is shown in the same attire in the two lateral scenes.

It has not yet been established to which sect the founder and the dead of the Hypogeum of the Aurelii in Rome belonged. Here, too, in the most extensive cycle of heterodox paintings of the 3d century, side by side with definitely Christian subjects (e.g., the Fall, the creation of Adam, and repeated representations of the Good Shepherd) there are several scenes whose interpretation is still disputed. One of the most interesting is the ceiling panel of the second chamber, showing the initiation or benediction of a veiled woman (PL. 218) between two pallium-clad men, one of whom is holding a scroll while the other appears to consecrate or bless her with the so-called *virga thaumaturga* (a wonder-working wand). Even more interesting are the scenes on the great painted friezes in the principal chamber. In one of them a bearded man dressed in a pallium is seated on a mountain, at the foot of which a flock of sheep and goats are grazing while he reads from an open scroll. He should be considered a mystical holy shepherd rather than Christ.

Likewise, it would hardly seem justified, though attempts have been made, to attach a Christian meaning to certain other scenes: the arrival of a "dominus" at a large city whose populace goes out to meet him; a banquet of 12 men, one of whom is signalized by an *impositio manus* ("imposition of hands") by a female figure behind him; a judgment in a forum; the *introductio* or *acceptatio* by a female figure of two deceased persons in a paradisiacal garden (worthy of notice are the white-robed guardians at the gates of the town and of the garden); and another paradisiacal scene usually referred to as "The Return of Odysseus." (An object in the foreground of this last scene was once thought to be a weaver's loom, hence the allusion to Odysseus; however, the object is probably a badly drawn gate.) It cannot be clearly established whether the extremely impressive figures of pallium-clad men (more than 3 ft. high and partly ranged in processional order) in the lower wall panels are apostles or initiates of the Brotherhood of the Aurelii.

The only unquestionably heterodox hypogeum is the Arcosolium (or arched tomb) of Vibia, which forms part of the area of the Christian Catacomb of Praetextatus in Rome. Its connection with a sect known as the Sabazians is securely attested by an inscription of its founder dedicating it to the sect. Despite some definitely orthodox inscriptions found in the immediate proximity of the Arcosolium of Vibia, this dedicatory inscription permits us to include the tomb in the sphere of heterodox art.

On the intrados of the arch of the main arcosolium — the façade of which bears the name of its founder, Vincentius, and that of the deceased, Vibia — the fate of Vibia after her death is depicted in three stages. The first scene, *abreptio* and *discensio*, shows Pluto carrying off the inanimate body of Vibia in a quadriga led by Mercury. The second scene, in the center panel, represents Vibia's judgment: Mercury as herald leads Vibia before the throne of the *Dispater* and of the *Aera Cura*, next to whom three *Fata divina* stand in waiting. The third scene, in the lower right-hand panel of the arch, is a banquet of the *Septem pii sacerdotes* ("the seven holy priests"), one of whom is Vincentius. The Eastern origin of the sect is apparent from the Phrygian caps worn by three of the priests. The lunette shows the assumption of the deceased into the realm of the blessed, who are assembled for the *refrigerium*: the *Angelus bonus* (Mercury or Hermes Psychopompos) leads Vibia (*Introductio Vibies*; PL. 218) through a gate into the paradisiacal landscape, in which the *Bonorum iudicio iudicati* sit at a meal, with Vibia among them. The strikingly large amphora at the side of the table recalls similar motifs in an anonymous hypo-

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geum (of Cava della Rossa), possibly the burial place of members of the sect of the Valentinians. In the wall paintings here too, along with the Good Shepherd and Biblical scenes, there is a *refrigerium* with a number of exceptionally large amphoras. Moreover, the number (12) of participants at the banquet and the fact that both men and women are present are characteristic indications of heterodoxy. (The Christian catacombs and sarcophagi of the period depict banquets of men only.)

Two heretical tombs of the 4th century, the Hypogeum of Trebius Justus and the hypogeum known as Diana's (Via Lavenza), have been known for some time. An extensive anonymous catacomb under the Via Latina was discovered in 1955. The sect that buried its dead in these extensive grounds under the Via Latina was not afraid (even long after peace had been established between the orthodox church and the state) to use pagan mythology and other subjects, whose symbolic (?) content is not quite clear, in close proximity and frequently even in the same room with scenes from both the Old and New Testaments; a whole series of Biblical scenes occurs here for the first time. This discovery has deprived the mural paintings in the tomb of Diana of some of the uniqueness that had hitherto been attributed to them. In these murals Diana the huntress and a nymph appear alongside Moses drawing water from the rock, that is, a pagan fountain deity is represented together with a Christian symbol of the water of life.

The Hypogeum of Trebius Justus is generally regarded as orthodox Christian on account of the picture of the Good Shepherd on its ceiling. But the offertory scene above the tomb (PL. 218) and the depiction of the magister on one of the side walls at least suggest that its founder may have been a heterodox Christian.

When considering other art objects of the Gnostic-Syncretistic heretics — amulets, rings, and other works of miniature and folk art — it becomes even more difficult to distinguish clearly between the Christian and the heterodox legacy of imagery and concepts. Therefore consideration must be limited to a few typical examples. A cylindrical metal container (of North African origin) bears a Biblical inscription (Isa. 12:3), representations of the Good Shepherd, a stag drinking from a rock marked with a cross, arena scenes (e.g., animal hunts), pictures of Nike with a palm and cross, and other similar decorations. The Good Shepherd and other Christian symbols appear on the face of an amulet along with the legend Ἰησοῦς, while the reverse shows the son of Horus sitting on a lotus and is inscribed with the word χριστός. The handle of a Coptic jar is adorned with a cross, the figure of Astarte, and doves. There is a whole collection of bracelets from Egypt bearing a verse from the Psalms (90:1) and scenes from the New Testament — Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, empty tomb, and Ascension — all of which are in close conformity with the pictorial canon known from the ampullae of Monza; the center medallions bear many Gnostic apotropaic symbolic signs together with the Solomon-Sisinnius horseman. Other pieces contain the formula "Abraxas," the acrostic "IAW," and the names of the archangels next to the figures of theriomorphic deities (?). It is the works of miniature, and folk art in particular, that give a clear indication of how long the Gnostic heterodoxies (albeit as an undercurrent and especially in the East) continued as a living tradition.

In conclusion, mention should be made of a monument that must be classified as of Christian origin because of the general context in which it was discovered, the details of which, however, indicate a heterodox community. This is the floor mosaic of the room of the laity of the church of the Christian cemetery of Teurnia (Carinthia), dating from about A.D. 500 (PL. 219). It consists of 12 panels. One of them bears the inscription of the founder, and another only a decorative checkerboard design. On the other panels a variety of scenes are depicted: animals fighting serpents or being threatened by them; three groups of animal families (a suckling hind, a duck with ducklings, two hares); a chalice with paten (on which a dove is pursued by serpents); a bull; a tree (of life ?) on which pairs of birds are sitting; and a stork (?) catching a lizard.

It would appear that Christian concepts (the chalice and paten), Gnostic-Oriental ones (serpents as symbols of the dark powers of the netherworld), Mithraic ideas (the bull), and some of Germanic origin (the Tree of Life in PL. 219) are all joined together here in a conceptual unity, the meaning of which, however, can no longer be deciphered.

Unfortunately, what remains of the mosaics of the Baptistery of Hemmaberg, Carinthia (ca. first half of 5th cent.), in which bird motifs repeatedly occur, is not sufficient to help in the interpretation of the mosaics of Teurnia.

*Arian monuments.* After the First Nicene Council (325) the unity of the Church and of the faith, which had only just been effected, continued to be gravely threatened by the doctrines of Arius (d. 336). And the Arian heresy remained a serious danger well into the 6th century, even though the Edict of Thessalonica (379) and the canons of the First Council of Constantinople (381) had officially settled the dispute between Athanasians and Arians by binding the Orthodox Church once again to the canons of Nicaea and the doctrines of Peter and of Damasus. In the 6th century ecclesiastical and political aspects of the dispute became bound together because the Germanic tribes that conquered the western provinces of the Empire were Arians. Thus the war waged by Byzantium against the Germanic tribes was also a war against the enemies of the unity of the Church, so that every military victory over the invaders was followed by the immediate and thorough Catholicizing of the heretical churches. This explains why only very few works of Arian religious art have survived, and only those whose heretical affirmations could, if necessary, be reconciled with orthodox doctrine.

The most important monuments of Arian art that have been preserved are in Ravenna: the mosaic in the cupola of the Baptistery of the Arians (now S. Maria in Cosmedin) and the New Testament scenes in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo. In the former the central medallion, the Hetimasia (preparation of the throne) and the figures of St. Peter, on one side, and the first two apostles, on the other side of the throne, date from Gothic times. (The remaining apostles are a later restoration.) To what extent the iconographic divergences from the mosaic in the cupola of the Baptistery of the Orthodox (also in Ravenna) are attributable to specific Arian notions is a matter of controversy. In the orthodox mosaic the procession of the apostles does not converge toward the Hetimasia; the Hetimasia itself is repeated four times and occupies its own separate zone. However, in the mosaic scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Arian concepts about the nature of Christ are more clearly demonstrable: in the scenes depicting miracles Christ is shown as a beardless youth, but in the scenes of the Passion he is portrayed wearing a beard. After the second Council of Constantinople (A.D. 553), when *Unus ex Trinitate passus est carne* ("One person of the Divine Trinity suffered in the flesh") became the officially sanctioned formula of the Passion, all depictions showing Christ suffering as man became suspect as heretical and, more especially, as Arian. Nevertheless, the scenes from the New Testament were allowed to remain in their original form when the lower wall panels were subjected to thorough alterations during the Catholicizing of the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo.

Although only a small number of Arian works of art have been preserved, there are a very large number of depictions recording the intense bitterness with which the orthodox persecuted that heresy; until well into the Middle Ages, Arius was regarded by the Catholic Church as the heretic par excellence. An example is the Menologion of Basil II, with an illustration of the First Nicene Council (325), where Arius is shown prostrate on the floor at the feet of the Emperor and the orthodox Fathers and bishops (PL. 220). Another example is a manuscript in Paris depicting atrocities committed by the Arians: orthodox bishops and priests cast adrift in a burning boat by Arians; Arians setting fire to a church (PL. 220); and the martyrdom of an old man of the orthodox faith at the hands of Arians. In the New Minster Offices (1023–35; Br. Mus., Cotton Ms. D. xxvii, fol. 75v) there is a representation of the

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Quinity (i.e., the Trinity and Mary with the Child Christ). In Byzantine pictorial canons of the First Nicene Council the above-mentioned representation of Arius at the Council appears again and again, though in a slightly different version: Arius having his face slapped by St. Nicholas. These and other vilifications of heretics are also prescribed for pictorial treatment of the Council in the *Painter's Manual of Mt. Athos*. The wall paintings of the great synods of the church in the portico of St. Peter's in Rome (712) and in Naples (ca. 790), both of which are lost today, were probably of the same character.

Specifically antiheretical themes are relatively rare in medieval Christian art in the West: when they occur, it is in the form of a personification of Heresy, used here and there as a counterpart to the concept of "Synagogue" (PL. 220). More frequently, however, "false prophets" and heretics are represented in the shape of animals, usually a monkey or a fox. Jewish heretics are depicted in a manuscript of Rabanus Maurus (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. 132, p. 72): their eyes and mouths are closed, indicating that they neither want to see nor worship the truth. Another miniature of the same manuscript (p. 278) depicts unbelievers falling into the abyss.

*Anti-iconoclastic themes*. The anathematization of the iconoclasts also found expression in art, and at least a few examples may be cited. The richest material is to be found in the so-called "marginal Psalters," a group of Psalter manuscripts richly embellished with marginal miniatures, dating from about the second half of the 9th century and later.

The Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Hist. Mus.) contains numerous examples of anti-iconoclastic themes. There is a representation of the Iconoclastic Council of 815 in which a layman is trying to daub pitch over an icon of Christ (fol. 23). There is a representation of the impeachment of the iconoclastic patriarch John Grammaticus (called Jannes) for simony, and his denunciation as a second Simon Magus. (Folio 35v shows the triumph of St. Peter over Simon Magus and, below that, the triumph of the patriarch Nicephorus over Jannes.) A bishop who refuses to pay homage to the icon of Christ but consecrates priests for money is compared to the Jews who tried to bribe the guardians at the tomb of Christ (fol. 67). And the destruction of an icon of Christ is compared to the Crucifixion itself (fol. 67v). Especially grotesque is the representation of the iconoclastic heretics (fol. 70v) in which two monks are depicted with animal jaws and "slanderous tongues" that reach to the ground.

*Surviving Manichaean themes*. Against no other heresy did the church show itself quite so severe and inexorable as against Manichaeanism (though in the strict sense of the term it was not a heresy, but a distinct religion). According to Persian tradition, Mani had been a Christian priest before founding the community named after him; his doctrines embodied Persian, Christian, and Buddhist elements. To the Christian Church he was the veritable Antichrist right into the Middle Ages. No doubt, this was partly due to the fact that the Church was relatively well informed about his teachings: St. Augustine had belonged to a North African Manichaean community for many years, and after his conversion had attacked this sect in a number of writings.

The succession of anti-Manichaean edicts extended from the year 377 to the middle of the 11th century, and some of the medieval heretical movements (the Bogomiles and the Cathari) were called "Neo-Manichaeans" because their doctrines derived from Manichaean traditions. The Manichaeans were also the first heretics against whom the death penalty was instituted and carried out (385). The earliest anti-Manichaean edict was issued by Diocletian in 296, barely 20 years after the death of Mani; it also ordered the execution of the Manichaean priests.

The persecution of this religious community in the West led to the complete destruction of all its artistic records and documentation. But in Turfan (western China), where Manichaeanism was the state religion for a time in the 8th and 9th centuries, wall paintings and fragments of illustrated manuscripts, together with important literary relics, were found at the beginning of the 20th century (see MANICHAEAN ART). In one mural of the Manichaean temple of Khocho (Sinkiang prov.) the figure of the high priest seems to represent Mani himself, for it is only the halo of the largest figure that has the emblems of sun and moon, and it is only the tiara worn by that figure that is richly ornamented. Furthermore, a fragment of an illustrated manuscript contains a scene that bears a striking resemblance to a well-known pictorial theme of Christian iconography, namely, Adam and Eve being condemned to work, which itself played a definite role in the teaching of Mani.

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H. Ludwig HEMPEL

Illustrations: PLS. 217–220.

**HERRERA,** JUAN DE. Spanish architect (b. Mobellán, Santander, ca. 1530; d. Madrid, Jan. 15, 1597). On Oct. 2, 1548, Herrera left for Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries in the following of his prince, the future Philip II of Spain. Returning to his native country in 1551, Herrera again went to Italy in 1553. He took part in the campaign of Flanders under Emperor Charles V and later served the Emperor in his retirement at Yuste, Estremadura. At the death of Charles in 1558, Herrera entered the service of Philip II.

Herrera was a soldier and a courtier as well as an architect. He stated that his highest ideal was to serve his King, recording that "from the year 1565 on I undertook to follow His Majesty constantly wherever he might go." He further noted that "during the voyage in Portugal I spent not less than 6,000 ducats because of the many times I stayed, went, and came for that kingdom, and in places where it was impossible not to spend excessively nor do less than show oneself the servant of so great a prince" (Memorial a Mateo Vázquez, see Llaguno y Amirola, II, 1829, p. 333). He spent his life at court and, as did Velázquez later on, filled the office of palace marshal (*aposentador*).

Herrera's position with Philip II, a sovereign greatly interested in the arts and particularly in architecture, was one of eminence. The architect's emergence from obscurity may have resulted from his active interest in science and mathematics. In 1562 he made a series of geometrical illustrations for an abridgment of Alfonso el Sabio's book on astronomy, a work which may have originally brought its illustrator to the attention of Philip. Herrera's contribution to the astronomy book is all that is known about his scientific talents before he was appointed by the King (Feb. 18, 1563; Madrid, Arch. General del Palacio Real) to assist the court architect, Juan Bautista de Toledo, on the Escorial monastery. From that time on, Herrera's participation in the building of the monastery became increasingly evident. "At the end of the year 1564," states Luis Cervera Vera (1954), "the importance of Juan de Herrera in the construction of the monastery can be discerned in the notes between Philip II and Pedro de Hoyo." In 1567 Juan Bautista died and Herrera became his successor, assuming the post of



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a superintendent of official construction — a forerunner of the *surintendants des bâtiments* of Louis XIV.

The Escorial monastery was Herrera's first work; it was also his last and most important, for it occupied and preoccupied him throughout his life. It is necessary, therefore, to trace the history of this singular structure. On Aug. 10, 1557, the commemorative day of St. Lawrence, the forces of Philip II engaged in a decisive battle climaxed by the routing of the French and the capture of Saint-Quentin. To celebrate the victory, Philip decided to dedicate a great monument to St. Lawrence. That this monument should be a monastery grew out of the will of Emperor Charles V, who charged his son with the mission of creating for him and the Spanish Hapsburg family a "dynastic pantheon," as it is explicitly called in the royal decree issued Apr. 16, 1561 (Madrid, Arch. General del Palacio Real). The Hieronymite monks, a powerful Spanish order, were placed in permanent charge of the religious services for the deceased. After many deliberations, Philip II chose a site in the vicinity of Guadarrama, near the small village of El Escorial, 30 miles northwest of Madrid. Many doubts, however, beset the King when it came to choosing an architect worthy of this great undertaking. Italian masters were considered, including Michelangelo, who by then was too old; but finally Don Pedro de Toledo, who had been viceroy of Naples until 1553, proposed his protégé Juan Bautista de Toledo. On July 15, 1559, Juan Bautista was invited to leave Naples and proceed to Madrid as architect in the service of the King.

Very little is known of Juan Bautista's work in Naples. Of his specific experience as an architect we know only that he served his apprenticeship in Italy. According to a document in the official archives of Naples, Juan Bautista was a royal engineer who worked in one of the bastions of Castel Nuovo at a monthly salary of 10 ducats. His alleged collaboration with Michelangelo cannot be confirmed. In any case, Friar José de Sigüenza, historian of the Hieronymite order, called Bautista "a man of many talents, a sculptor also practiced in drawing, who knew Latin and Greek and had a good knowledge of philosophy and mathematics." According to the friar, Juan Bautista incarnated the Vitruvian ideal. Our lack of more specific information on Juan Bautista is regrettable, since he seems to have been Herrera's only teacher.

By royal decree of Aug. 12, 1561 (Madrid, Arch. General del Palacio Real), Philip II named Juan Bautista de Toledo his chief architect, commissioning him with the plans and models of works to be built. In the following year Juan Bautista designed the general plans of the immense monastery building. Pedro de Tolosa and Lucas de Escalante assisted as building overseers. It is important to note that Herrera had been named assistant to Juan Bautista two months before the laying of the first stone (Apr. 23, 1563), which means that he took part in the project from its beginning and not merely after De Toledo's death, as had been believed. The task entrusted to Herrera was quite different from that assigned to the building overseers: the new assistant was placed in charge of the theoretical aspect of the work, including the plans. Thus the Escorial monastery became one of the first constructions in Spain organized according to true Renaissance criteria; a collaborating team of architect and builder now replaced the old Gothic building master who had planned everything alone. The word *architettore*, first used by Juan Bautista and then by Herrera himself, was imported from Italy, together with the new architectural concepts that linked it to Humanism.

At his death Juan Bautista had almost completed the great southern wing (the façade called the "Friars' Garden"), imposing in its size, severity, and simplicity. The first floor of the Court of the Evangelists (PL. 221) was finished, and work was proceeding on the second floor. To Herrera remained the great responsibility of executing the remaining façades and, above all, of erecting the church, which, according to Friar Sigüenza, was the "main preoccupation of His Majesty, being the ultimate aim and, so to speak, the sum of what had been undertaken." Thus Herrera became not only Juan Bautista's successor but also the continuer of his ideas. Philip II placed his trust in Herrera with some reserve at first and did not immediately accord him the official titles — perhaps in consideration for other older and more experienced artists; later on, however, the King indicated complete confidence in Herrera.

Erection of the Escorial church, perhaps the most important Renaissance building since St. Peter's in Rome, was nonetheless the cause of much uncertainty on the part of Philip II, who solicited plans in both Spain and Italy. A certain Pacciotto or Pachote, a little-known Italian engineer, submitted several projects; to what extent they were used, however, is not known. The church as we see it today (PL. 222) must be regarded as the creation of Herrera himself, unless other documents are brought to light. On June 14, 1575, Pedro de Tolosa and Lucas de Escalante laid the first stones of the gigantic piers of the dome, which was finished June 23, 1582. On Sept. 23, 1584, after 21 years of collective work, the monastery was also finished (PL. 223).

Even as an artistic expression, the Escorial presents much that is difficult to classify unless it is seen as the realization of the ideals of its founder, Philip II, who assiduously followed its construction. More than most people of his time, the King was aware of the critical period in which he lived, and tried to overcome its difficulties. He saw that the old world was crumbling, that basic values and principles were vanishing with it, and that even the concept of the divine right of monarchs was in doubt. In this gigantic reliquary of a monastery he wished both to conserve the past and to prepare for the inevitable arrival of a future illuminated by the critical spirit of Humanism. He conceived of his monument as a synthesis in which the ancient spirit, represented by the Scriptures, would be conciliated with the modern, incarnated in the Vitruvian ideal. His explicit idea was to resuscitate the Temple of Solomon (according to Friar Sigüenza), but the syncretism inherent in his spirit led him to conceive this within the restricted canons of Greco-Roman classicism. The Escorial is thus an attempt at uniting the civilization of the classic world with the truth as revealed by the Scriptures. This dual purpose is what gives the monument that ambitious timelessness pointed out by Louis Bertrand, who said that "the Escorial has neither a particular period nor form; it is as impersonal and abstract as the monuments of ancient Egypt." Philip II leaned toward the most depersonalized sector of Renaissance art, known as the Roman school, in which a phase of stabilization and recapitulation had succeeded a fertile and creative period. At that time, impersonal architects flourished who translated into standard rules and definitions the earlier products of intuitive or artistic genius. In such an esthetic climate, stifling the free will of the artist, Philip felt at ease.

The Escorial style, therefore, was not born of the personal genius of a great master. It was a style which created itself and grew from the work itself. It was not so much that the artistic genius of Herrera created the work as that the work stimulated the artistic genius. Although the Escorial style had no precedent on Spanish soil, it influenced more than a century of Spanish art. However, a certain stylistic sequence can be established into which the Herrera building seems to fit, if one does not lose sight of the peculiar intrinsic conditions of this unique structure. The publication of the third and fourth books of S. Serlio's *Architettura* (in Francisco de Villalpando's Spanish translation, 1552) acquainted Spain with the taste of this Bolognese master, who had been a student of Baldassarre Peruzzi (q.v.). Further, the famous treatise *Regola delle cinque ordini d'architettura* by Vignola (q.v.) was published in Rome in 1562, a year before the first stone of the Escorial was laid. (Vignola had been consulted about the building of the monastery.) But neither the will of the founder nor the unusual needs of the work itself, which was without parallel in Italy, could be really satisfied with foreign contributions. We must return to our first thesis — that the monument created its own style.

The prestige Herrera acquired in the service of the King entitled the architect to take into his own hands various royal building enterprises which had previously been divided among various masters. Of the royal residences, the Alcázar of Toledo and the Palace of Aranjuez are Herrera's most important works. Plans for the southern façade of the Alcázar were ready in 1571,

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and under the direction of Jerónimo Gili and Diego de Alcántara the building was finished in 1585. The Alcázar is one of Herrera's most "Vignolesque" constructions, recalling Vignola's Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola (I, PL. 388). Plans for the new Palace of Aranjuez, by Juan Bautista de Toledo and Herrera, were prepared about 1564. Construction was suspended in 1586 and was not completed until the advent of the Bourbons. To Herrera must also be attributed the first nucleus of the town hall of the city of Toledo, continued after 1612 by El Greco's son, Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli. The Exchange in Seville, built between 1593 and 1598, is one of Herrera's most finished works, an admirable example of faithfulness to the Vitruvian canons of symmetry. Juan de Minjares was charged with the construction, since Herrera could not leave the Escorial.

Herrera also had a hand in the upper story of the western façade of Charles V's palace in Granada and supplied plans for the Church of S. María in the Alhambra. He took part in the renewal of Madrid under Philip II and constructed the bridge of Segovia in Madrid, as well as other smaller bridges along the road between the capital and the Escorial. He was responsible for many other works in the royal lands, leaving unmistakable witness to his skill and high ideals of architecture. His influence was extensive and profoundly felt in the development of the national architecture.

Beginning in 1584, a serious illness kept Herrera almost completely away from active construction work. It was at this time that he made his will. Continuing poor health forced him to rely on the assistance of his pupils, particularly Francisco de Mora. At this time Herrera was also head of the Academy of Mathematics, which, at his suggestion, the King had founded in 1582; the architect's talent in this field is indicated by his invention of nautical instruments to safeguard navigators.

The culminating point of Herrera's career was to have been the Cathedral of Valladolid (PL. 224; III, PL. 316), had not his illness and subsequent death prevented this. The first actual information we have concerning construction on the Cathedral dates from 1589. By 1593 Herrera's illness required him to give up all activity, and four years later he died, in the parish of Santiago near the Alcázar, Madrid, where he had long lived. He left a daughter, Lorenza, by his second marriage in 1581 to Inés de Herrera. (His earlier marriage, to María de Alvara, was childless.) At the master's death, the work was left in the hands of his pupils and their students, who gradually altered and debased the original conception. Alberto de Churriguera (see CHURRIGUERESQUE STYLE) finally disfigured the Cathedral completely with a baroque façade. Construction was suspended at the beginning of the transept, thus truncating the longitudinal extension of the building, which Herrera had planned as a perfectly symmetrical whole with a choir of four bays, balancing a nave of equal length.

Herrera's immediate successor was his collaborator Francisco de Mora, faithfully followed by Francisco's nephew Juan Gómez de Mora, creator of the Plaza Mayor and various monasteries in Madrid. In Toledo, the artists most closely linked to Herrera's school were Nicolás de Vergara el Mozoz, Juan Bautista Monegro (a sculptor who had worked extensively at the Escorial monastery), and Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli. There developed in Valladolid a center of Herreranism, with the Cathedral as its focus, which spread all over Castile and the northern parts of the peninsula. The best-known names of this school are Juan, Diego, and Francisco de Preves (who translated Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*); Juan de Nates, who collaborated in various large-scale works such as the Church of Sta Cruz in Medina de Rioseco and the Colegio del Cardenal in Monforte de Lemos; and Alonso and Juan de Tolosa (designer of the severe hospital of Medina del Campo), sons of Pedro de Tolosa, building overseer in the construction of the Escorial.

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Fernando CHUECA Y GOITIA

Illustrations: PLS. 221–224.

**HILDEBRANDT**, JOHANN LUKAS VON. Architect (b. Genoa, Nov. 14, 1668; d. Vienna, Nov. 16, 1745). Hildebrandt was trained in northern Italy and in Rome under Carlo Fontana. In 1696 he settled in Vienna, where he had spectacular success for nearly a half century. His work and influence extended over most of Austria, into Bohemia and Hungary, and west to Würzburg and the Main-Franconia region.

Two dualities were important to Hildebrandt's development: he was bilingual, and he was both architect and engineer. Although of German parentage — his father was an army officer — he lived in Italy until he was almost thirty. Thus his architecture had strong Italian roots, though its inflection was strikingly Austro-German. Indeed, Hildebrandt, along with his older competitor Fischer von Erlach (q.v.), was the most important bridge between Italian baroque and Austro-German architecture of the 18th century. His style implies a knowledge of building in Genoa and Turin (notably Guarini's Palazzo Carignano, PL. 104), of Palladian residences in and around Vicenza, and of the work of Bernini and Borromini in Rome.

In 1695 Hildebrandt volunteered as an engineer in the imperial army and served under Prince Eugene of Savoy during three campaigns in Piedmont. Immediately afterward he sought his fortune in Vienna. By 1700 he was court architect, and commissions began to come in from the great families. His first palace design, the Schwarzenberg, Vienna, 1700–15, set an important precedent; and the Piarist Church, Vienna, set another, for centrally planned churches. Most important among his patrons was Prince Eugene, for whom he enlarged a city palace (II, PL. 159) and built the Belvedere (Lower, 1714–16; Upper, 1721–23, II, PL. 158; gardens, 1716–21). The Belvedere is Hildebrandt's masterpiece as both a work of architecture and engineering, if one may so term its elaborate terracing and waterworks. For the Schönborns he built a garden palace in Vienna, a country palace at Göllersdorf, and the abbey of Göttweig. For their cousins in Franconia he was consultant in the design of the great staircase at Pommersfelden, the Residenz at Würzburg, and the Schönborn Chapel there. For the Harrach family he built residences in Vienna and the Schloss

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Mirabell in Salzburg, 1713–24. (See also BAROQUE ART; GERMAN ART, VI, PL. 147.)

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S. Lane FAISON, Jr.

**HINDUISM.** The term "Hinduism" conventionally designates the concept of the world and the whole corresponding system of social and ethical norms constituting the present-day religion of non-Islamic India, of which Buddhism and Jainism (qq.v.) may be regarded as heterodox manifestations. The art forms which Hinduism inspired are governed by rigorous iconographic and iconometric rules and have both a symbolic and a practical purpose, since they are conceived as a means (Skr., *upāya*) to arouse, in the perceptive viewer, the revolution of the planes of consciousness that releases man from the temporal dimensions of existence (Skr., *saṃsāra*). Despite these partly utilitarian aims, however, Hindu art often attains elevated levels of esthetic quality and thereby a universal validity.

SUMMARY. General characteristics (col. 423). Image and cult (col. 428). The temple and the cosmos (col. 430): *Cosmology and the sacred edifice; Dynamics of the temple; The temple and time.* Esthetics and spirituality (col. 435).

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. The term Hinduism, which has no equivalent in the various languages of India, is a European invention. Embracing a myriad of cults and sometimes widely divergent religious standards, it nevertheless corresponds to a reality, an undeniably complex and labile reality, extremely hard to define except as the religion of India par excellence, though by no means the only one. Although Buddhism succeeded in conquering a large part of Asia, and even though Hindu missions exist in both Europe and America today, it is almost impossible to conceive of a propagation of Hinduism that would not involve adoption of the specifically Indian way of life. Indeed, Hinduism is so integral a part of Indian civilization that its introduction into southeastern Asia and Indonesia was due not to missionaries, as was the case with Buddhism, but to the immigration of large groups of Indian peoples and the contingent propagation of Indian philosophical concepts (such as those of the cosmos and of time) and, more especially, of Indian political and juridical doctrines. Hinduism is in fact not only a religion or a constellation of religions; it is also a way of life and a social order, of which the Brahmans are the self-appointed defenders. (Indicative of their position is the fact that the authority of the Brahmans has never been disputed in juridical matters, even during the period in which Buddhism predominated in India.) Hence the difficulties encountered in any attempt to define Hinduism in terms of its dogma. Failing to realize that it is precisely the vagueness of its dogma, the counterpart of its extraordinary variety, to which Hinduism owes much of its power in India and prestige abroad, cultivated Indians have felt it incumbent on them to define the essence of their faith, with the not infrequent result of finding themselves reduced to such statements as "anyone who does not reject this denomination is a Hindu" or "there exists no belief common to all who declare themselves Hindus." These are, however, exaggeratedly contrived statements. Every Hindu is expected, at least in principle, to acknowledge the authority of the sacred texts, or Vedas; but it is above all the peculiarly Indian concept of man's status in the universe, in its eschatological and social aspects, that determines the whole system. The gods, at this point, are out of the picture; it is Karma that moves the world. By virtue of its intrinsic power, all action engenders retribution, and man's existence is governed by an immemorial past. The caste system, in particular, is merely the recognition of the fact that as human beings are born slaves to their Karma, that is, to the residue of their past actions, so are they unequal in fact and before the law; in the human hierarchy the Brahmans occupy a truly divine eminence. Moreover, a human life represents hardly more than a negligible episode in the course of an individual destiny, since the power of fate (that is, of the consequence of one's actions) drags the soul (Skr., *jīva*, *pudgala*) into an interminable transmigration from one existence to another. These ideas appeared only toward the 8th century B.C., for Hinduism as such, though it originated in part from the religion imported into India by the Aryan invaders in the 2d millenium B.C., is of relatively recent date. It is the outcome of a lengthy evolution.

India was already an infinitely complex country, rich in tradition, by the time the Aryans introduced into the Punjab not only a new way of life and new forms of thought but also what was to become the sacred language of all India, the new language in which this civilization found expression. Figuratively speaking, Hinduism may be regarded as an invasion of the Aryan religion by Indian exuberance and vitality. By the time this fusion, of which Vedism and Brahmanism were the initial stages, was completed, the Aryan religion could claim to be fully assimilated and the Aryans themselves to have lived on Indian soil since time immemorial. Compared with the confusion of the indigenous religious traditions, the Aryan element, which was eventually absorbed into the immensity of India, is relatively easy to define, for Vedism is known through texts — the liturgical compilations from which it derives its name, the Vedas. Although the Vedas are actually Indian, or rather Indianized, they retain echoes of the Greco-Roman polytheism to which they are related. However, ritual assumed considerably greater importance in India than had been assigned to it in classical paganism, and it was above all else the accentuation of this characteristic that constituted the evolution of Vedism and its transformation, shortly before 1000 B.C., into Brahmanism. In the Brāhmaṇas, exegetical texts edited by the Brahmans, who were the masters of the sacrificial ritual, the sacrifice assumes cosmic importance; regarded as the support of the entire creation, it is deified under the name of Prajāpati; without the sacrifice the gods would not exist. The ritual word, or *brahman*, becomes a mysterious power superior to that of the gods, and the Brahmans, who are its custodians, *ipso facto* play a leading part in the maintenance of the universal order.

The Brāhmaṇas — just as the late Vedic hymns which had preceded them — manifest the endeavor to arrive at a comprehension of the world through a study of the equivalents between man and the universe; the sun, for instance, is compared to an eye, and the world is conceived as a gigantic being whose sacrificial dismemberment gave rise to the universe. Furthermore, this being, or primordial man (Puruṣa), could obviously be none other than the Sacrifice itself (Prajāpati), since the sole truly valid sacrifice is that of self, which ensures a mystic renascence; no other victims can ever be anything more than substitutes. Hence the saying, "With the sacrifice, the gods sacrificed the Sacrifice." The thorough understanding of the tendency to establish magic equivalents among the different planes of the cosmos is doubtless the primary requisite for gaining an intimate insight into Hindu art; this tendency reached its climax in the Upanishads, texts which, canonically presented as an appendix to the Brāhmaṇas, formed the conclusion of the Vedas, the *Vedānta* (*Veda-anta*). Inquiring into the true nature of man and the world, and pursuing experimental, analogical scientific investigation begun in the preceding period, the authors of the Upanishads associate the pneumatic physics of wind with the pneumatic physiology of breathing; simultaneously, however, they advanced from this empirical and pseudo-scientific knowledge of the world to a radically different plane of knowledge, which has nothing in common with the former and is of an ontological order. Knowledge (Skr., *vēda*) is replaced by gnosis (Skr., *jñāna*), and revelation by direct experience of the absolute, or, in the words of the Upanishads, of the fullness (Skr., *pūrṇa*); curiosity about the creation is paralleled by an impatience with reality, and a supreme equivalent, mystically apprehended, transcends all others: the identity of the supreme reality of the universe, the *brahman*, and the most intimate reality of man, the *ātman*. Consequently (and this is, perhaps, the most powerfully original element in Hinduism as a religion), the world as it may be apprehended by the senses (the Indians regard intellect, manas, as one of the senses) is violently sucked up by the absolute.

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These same upanishadic texts combine the complementary notions of samsara and Karma, of transmigration and retribution, in such a way that every human existence assumes the aspect of a link in a long chain of servitude; yet this interminable wandering across an ocean of existences is, after all, but relative. Thus, to the two orders of knowledge (exoteric and esoteric) correspond two planes of existence: that of the man subject to Karma even though he be a Brahman, and that of the liberated, living man (Skr., *jīvanmukta*) who is no longer sullied by the cosmic error: the bonds of an illusory causality are broken for him who has — directly and mystically — experienced the supreme liberty of the atman. This superior mode of existence, this transcendent life, which direct contact with the supreme reality reveals, is the end to which every Indian aspires; for the Hindu concept of moksha, release, differs but little from either the Jain or Buddhist concept of nirvana. Hence the tenacious spiritual struggle to overcome — or to consummate — the human condition, which became manifest not only in Hinduism, but also in both Buddhism and Jainism, and which has constantly occupied the Indian yogi. The patient practice of techniques of meditation, the striving to reach states of ecstasy with the help of methods that originated in a far-off prehistory, and all the psychophysiological asceticism aimed at mastering the vital rhythms that must have gone on from this remote epoch can be imagined. A strenuous effort to transcend the natural course of existence came to second the pursuit, beyond the illusion of the senses and the intellect, of a metempiric, intuitive, and analytic knowledge of the absolute.

Cosmology, Yoga, metensomatosis, belief in divine incarnations or in "great predestined beings" (Buddha, Jina, and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa) — these infinitely rich and varied currents of ancient religion intermingled and, rising up from the depths of India as from the ocean, they floated on the surface of the texts as plankton floats upon the seas; from this beginning, Hinduism developed into maturity through the centuries. The imposing figures of divine personalities, whose Vedic names were but a pretext, began to multiply prodigiously, to the point of reducing the Vedic pantheon to the dimension of a puppet theatre by comparison. This religious renewal took place within the various sects, which had developed a fervent devotional piety (bhakti) that led in turn to a form of idolatry as its direct corollary, for devotion requires a concrete object on which to discharge itself. Thus, the ancient ritual, though not entirely abandoned, was replaced by new forms of devotional service (puja). In a later Upanishad (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*), Rudra the Howler, the Vedic god of storms, appears in the lofty role of a genuine personification of the *brahman* and a master of Yoga: a sovereign and immortal deity, at once immanent and transcendent, the ultimate reality beyond which there is nothing but the undifferentiation of the absolute. He is the Benevolent One (Śiva), the male element or spirit (*puruṣa*), the Lord (bhagavat) implored by his worshipers (*śivabhāgavata*, as they were called by Patañjali, a grammarian of the 2d century B.C.), an alarming, often terrible, and alternately orgiastic or ascetic figure, whose spouse Umā appears in the *Kena Upaniṣad* as the initiatrix of the gods. A very different figure is Vāsudeva, whom his worshipers, the Bhagavatas, recognize as the god of gods, and whom the Greek Heliodorus also caused to be represented as such on the column at Besnagar, the oldest monument of sectarian Hinduism. Vāsudeva is a legendary rather than a mythical figure; his devotees preserve the memory of his human existence and his descendance from the historical Vṛṣṇi clan, and the difference between this great being, manifestation of the unique, and other great beings who attained supreme knowledge, such as the Buddha or Jina, is but relative. This Indian propensity toward deifying human beings, examples of which abound throughout India's history, is particularly apparent in the worship of Viṣṇu in the Vaishnava doctrine of the avatars, or descents of the divinity, which are the instruments of divine action on the world. The personality of Viṣṇu is itself the product of an assimilation of various different divinities: Viṣṇu the solar god who, in the Vedas, traversed the three regions of space in three strides and who, in the Brāhmaṇas, is occasionally identified with the sacrifice; Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa; another Kṛṣṇa, the pastoral god of the Mathura region, who may himself be merely one of the aspects of a youthful god worshiped on the mountain peaks and from whom Śiva, the Tamil Murugan, Skanda Kumāra, and even the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (who dwells on Mount Potala) have inherited certain traits (A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, 2 vols., Paris, 1942–47); and finally Nara Nārāyaṇa, lord of the primordial waters — and these are only the most important of the divinities that compose Viṣṇu's personality.

All this religious effervescence was paralleled by speculative searching, which is manifest not only in the later Upanishads but also in two great epic poems, of Vaishnava tendencies, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, episodes of which are often represented in the temple carvings; an episode of the latter, the *Bhagavad Gītā* ("Song of the Lord"), constitutes a fundamental text of Hinduism; signs of this search may even have occurred in the earlier Purāṇas. This speculative inquiry, which later was rationalized, was expressed somewhat confusedly at first. Nevertheless, two different attitudes are readily distinguishable, attitudes which, though later to become contradictory, initially formed two perspectives of reality — the Sankhya and the *Vedānta*. The Sankhya attitude centers upon the created world; in its purest form, it recognizes no god or supreme lord. It acknowledges the action of the spirit on the world but regards the spirit as quite distinct from matter, which the spirit cannot produce and which, like the spirit, is eternal. The first cause of the nonspiritual world, which also constitutes its substance, is known as Prakṛti (she who produces, the fashioner), who is fecundated by the spirit, known as Puruṣa (the male). Thus, just as some mythology conceives of the world as the issue of a primordial couple, so the Sankhya sees it as the union of two principles. The spirit is by definition without quality (*nirguṇa*), but the *prakṛti* consists of three qualities (*guṇas*) blended in varying proportions: the sattva, luminous and pure; the rajas, active and passional; and the tamas, dark and ponderous. As for individual souls, the Sankhya merely notes their plurality. The eternal monads, each one of which is identical to itself and similar to the others, can be bound by ties (*guṇas*) to the *prakṛti* but are capable of regaining their liberty. Parallel to this endeavor to comprehend the world, the *Vedānta* offers a meditation on the human being based on the upanishadic gnosis. The *Vedānta* presents itself as a perception of a higher order, beside which, from the point of view of the unique reality, all knowledge (vidya), since it is illusory and fallacious, is nescience (avidya). The *Vedānta* tends throughout toward a more or less intransigent monism, which it was nevertheless obliged to compromise. Since the *Vedānta* recognizes the unique being of the one, the supreme atman, the *Paramātman*, as an axiom, it is usually obliged to deny to the world and its multiple beings any more than a relative degree of existence; maya, or creative energy, thus appeared suspect, and the term (possibly because of the influence of some aspect of Buddhism) often came to denote a sort of deception, to which the senses fall prey and which hides reality from them, a universal illusion promoted to the rank of a cosmic process.

By the Gupta period (4th–6th cent. of the Christian era), during which Indian civilization reached its apogee and Hindu art as it is now known developed, the major trends of Hinduism had crystallized. Its subsequent evolution was to consist in the development of certain already incipient tendencies, in an ever-increasing dispersal, and in a systematization that is a characteristic of the Brahmanic spirit.

One of the most prominent features of medieval Hinduism was its sectarian dispersal. In addition to the partitioning of society into castes, which grew steadily more complicated and rigid, came a parcelling into sects, which went counter to the castes; for the sect developed from a different basis and, generally speaking, ignores the caste. It should be noted that the term "sect" here refers not only to the larger sectarian groupings, such as Vaishnavism, Saivism (worship of Śiva), and Shaktism, but also to their subdivisions, which alone constitute social entities: the Bhagavatas, Pāñcarātras, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Paśupatas, Kāpālikas, Lingayats, and Saiva Siddhantas. Although it is connected with Saivism, Shaktism constitutes something

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of an exception among the sects, for it involves worship of the deity's creative energy, his *śakti*, which is conceived as female and personified in the goddess Kālī.

During this same period Hindu literature became enriched with new texts, the Purāṇas and the Tantras. The Purāṇas (books on ancient lore) themselves were edited in their present form during the medieval period, while the most recent among them were not completed before 1200, although the name had existed for centuries. The Purāṇas are vast compilations, in which cosmogony, genealogy, and myths are mingled with writing on ritual and even with the rudiments of secular learning. The fundamental texts of the different sects are collectively designated as Tantras, a term which, in its broadest sense, refers both to the Saiva Āgamas and the Vaishnava Samhitas, works of considerable importance, which continue the Purāṇas and embody many preexisting religious elements. However, the Tantras properly so called (that is, in the narrowest sense of this term) are works reserved for the initiated and profoundly marked by a preoccupation with magic; in addition to practices enlarging the elements of Yoga by adding all the resources of physiology and, in particular, that of sexuality, they describe ceremonies, frequently performed at night, in the crematory fields. These Āgamas and Tantras, which abound in particulars of the ritual, the temples, and the cult images, are invaluable for the study of art and ritual, but the information they provide should be applied very warily to earlier works of art for which the support of contemporary doctrinal texts is lacking. Fortunately, Tantrism developed and codified traditions frequently alluded to in earlier texts.

A study of Hindu iconography, while revealing the popular and mythological aspect of Hinduism, would give rise to the impression that India was fundamentally polytheistic and idolatrous. But a more fitting description than polytheism is polymorphism of the divine. Hinduism is endowed with a sense of the proliferation of the divine as a manifestation of the maya. Hence the tendency to pluralize the aspects and powers of the divine in a fragmentation of the divine substance; the attributes with which every sacred image is endowed were multiplied, and gods were imagined with thousands of heads and arms. Divinity is often symbolized by anatomical monstrosities, of which artists have managed to make esthetically valid figures. This striving for expressiveness is aided by a large number of conventions: attributes, gestures (mudras), attitudes (PL. 227), dress. Not only are the gods legion, but the representations of one and the same god are multiplied at will; with Viṣṇu, for instance, one has merely to change the order of the emblems held in his four hands, to obtain 24 different aspects of him, all duly catalogued. Paralleling this pluralistic tendency, however, as though in reaction to it, Hinduism manifested an aspiration toward the unique or indefinable. The two tendencies are summed up in the doctrine of the avatars, in which the avatar is seen as the most current and most immanent phenomenon in everyday experience; partial avatars, more or less rich in divine essence, are also recognized. This divine essence is of the very substance of Viṣṇu. Thus, there also existed a disposition to recombine the divine, which gave rise to numerous syncretisms and found artistic expression in the creation of composite types: the Trimūrti, or trinity (uniting Viṣṇu and Brahmā with Śiva), and Harihara (half Viṣṇu, half Śiva). The manifold aspects of Śiva, though duly acknowledged, are recombined in Śiva Ardhanārīśvara, whose left half is Kālī, or in the three-headed Maheśamūrti, the most celebrated example of which is at Elephanta.

Last but most sacred of all the images of Śiva is that which is placed in the sanctuary and which is simply called the "linga," a term meaning "mark" or "sign." Although the linga is merely a phallic symbol, sometimes adorned with Śiva's features (*mukhaliṅga*; PL. 476), it is completely devoid of lewdness (PL. 232); on the contrary, the faithful are well aware that the linga transcends iconolatry. It was by persisting in such abstraction that India, which has never retreated from the extreme consequence, drove her religious art to its own annihilation: the faithful flock to the temple in southern Chidambaram to worship an invisible linga of space (*ākāśaliṅga*).

IMAGE AND CULT. The images of the gods, which play an important role in the everyday life of India, are essentially cult images. They serve in the puja, which has become the basic rite of Hinduism with acts of homage paid to the image by the worshipers or the priests, who present it with food, drink, perfumes, and flowers; light lamps in front of it; and from time to time, wash, dress, and adorn it. On rarer occasions the image is paraded on a triumphal car (ratha) or even taken to bathe in a sacred pool or river, in ceremonies that are enlivened by the performance of popular mysteries (see DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES). This cult of images, which is not of Vedic origin, is first mentioned in the texts dating from about 400 B.C.; the *Adbhūta Brāhmaṇa*, the Gṛhyasūtras, and the Dharmasūtras allude to both images and temples.

However, such idolatry, or seeming idolatry, was not universally accepted, and certain Brahmans, the Śrautas, continued to abide by the Vedic tradition. Other theologians, endeavoring to justify the cult of images, argued that humanity in the modern age (the *Kāliyūga*, or dark age), is so profoundly immersed in the material as to be incapable of rising spontaneously to a purely spiritual form of worship and is obliged to have recourse to this same material reality even to rid its spirit of the impure alloy that binds it to earth. Even the godhead himself, as they also pointed out, does not disdain to manifest himself in the realm of maya, in order that he may become accessible to the material consciousness.

Generally speaking, the image of the divinity is regarded as being merely an instrument to promote the worshiper's spiritual life. It is in no way an object of worship, but merely an accessory of the cult, and the cult is a means to arrive at a spiritual end. The texts are at pains to make it quite clear that the puja is exclusively a mental act which accompanies the ritual. A text quoted by Giuseppe Tucci (1949), for example, explains that the flowers offered to the linga represent virtues. This same idea is developed in the Tantras, but the principle has far more ancient origins: in the earliest Upanishads, the oblation to fire (*agnīhotra*) had already been commuted to a mental rite. The Tantras amplify and define ritual techniques which differ only superficially from those of an earlier period. The image is defined as merely a manifested sign of the unknowable, before which the worshiper gives himself up to a meditation, whose stages are described in the texts and taught to the pupil by the guru (master). This meditation admits of psychological nuances. Like a lover whose gaze lingers caressingly on the body of his beloved, the bhakta (worshiper) rapturously pores over every detail of the image, seeking, as he gazes, to transcend his analytical contemplation in order to arrive at a total perception (much harder to evoke and preserve), which he finally abstracts, sinking himself in a sea of love.

Other texts describe the succeeding stages of the discipline called Yoga: concentration on a fixed point, sustained attention, and then mental contemplation which produces an inner vision. Finally, all distinction between subject and object is eliminated and the contents of one's consciousness become identified with the inner vision. In short, meditation before the image of the divinity, practiced in accordance with a ritual that varies from sect to sect, belongs in the category of methods directed toward eliminating the distinction between the self and the others in order to destroy the illusion of duality. It is evident that the image most appropriate to this process of approach to reality, through the veil of the maya, is that of the *śakti*, or divine creative energy, since the world — that is, the maya — is itself a display of creative energy. But the puja may be applied to any divinity or aspect of a divinity. Thus, in some ways, the image of a divine being is merely an aid to a spiritual exercise — not an object of devotion, but an accessory of devotion, an instrument, or, to use the Sanskrit term, a *yantra*. To the same end, the Hindus similarly worship the guru or a woman whose nature presents mysterious affinities with that of the *śakti*. Another kind of yantra used is of a purely geometrical order, consisting essentially in a figure composed of polygons, circles, and lotus blooms with stylized lanceolate petals. This yantra is a mere diagram, occasionally enlivened with a few Sanskrit characters and endowed by the worshiper, as his

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gaze travels over it, with a spiritual content codified by the texts and learned from the guru.

In effect, the linear yantra, the temple, and in some cases, the statuary yantra are objects designed to be mentally or physically traversed from the periphery toward the center, the state of divine exaltation steadily augmenting as the center is approached. With the most celebrated linear yantra, the *śrīyantra*, the worshiper starts in spirit from the outer zone, traverses three circles and three squares, and, after having passed through zones of sixteen and eight petals, penetrates to an inner area of interlaced equilateral triangles enclosing the undifferentiated absolute, the *Paramātman*. It is essential that a yantra be just as rigorously accurate as a formula or a technical design, a necessity which renders it equally difficult of comprehension. In certain Tantras the image has become a cryptogram which only the initiated are able to decipher. Tucci mentions an image of the *śakti* holding a bow in the lower left hand and five floral arrows in the upper, a cord in the lower right hand and a hook in the upper. These attributes symbolize, respectively, the spirit, matter in the form of the five elements, the passions, and anger; in addition, each attribute is associated with a mystic syllable (mantra): *tham*, *hum*, and so on.

Such conventions are customary only in the Tantras. Generally speaking, the image is a provisional means of attaining union with the deity in one of his manifestations. In principle, worship of the divinity is not possible except through identification with the divine, as is attested by various adages: *nādevo devam arcayet*, "no one who is not himself divine may (successfully) worship the divinity"; *devam bhūtva devam yajet*, "having become the deity, one should offer sacrifice to it." Accordingly, puja should transcend the phases of a ritual or an intellectual meditation to become a true spiritual experience. The method followed by the worshiper is the reverse of that of the artist, for the techniques of creating and utilizing a religious image together make up a perfect symmetry; the expression "second creation," frequently used to denote the process of assimilation of an image into the consciousness of the contemplative, here applies in its most literal sense.

A number of relatively late treatises establish and minutely define the extremely strict rules to which the painter or sculptor is obliged to conform, and these might lead to the assumption that the Hindu artist is a mere executant, deprived of all creative freedom. Indeed, the Indians regard the treatises (shastras) as the expression of a preestablished norm that is one of the manifestations of the universal order. This universal order was earlier known to Vedism as *ṛta* and is more or less the same concept as that suggested by the word "Dharma," which refers not only to the social and moral order of the universe but to its physical order as well. Dharma, one of the most important words in Indian civilization, comes from a root meaning "to support," or "to sustain" (Lat., *firmus*). Dharma constitutes the permanent support of the universe, of which the social and political order (a reflection in human behavior of the universal harmony) is an aspect. Thus, if the social order is disturbed, the atmospheric equilibrium and the normal alternation of the seasons are likely to be involved in the disturbance. The king, as the defender of the Dharma, is responsible not only for the morals of his subjects but also for the fertility of the soil and the fecundity of the cattle — a political aspect of the Dharma that, as will be seen, considerably influenced symbolism in architecture. Attempts had been made, even before the appearance of the Upanishads, to define the cosmic organization by establishing points of correspondence between the world of man and the world of the gods, between microcosm and macrocosm, points of correspondence which these texts, concealing a wealth of innovatory audacity behind traditional modes of thought, multiplied in an effort to obtain a deeper insight into the cosmic mystery.

Under such circumstances it is obvious that man in his creative activity cannot presume to anarchic liberty. All creative activity is regulated by clearly defined traditional rules, handed on from master to pupil. All religious art must conform to the treatises, for fear of being as sacrilegious and as scandalous as would be a man of low caste who presumed to recite the Vedas and as dangerous as a sacrifice not performed in accordance with the ritual. The artist's freedom is curtailed by a rigid code of conventions, which guarantees the harmonization of a work of art with the universal order; yet this constraint, far from prejudicing the affirmation of his personality, renders it more complex, more self-critical, and ultimately, more brilliant.

The universal harmony is considered to be subject to the law of numbers; the word "maya" itself, which had originally designated the illusionistic power of the old cosmic deity Varuṇa, and which later came to signify the universal illusion, is connected with the root *mā*, meaning "to measure" (the same root from which several Indo-European languages derived their word for month and for the moon, whose phases mark the course of time). The maya is the "measurer," who engenders time and space. The creative magic is part of a gigantic geometrical and chronological scheme, and the visible world is characterized by the fact that it pertains to the measurable. These concepts led to the establishment of a rigorous system of proportions, called *pramāṇa*, a term also derived from the root *mā*. Designating not only the true criteria of knowledge but also the correct method of executing a statue, *pramāṇa* is one of the series of terms which most clearly reveal Brahmanic and scholastic India's interest in the norm rather than in the diversity of reality. Although the rules for religious art were doubtless not always so restrictive as some of the later treatises would lead one to suppose, the medieval period witnessed the compilation of catalogues of measurements, which effectively eliminated every last inaccuracy of detail; these catalogues, moreover, assign particular importance to certain so-called "privileged" numbers (especially the number 108), despite the fact that these numbers bear no relation whatever to esthetics: the ideal height for the figure of a divinity, for instance, is given as 108 times the width of the thumb. Thus, the first requisite demanded of the image of a divinity is that it be correct, or in conformity with the treatises (the meaning of the word *śāstrīya*). However, this is only the beginning: like the puja, the creation of an image is a religious exercise. Having purified himself, the artist prepares for his task by prayer and meditation, after which he withdraws within himself, creates a mental image in conformity with the shastras, and only when this hidden image has reached completion within him, only when all its details are present and immutable in his mind's eye, may he proceed to its material creation. Kashmirian Saivism expressly compares the artist's process of mental creation to the divine creation; Abhinavagupta, in order to explain how Śiva creates the world without any material aid, cites the painter, who conceives his image without canvas, paints, or paintbrushes.

After the image has taken material form, it is endowed with its power of suggestion through a rite of consecration, essentially an anointment, followed by a ceremony of so-called "awakening," or "opening of the eyes," and a first solemn puja. Finally, the worshiper, observing the same iconographic traditions as the artist, and with the help of the material image before him, must in his turn create a mental image, which, when projected onto the material image, constitutes the cult image properly so-called, for the mental image confers a higher reality on the material image. Thus the artist, the priest, and the worshiper successively endow the image with divinity, and it is to this threefold operation that the image owes its sacred character.

THE TEMPLE AND THE COSMOS. *Cosmology and the sacred edifice.* Both in its entirety and in its details, the Hindu temple is invested with a complex symbolism that has several corresponding, mutually allusive, and evocative aspects. This has been established through the efforts of numerous scholars — among whom E. B. Havell, Jean Przyluski, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Robert von Heine-Geldern, George Cœdès, Paul Mus, Giuseppe Tucci, and Stella Kramrisch deserve special mention. Research in this field, however, is still far from having provided either conclusive proof or complete clarification with regard to all the implications of this manifold correspondence. To begin with, this symbolism of the temple can readily be referred to its cosmic element: the temple represents the cosmos. But

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it must be remembered that according to the Brāhmaṇas the cosmos is man (*puruṣa*); the Vedic hymn to Puruṣa explains that the social body is also man, and that Yoga superimposes a mystic pseudoanatomy on the physical anatomy.

The principal aspects of this symbolism are already present in the fire altar (*agnicayana*), the only type of monument the Vedists built, and it is in this altar, at the source, where the symbolism is still relatively simple, that the symbolic meanings should be studied. The altar, which took no less than a year to complete, was a simple terrace built of a fixed number of bricks, precisely 10,800. Like their Vedic predecessors, the Hindu masons attached great importance to the privileged status of certain numbers. The bricks were laid out according to a prescribed pattern to represent either a man or a falcon with spread wings, which in itself was identified with a man. The structure preserved the memory of a time when a human being had been sacrificed for the occasion, together with four animal victims; the heads of the five were walled into the altar and their bodies were thrown into the water used to prepare the clay. A human being had thus been incorporated into the altar in a sacrifice which mystically repeated the dismemberment of the primordial man. More precisely, the altar represented man himself reduced to an architectural diagram. The raising of the fire altar was a rite in which the sacrificer was identified at once with the victim and with the creature (man or beast) represented by the altar, while the victim himself was identified with the primordial man. Thus, the raising of the fire altar constituted the counterpart of the cosmic sacrifice, the reconstruction of Prajāpati, in short, a permanent complement of the creation.

The various meanings of the word *puruṣa*, which, in the Sankhya doctrines, signifies the spirit opposed to matter, may seem perplexing, but an ancient conceptual background, which can always be discerned, ensures the coherence of the symbolism despite the multiplicity of its aspects. The cosmos was born of a primordial couple (produced by a scission of the androgyne, who assumed male essence and engendered a female out of himself); the dualism of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* offers a philosophical metamorphosis of this couple, Prajāpati and Vāc (the Word) in the Brahmanic interpretation. Even the Brāhmaṇas regard Prajāpati as the spirit: *mano hi Prajāpatiḥ*. The two senses of the word *puruṣa* (or Puruṣa) are not really contradictory; the cosmic giant is indeed the abstract framework of the universe, clothed in the changing variety of matter. All this is a translation of the ancient concept, widely held from Egypt to China, of the union of the earth and sky (P. Mus, G. Monod-Herzen).

Since the temple, like the fire altar, is conceived as representing the framework, or skeleton, of the cosmos, its architectural form is largely determined by this concept, although the symbolism investing it, a few aspects of which will be examined, applies essentially to the real (and implicit) temple (*sphoṭa*), of which the visible temple is but an approximate rendering. In the Vedic ritual the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) was regarded as representing the *axis mundi* and the pillar (stambha) as supporting the vault of the firmament; puranic cosmology pictured this gigantic support separating the earth and sky as a mountain (Mount Meru) in the form of a stepped pyramid flaring out in a bulbous or bell-shaped curve toward its apex. The earthly counterpart of Mount Meru is Mount Kailasa, dwelling place of Śiva, located in the north of India, at the center of the earth. There is no identification of the two mountains, but a close correspondence between them, which is inherent in the general pattern of organization of the Universe.

In India, as in Cambodia (q.v.), the temple is built in the likeness of Mount Meru (and therefore also of Mount Kailasa), a likeness which may remain merely implicit or may be more or less eloquently manifest in the actual appearance of the monument (see COSMOLOGY AND CARTOGRAPHY; ESCHATOLOGY). Although these concepts were popularized only by the medieval texts and the inscriptions of the Khmer culture of Cambodia, they date from a very early period. Testimony to their ancient origins is offered by occasional allusions in the texts, which are far too few, however, to allow a coherent study; the *Rāmāyaṇa* describes a temple as being "as magnificent as the peak of Mount Kailasa" (*Kailāsaśikharaprakhyam*). It was certainly as much the requirements of symbolism as the technical necessities of the corbeled vault that led the Hindus to cover the sanctuaries of their temples with steep roofs; in the nagara style, they were actually called shikaras (peaks) and in the interests of symbolism as well as for technical and esthetic reasons were built up in successive stories. Thus, while the sanctuaries at Ellora and Badami had been hollowed out of the mountain (IV, PL. 130), the rathas (temples) at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) and the Kailāsanātha (Kailasa shrine) at Ellora, which were carved from the living rock as freestanding entities to represent the mountain itself, also bore decorations carved on the outside (IV, 254). The sanctuary, which later became a mountain built of bricks or stone, perhaps in the very beginning had been built of wood. Although constructed according to two different techniques, both the Kailāsanātha at Ellora and that at Kanchipuram are styled "similar to Mount Kailasa" (plaques of Vēlūrpalayam and Baroda). The temple of Śāluvarikuppam is even called "comparable to the Kailāsamandara"; Mount Mandara is the cosmic churn which caused creation to spring up from the Sea of Milk, image of the primordial waters, and this composite name testifies eloquently to the polyvalence of symbolism.

In southeastern Asia — especially in Cambodia and Champa — in Java, and even in modern Bali, the symbolism has been subject to corruption but also has been enriched and expanded with new concepts. In Cambodia, where the esoteric significance of the temples has been the object of particularly thorough study, the architect endeavored, if not to render the cosmos in detail, at least to evoke new and more complex aspects of it. The entire city of Angkor Thom, as restored by the Buddhist ruler Jayavarman VII at the close of the 12th century, is a reproduction of the cosmos; the temple, which represents the Central Mount, is surrounded, as in the cosmos, by an outer wall, this latter in turn surrounded by moats symbolizing the peripheral ocean. It is of little consequence that the central temple, the Bayon, happens to be Buddhist (VIII, PL. 372); the concept of the function of architecture remains the same. Moreover, the architectural program in Cambodia, to an even greater extent than in India, constituted an indispensable instrument of political power; to say that the temple-mountain was intended as a replica of the cosmic mountain, or the *axis mundi*, would not represent the whole of its significance; in accordance with the tantrist ritual set up by the Brahman Sadāsiva, the Mahendraparvata (the mountain on which Jayavarman II, the universal monarch, built his capital in the 9th century) was mystically identified with Mount Meru. It was with the founding of the temple in which this ritual was performed and which, as it were, epitomized the capital that this prince "returned from Java" (where he had doubtless been held as hostage) and liberated Cambodia from the domination of the Śailendra dynasty, that is, from the "Indras of the mountain" (gods who exercised their authority from the summit). Indeed, as the king, who was Indra among men, constituted the apex, or center, of humanity and was in direct communication with the gods, so the urban and royal temple constituted the *umbilicus mundi*, the center of the universal kingdom.

This recalls the close affinity of certain Indian and Mesopotamian concepts, which Jean Przyluski pointed out in connection with the city of the universal monarch. As Heine-Geldern observed, man fashioned his kingdom, his capital, his palace, his temple in the likeness of the cosmological edifice and in harmony with the magic relation between the human world and the universe; in this relation colors, stones, and metals and all the events of life are assigned to the various constellations and regions of space which determine destiny, and all have their appointed magic place in the universal edifice and their magic time in association with the movements of the planets.

This affinity would be called to mind even without the curious morphological resemblance between temple-mountain and ziggurat. The terraced structure representing Mount Kailasa on a pediment of the Khmer temple at Banteay Srei (967) is precisely that which the Purāṇas assign, inverted, to Mount Meru and which the Buddhists had already given to the complex inverted parasol (II, PL. 404) that surmounted the dome

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(*aṇḍa*, meaning literally "egg") of their early stupas. This obviously does not mean that the Khmer temple-mountain was in any way, shape, or manner copied from the ziggurat. However, the temple-mountain originated in concepts which, though Buddhist, were not without traces of Babylonian influence, and which found architectural expression in rather an unusual type of monument: the multistoried stupa, the most celebrated example of which was the gigantic stupa built by Kaniṣka at Peshawar and known from the descriptions of Chinese pilgrims. In this case, it is perhaps conceivable that the architect employed by this central Asian monarch might well have derived his inspiration from one of those impressive Babylonian ruins past which caravans for Mesopotamia had journeyed since the time of the *Bāveru* (or *Bāb-ilu*) *Jātaka*, and in which he might perhaps have recognized the expression of concepts familiar to him.

*Dynamics of the temple.* The Babylonians held that the planetary stories of the cosmos were paralleled, if not by spiritual degrees, at least by supraterrestrial levels of existence; India, with her passionate aspiration toward a progressive transcendence of the human condition, expanded this symbolism. In the representation of Mount Kailasa at Banteay Srei, the hierarchy of the different beings who people the various stories of the mountain is very clearly shown; the top story, immediately below Śiva's abode, is occupied by saintly ascetics. Nevertheless, a static diagram of the temple would in fact be far from complete; Hinduism, with its passion for pilgrimages, conceives the attainment of spiritual perfection as a long journey of many stages. In both Hinduism and Buddhism spiritual progress and even transmigration are at times regarded as a slow forward movement. Likewise, the temple is conceived as a place of transit, or, as in Sanskrit (though with a different application), a *tīrtha*, a word meaning primarily "ford," then "sacred bath," and lastly "place of pilgrimage" in general. The guardian divinities are sometimes referred to as "ferrymen," *tāras*, a word drawn from the same root. The Buddhist version of this concept is perhaps most eloquently expressed in the Neak Pean (VIII, PL. 374) in Cambodia; the whole symbolism in the carving on the doors of Buddhist temples (which can only be mentioned here) is connected with this idea (an arch representing the rainbow, or bridge between the earth and sky; *makaras*, or fantastic marine monsters; fluvial divinities; etc.).

The most elemental aspect of this devotional dynamism, practiced in honor of a sacred person or object, is the *pradakṣiṇā*, or circumambulation, which consists in proceeding clockwise around a guru, a statue, a temple, or even an entire river, such as the Ganges. The *pradakṣiṇā*, in the same way as the mudras, is a rite constituting a corporeal participation in prayer; in some cases it was translated into architecture and an ambulatory, the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, was provided. It is this element which gives the Durgā temple at Aihole (I, PL. 220) the basilical plan — exceptional among Hindu temples — of the Buddhist chaityas. In Cambodia the *pradakṣiṇā* inspired the creation of the continuous gallery that bounds the terraces of the temple-mountain; at Angkor Wat the decoration in the galleries shows that there the circumambulation was performed in the direction opposite to that normally followed; from this scholars have been able to deduce that this temple had a funerary character. In many of the Saiva temples of northern India, the southern façade is dedicated to Viṣṇu, the western to Śiva, and the northern to Brahmā; the *pradakṣiṇā* thus brings the worshiper successively face to face with three aspects of the divine, personified in the members of the Trimūrti, and subsequently takes him on round to the eastern façade, to face the door through which he may perceive, within the sanctuary, the unique reality — the linga, symbol of the Unique One. Likewise, the shikara symbolizes the cosmic pillar, the gigantic linga which Brahmā in the form of a swan could not fly over, and which Viṣṇu in the form of a boar failed to uproot with his snout, but which opens to reveal the Lord, who is potentially manifest within its hermetic perfection. In the vast complexes of the temples of southern India, the worshiper proceeds through the mazes of a highly intricate symbolism which culminates in the sanctuary, the center and mystic summit of the whole architectural complex. For the center (as has been clearly demonstrated — by Mircea Eliade in particular) is identified with the summit. The true progression, such as that which took the Babylonian priest up to the top of the ziggurat, into the presence of his god (*Bā-ilu*, "door of God"), is that which moves upward. In the Dharmarāja Rathe, a temple at Mamallapuram where there is enough room to circulate behind the miniature structures adorning the superstructure and a stairway leads from the second to the third story so that circumambulation could be internally performed, the sanctuary is located literally in the center and at the summit of the temple, in a small niche carved out on the third story, which — and this is a significant detail — marks a transition from a square to a circular plan. However, it is not known whether the worshiper was normally allowed to enter this sanctuary or whether, as Jouveau Dubreuil supposes, there was also a stairway going from the first (ground) floor up to the second floor. There is room for doubt on both scores, since the hiatus between the profane and the sacred world would appear to be an element of the symbolism attaching to this temple. The true *pradakṣiṇā* is that which is performed in the mind; from this point of view, the difference between the Dharmarāja Ratha and the later temples fades, as the distance between the Indian and the Khmer temple, or even between temple and *yantra*, decreases. In a *yantra*, too, the essential point is the center, which, representing, as it were, the apex of the universe, the projection of the absolute, is called *bindu*, a word meaning "drop" or "dot," as well as "zero" (and, in the Tantra, "sperm").

*The temple and time.* The temple is intended essentially to serve as a reminder of transcendence, the idea of which, since it denotes a surmounting, contains an implicit reference to the relative. Inversely, the realization of the illusory nature of creation leads to a perception of the absolute; this is why the *śakti*, or creative power (an illusionistic power), is identified with the saving mercy of the deity. Now, the supreme revealer of the maya is time: time carries off all that assumes the appearance of reality; time, the great conjuror, animates the kaleidoscope of appearances; the very name of Kālī, who is both *śakti* and maya, points with an obvious play on words at the Sanskrit word of time, *kāla*; the epithet "Mahākāla" (which may mean either "Eternity" or "Destroyer") is applied, at once logically and paradoxically, to Śiva.

The Indians have always been fascinated by time and large numbers. The Indian genius which conceived the positional value of numbers (thereby inventing the zero, *bindu*, key to this notation) also devised the repetition on different scales of the same temporal cycles; the days and years of man, the days and years of Indra, and the days and years of Brahmā form overlapping sets of cycles. Further, the pulsations of the cosmos suggested transmigration, and it is here that the Indian concept of time ceased to be the speculation of philosophic astronomers and, as Heinrich Zimmer and Mircea Eliade have stressed, time has a saving virtue. Nothing could more clearly illustrate this concept than a brief summary of a puranic episode (previously cited by these two scholars), which, in denouncing the vanity of architecture, emphasizes the illusion of time. Indra has asked the divine architect to build him a palace in keeping with his dignity as king of the gods; presently, however, Viṣṇu, who is lord of the maya, visited him in the form of a ragged young urchin and proceeded to explain to him the mysteries of the creations and destructions of the universe; the life of an Indra is only 306,720,000 human years long, and that of a Brahmā lasts only 1,103,760 times longer. Whereupon, noticing an enormous column of ants, the boy burst out laughing; all these ants were reincarnations of former Indras. Another episode relates how Narada, to whom Viṣṇu had revealed the maya, lived within the space of a few moments (the time required to draw some water from a pool) an entire human destiny, which combined events of the deepest tragedy with hours of great happiness.

It was this spirit with its taste for overlapping that motivated the decoration of the superstructure of the medieval temples. The roof of the Dravidian temple presents itself as the rep-

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etition on two different scales of one and the same element, since it is decorated with small-scale replicas of itself (*pañcārams*, as the Tamil architects called them), in the same way that a divine year is made up of human years or a destiny comprises a multitude of destinies. Despite their very different outward appearance, the temples of the type called "Nagara" were built according to the same principles; the shikara also comprises several stories, on each of which the same elements are repeated: tiers of decorative horseshoe apertures (*kūḍus*), each tier topped by a lotiform melon-shaped member (amalaka); a single amalaka used as a crowning member epitomizes the whole structure (PL. 230). For greater eloquence, the central shikara is sometimes encircled, as though besieged, by a host of smaller shikaras.

Research in this field has not yet progressed far enough for full discussion of the symbolism; however, the temple is the symbolic continuation of the fire altar, which was, in the poetic expression of Paul Mus, "time-constructed" (e.g., with groupings of 360 bricks suggesting the 360 days of the Indian year). The idea is constantly reiterated; "Agni is the year"; "this fire altar is Prajāpati and Prajāpati is the year," that is, time. Also, such passages in the Brāhmanas as "Prajāpati is the year" and "the year is death," with the cyclic concept of the parallelism between rebirth and the return of the year (also including that of the cosmic phases) must assume a saving value in Indian eyes. Since in the temples the very principle of the tiered arrangement — as in the superstructure — suggests the alternation of the seasons, it would be very surprising if the temple were not likewise "time-constructed." Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the vase (*kalaśa*) constituting the inaccessible finial of the sanctuary symbolizes the *bindu* (the absolute), the *akāla*, (the "timeless"), the bubble at the apex of being which bursts into nonbeing; the obvious allusion is to release (moksha) — which is cessation of transmigration (that is, of subjective time) — and to the superior lotus (of the Yoga pseudoanatomy) located at the apex of the skull — the lotus whose flowering leads the way into undifferentiation.

ESTHETICS AND SPIRITUALITY. Hinduism regards a work of art as an indispensable but transitory intermediary in a purely spiritual experience — a modest connective between the dualistic world, from which the worshiper sets out and to which the artist descends, and the unitary world to which the former rises and from which the latter returns. This attitude raises the question of the role, in this process, of the purely esthetic qualities of a work of art; in other words, it poses the question of whether inner, spiritual vision is susceptible of esthetic qualities and, if so, how much of this spiritual or ideal beauty is reflected in the material work of art. What is the essential artistic value of creations that, it would seem, are only incidentally viewed as works of art? What spiritual value, if any, does Hinduism attach to the esthetic experience?

Undeniably, the answers to such questions have varied widely over the centuries. Despite the variant responses, however, it would be a grave error of omission to stress the rigid codification of Hindu religious art and neglect entirely its independent esthetic values. That Indians are intensely aware of beauty and art is proved by the interest of Indian scholars in problems of esthetics. A distinct concept of beauty, however, is in a sense superfluous, since that of Dharma suffices; the harmonization of a work of art with the universal order is regarded as ultimate perfection. Dharma governs all creative activity, from that of the architect to that of the simple craftsman, giving religious as well as artistic significance to even the most humble endeavor; thus the attention to beauty manifest in the minor arts is prompted by religious considerations. Accordingly, the Sanskrit vocabulary, otherwise so rich in words expressing the infinite nuances of charm (*rūpavan*, "of beautiful forms," εὔμορφος; *saundara*, "graceful"; *ramya*, "charming"), has no word corresponding to the Greek καλός ("beautiful"), with that tinge of speculation with which Plato, for example, endows it. To postulate, as some commentators have been inclined to do, that Indians have been unconscious of or have discounted the concept of beauty would be grossly to misapprehend the spirit of Indian art. On the contrary, Indians have been deeply aware of the power of art; indeed, both the Buddhists and the Jains have at times seen fit to take a dim view of so potent a source of captivation. Yet such scruples, expressed in the disciplinary texts (*Cullavagga*, VI, 3), did not impede the magnificent flowering of early Buddhist art.

In the 2d century the great Buddhist thinker and poet Aśvaghoṣa still felt obliged to make some apology for having given a poetic rendering of the master's teachings: just as, with the addition of a little honey, a salutary but bitter medicine can be made delectable without losing its efficacy, so the art of the poet can render the master's words appealing, even to him who has not the necessary spiritual preparation to appreciate their pristine austerity. The very title that Aśvaghoṣa gave his work — *Sūtrālaṅkāra* ("The Adornment of the Sūtras") — is significant, for it furnishes the first approximately dated mention of *alaṅkāra*, a word that embodies a major concept of Indian art. Notwithstanding the felicitous solutions that one cannot fail to recognize in its creative works after even the most cursory study, the Indian esthetic directed Indian art into a course that, although very different from the one into which the Greeks were finally diverted, was in the end as circumscribed and futile, as hard to escape. Noting that art could enhance nature, Indian artists tended to confuse beauty with pure embellishment.

Another Buddhist, the idealist Asaṅga who lived a few centuries later (early 5th cent.?), advanced well beyond his coreligionist Aśvaghoṣa. In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* Asaṅga explained that the sight of the reflection of an object in a mirror could rouse a specific pleasure quite independent of the utility of the object itself. Thus, he elicited the concept of beauty in attempting to define esthetic pleasure.

Art — the present remarks concern nonreligious art — is dependent upon the doctrine of pleasure (*kāmaśāstra*). Adopting the Brahmanic jargon of the four incentives to human activity (the *caturvarga*), it may accordingly be said that the sight of an object which is designed for a particular use (artha) and which is in conformity with the Dharma can, if this same object has been fashioned by a skillful craftsman, induce an increase of pleasure (*kāma*); moreover, it was early discovered that this enjoyment could also be contributory to release (moksha).

According to Bhaṭṭanāyaka, an 8th-century esthetician, the contemplation of beauty brings about an inward illumination, due to the purity of the emotion experienced, or, in the Sankhya terms in which he set forth this idea: sattva (truth) prevails over rajas (restless activity) and tamas (ignorance), which, in contrast, prevail in the emotions excited by the ordinary sights of life. It is for this reason, as he goes on to explain, that the pictorial representation of a repugnant scene may very well engender esthetic enjoyment.

The emotions, or, more precisely, the affective flavors present in a work of art, which communicate themselves to the spectator's sensibility, are known in Indian rhetoric as rasas. The theory of rasa, like all Indian esthetic theories, was formulated chiefly in connection with drama and poetry; nevertheless, the allusions in the treatises to sculpture and, particularly, to painting are sufficiently numerous for it to be possible to apply this theory to the visual arts without risk of misrepresenting the intentions of their creators. The perception of rasas can be beneficial to the worshiper's spiritual life. According to the Kashmirian philosopher Abhinavagupta, perception of the rasa not only purifies the "mirror of the spirit" and sharpens the power of sympathy but also enables the *saḥṛdaya* ("he whose heart is with") to discover his own psyche, for that which becomes manifest to him in fact preexisted within him, in the form of latent potentialities built up in the course of his former existences. Enjoyment (*bhojakatava*), therefore, by awakening these latent powers, by stirring up a submerged and entirely unknown life which becomes visible to one's consciousness, destroys Karma. From a religious point of view, the most important of the rasas is that which — to use a paradox that appeals to Abhinavagupta — is characterized by the complete absence of rasa: the pacified rasa (*śāntarasa*) which induces serenity (*śama*). This is the rasa which, underlying all the other rasas, induces the intense bliss (ananda) that contact with any truly beautiful work of art

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engenders (see ESTHETICS). The majestic composure inherent in the expression or pose of a sculptured or painted figure (e.g., the proud and tranquil bearing of the young Brahman carrying sacred water at Mamallapuram) is often evocative of the *śāntarasa*; the predominance of sattva even in certain representations marked by rajas — such as that of Rudra in the Maheśamūrti at Elephanta — recalls the fact that Abhinavagupta considers the hidden or manifest presence of the *śāntarasa* indispensable to every work of art. The status achieved by one who has freed his soul of passions and is in touch with an ineffable reality is the same as that which crowns the efforts of the yogi. The supreme yogi, the master of Yoga, spellbound in the sublime solitude of the unique one, is Śiva. Of all the representations of its kind in Hindu art, that at Mamallapuram most cogently expresses the tireless perseverance of the efforts of an introspectively meditating ascetic; he is *yukta*, or united, and concentrated in mystic unity, and he has forced that which is by nature movement — body, breath, psychomental flux — into immobility.

The myth which most eloquently illustrates the active value of this profound quietude is that of the dream of Viṣṇu: in the intervals between the Kalpas (cosmic cycles), Viṣṇu rests on the primordial waters, stretched out in sleep on the serpent Ananta (PL. 226). Heinrich Zimmer has dwelt at length on one aspect of this myth, namely, the illusion of time, which is symbolically rendered by the water, the magic element of transformation. Viṣṇu accumulates the cosmic energy from which creation springs; Brahmā is seated on a lotus bloom that has blossomed from Viṣṇu's navel. Once again, it is at Mamallapuram that the representation of this silent and eternal renewal of the world most in harmony with the spirit of medieval Hinduism can be found; the stiffness of the principal figure, carved with a somewhat awkward grandeur, and the disproportion between the divinity and the tiny worshipers lend the work a majesty that is not unworthy of the puranic gigantism. The sovereign power that can give life to repose and immobility, determining the triumph of active quiescence, could hardly be more convincingly expressed. A representation of the Gupta period, at Deogarh, is marked by entirely different qualities.

Although rhetoricians drew up lists of incompatibilities among the different rasas, one rasa is usually acknowledged to be omnipresent and to underlie all esthetic emotion; for Abhinavagupta, it is *śāntarasa*. If, however, a hitherto latent residue (*vāsanā*) is aroused by a suggestion (*vyañjana*) and comes to cloud the mirror of this perfect quietude, then various impressions immediately begin to shake the psyche and the *śāntarasa* becomes, as it were, colored and diversified. In the same way, disruption of the balance of the supreme consciousness, that is, of Śiva's conflicting but hitherto undifferentiated energies, sets in motion the creative process that is summed up in Śiva's dance; Viṣṇu dreams the world, Śiva dances it. The several variants of this dance, duly catalogued by the iconographers, did not appear simultaneously; Philippe Stern (1951), whose study advanced an original point of view, has shown how the timid movement (exemplified in what Stern calls "the first phase at Ellora") gained impetus until it reached a climax in the magnificent Dravidian figures — the outcome of development marked by continuous effort to preserve equilibrium in the face of ever-increasing dynamism. Even in the representations of Naṭarāja (Śiva as lord of the dance; PLS. 477, 488), the liveliest movement remains graceful and effortless and, with the most skillful balancing, the body retains its perfect verticality, despite the violence of its stance. The initial impression of stability, supreme indifference, and rigid discipline superimposed on tempestuous impulsion is celebrated and expounded in numerous Sanskrit and Tamil poems; representations such as these, in which each attribute has its own particular significance, are the sculptural expression of the Saiva concepts of the duality of Śiva, who is both creator and destroyer.

The energy of Śiva's dance reveals how medieval Hindu art is imbued with a sense of the dynamic gush of life, stimulated by the exuberance of the tropics. The dance symbolizes the same creative force elsewhere evoked by the pent-up potentialities of the linga, a force which is constantly erupting; for there is no question of the world's being created once and for all, or, to use an absurd mode of expression, of time's commencing in an instant of eternity; creative activity brooks no pause. Nevertheless, the dance takes the form of a completely spontaneous and joyfully performed sport; the demiurge manifests the ease of a professional tumbler. For the supreme magician, the lord of maya, the world is but a diversion (*līlā*). Despite its caprice, this spontaneous motion is essentially rhythmic, since it is dance: another confirmation of the existence, in this more or less illusory creation, of a universal order.

Even in his liveliest movements the divine dancer never loses his balance, nor does he ever allow himself to be carried away by his own frenzy; the discipline of the Supreme Yogi, which could hardly be less typical of Saivism, nevertheless marks the representations of the dancing Śiva. Śiva curbs and moderates his impetuosity for fear of destroying instantly that which he creates and of precipitating into the bosom of the indefectible unity the multiplicity which he engenders. Creation and destruction are two aspects, at most, two degrees of one and the same activity; joy and suffering are two faces of an identical reality: hence, Śiva's indifference and what might be called the amoralism of Saivism. In India there has always been a preoccupation with dualism, but there it was never conceived in terms of morality, as antagonism between good and evil (as it has been by others); so far as Hindus are concerned, good and evil alike proceed from the Divine. Thus Kālī is the mother whose love destroys her own offspring, as the Shakta poets proclaim, and her spouse is Mahākāla (Great Time, or Eternity), who swallows up all life. The world exists solely by virtue of a precarious balance between creation and destruction or, rather, of a moderation of the creative force. This apparent amoralism, however, has in itself a saving property, for a psychological aspect of the cosmic system is revealed. Holding the fire of destruction in one of his hands, the fire which burns bodies and which also consumes the hearts of those who love the Lord, destroying all illusion and ties, the Naṭarāja dances on a corpse: the corpse of the *apasmārapuruṣa*, the man who has gone astray. Śiva is also said to dance in the crematory field, and this cemetery, subjective center of the universe, common source of all passion and all destruction, is the human heart. Śiva in his fury unremittingly tramples on the illusion to which, despite the ever-present evidence of decrepitude and death, man so fiercely clings. Thus the worshiper, identifying himself with his god, dances on his own corpse. This delicate balance between the static and the dynamic (as opposed to another type of movement that is unrestrained, gesticulatory, and exaggerated) was the great esthetic achievement of the representations of the dancing Śiva and, indeed, was one of the triumphs of 7th-century Hindu art (of the period which Philippe Stern, in accordance with the chronological system he established, calls "the second phase at Ellora"). The supreme example may be that in the Cave of the Avatars at Ellora; the superb foreshortening in the complex curve of the torso, which captures the blasphemer's defiance and terror in the split second the one gives way to the other, represents not only a triumph of art but also of intellect.

Conceiving the world thus, man inevitably feels like a fragile toy at the mercy of indifferent forces; accordingly, while not disregarding the fullness of youth and beauty, he takes a cruel pleasure in emphasizing the miseries of human existence and its ultimate decrepitude. Beside opulent beauties whose affected coquetry is displayed in the most strangely contorted attitudes, Hindu art represents the divine mothers (a group of goddesses; PL. 229) as emaciated and wrinkled hags; nor does it shrink from scenes of the most atrocious repugnance (*bībhatsarasa*), which it represents with complacent sadism. The blasphemer, whose movements as, seized with sudden terror, he turns to flee, have been rendered with such consummate beauty by the sculptor of the Cave of the Avatars, is elsewhere represented paying the fearful penalty for his impiety: the deity, holding the wretched creature over his knee, sits calmly dismembering and disemboweling him, surrounded by the monstrous host that haunts the crematory fields: vampires and witches with drooping bosoms, bedecked with human bones, and growing intoxicated on marrow, which

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they drink out of human skulls. Hinduism's sense of the fragility of humankind also promoted, particularly during the medieval period, the taste for a grandiosity that overwhelms and dumfounds: the relief carvings illustrating the puranic myths, such as the Dream of Viṣṇu and the Descent of the Ganges, or "Arjuna's Penance," at Mamallapuram (PL. 231), the Boar Avatar at Udayagiri, and the Churning of the Sea of Milk at Angkor Wat, eloquently render a titanic spirit. The architectural gigantism, which would have reached a climax in the unfinished Temple of the Sun at Konarak (PL. 486), stemmed from the same tendency. While Buddhism takes man as its starting point, assigning him a privileged and unique place in the moral system of the world, Hinduism, whose gods represent cosmic as well as spiritual forces, relegates man to a microscopic place in the universe.

Epochs in which there is an acute awareness of the precariousness of man's status (e.g., the declining Middle Ages in Europe), seem to like to confront the forces of destruction (represented by the ravages of time) with the forces of life bent on wresting from the agents of death an equilibrium that is apparently imperiled, strife-ridden, and at the point of extinction. And what contest could more forcefully render this vital frenzy than that of love? However, since love (*śṛṅgārarasa*) necessarily engages two people at once, it inevitably poses the problem of the relation berween unity and multiplicity, a problem with which medieval Hinduism was obsessed. The clusters of couples eager to exhaust the resources of sensual pleasure which cover the walls of certain medieval temples (for instance, at Khajuraho) adumbrate a complex symbolism which makes them extremely hard to interpret.

The comparison already appears in the Upanishads: "as a man in the embrace of his loving wife knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, so man in union with the Self knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, iii). These texts thus associated love (*priya*) with its most natural expression, carnal union. In medieval India carnal intimacy, while retaining its purely physical significance, still continued to be regarded as the most appropriate symbol of love. In effect, no moral dualism intervened to arouse the slightest distrust with regard to things of the flesh. Even the Buddhists did not unanimously condemn such things, and a few masters went so far as to maintain that the enjoyment of certain specified women was not forbidden to monks. If the brahmachari (ascetic) practices continence, he does so essentially to avoid a loss of ascetic energy (tapas); the tantric rites, however, were aimed at modifying the natural workings of physical functions, with a view to achieving a mystic and spiritual efficacy: although continence is doubtless preferable to sensual license, it is less worthy than the mastery for which it prepares; for this reason the initiate derives an increase of virility from practices that would merely exhaust the energy and ability of the uninitiated. Moreover it is in order to prove that he has transcended the natural and moral order that the Tantrist chooses forbidden women for the accomplishment of his rites.

The amorous couples, or *mithunas*, as they are called, which have figured on temple walls since the Mathura period, express both vitality and duality, which are conceived as correlative concepts. The antithesis of the sexes is seen as a manifestation of a universal polarity that, in the opposition of the deity and Śakti (his wife), of spirit and matter, finds two types of expression that partly overlap; the *puruṣa*, Prajāpati, and Paśupati (an epithet of Śiva) are not without affinity, nor is there any hesitation about identifying Śakti, considered as maya, with the *prakṛti*. Like the luxuriant Indian vegetation, the hosts of embracing couples at Khajuraho and Konarak reflect the vertiginous working of the maya. Nevertheless, the union of the deity with Śakti is suggestive not only of dualism but also of transcendental monism: the couple is, as it were, a re-creation of the primordial androgyne or, if one prefers, the equivalent of the image of Śiva as Ardhanarīśvara; the dualism is merely apparent, and there is far more than mere symbolism in these analogies of carnal union; a symbol should never be dissociated from its effective value, and the analogy implies a participation. Carnal union, since it allays the nostalgia for unity, has a reintegrating virtue. The intense satisfaction it brings can readily be compared to the most sublime states of ecstasy, in which all distinction between object (the "field") and subject ("he who knows the field") disappears and the worshiper becomes identified with his god. Love, thus, with an almost tragic intensity, poses the problem of the presence; the feverish search for the presence of his loved one drives the lover to distraction, though it should not be forgotten that, as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* admonishes, the real presence is that which is within. (What has been said, for instance, of the puja would be equally applicable here.) All experience of a presence constitutes an approach to the total presence, and Krishnaism exploited all the possibilities which this affinity offers — not, it seems, by making human love a simple symbol of mystic love, but by using the human experience of love to evoke, both literally and metaphorically, the ineffable relations between the soul and its divine lover, by using the phases of human love to evoke the interplay of bhakti (fervent piety) with the outpouring of grace (since the nuances of this interplay might be compared to the counterbalancing movements of female arching and male flexion) — in short, by using human love to evoke all the stages in a spiritual journey of love. The Krishnaists sometimes even strove systematically to transfigure a human passion in order to make it the instrument of a mystic adventure (*sahaiya*). The concept of rasa, which implies "participation" (this, surely, is the ultimate meaning of the word "bhakti"), came to assume fundamental importance for the theoreticians of this erotic mysticism (Caitanyas, a Vaishnava sect). The symbolic echoes of the theme of the amorous couple are not only part of the whole cultural complex but are deeply rooted in the human psychophysical structure, and it from this rich association that their esthetic potentialities spring. In effect, according to the Indian theory of *dhvani* (which originated in a reaction against the danger of expressionism inherent in the theory of rasa), that which initially remains hidden in a work of art, and which becomes only dimly perceptible upon closer examination, is by no means less important than the immediately visible content. The *dhvani* is the suggestive power of a subject or of its expression, the echoes this subject evokes in the beholder (spontaneously or after sustained effort), the multiple vibrations which can, in an increasingly obscure and inexplicable manner, move the latent forces asleep in the depths of the psyche, awaiting the mysterious summons that will call them forth. It is thus by a projection or the supposed "residues" of an immemorial past that an intimate insight into a work of art is achieved, by a process of identification in conformity with the spirit of Yoga, despite some obvious differences. This process of recognition of the vestiges of former experiences that comes with the contemplation of a work of art is called *pratyabhijñā*. However, Abhinavagupta is at pains to specify that these sudden dawnings in the mind, produced by the contemplation of a work of art, are not the result of a conscious act of recollection. It is no specific memory that is aroused, but a series of vague reminiscences, wrapped in a mist of uncertainty that renders them all the more enchanting. Thus, esthetic contemplation, like mystic contemplation, having pacified and overcome the dispersion of daily life, destroys the factors of individuation (ahankara), which, by actualizing personality, obstruct the essential revelations that are always immanent, though they may be hidden behind the thick veil of egoism (ahankara) or lost in intellectual and sensual life. Between these two orders of contemplation there is no substantial difference.

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Jean NAUDOU

Illustrations: PLS. 225–234.

**HIPPODAMOS** (Ἱπποδαμος). Architect and town planner, son of Euryphon (Euryboon to Hesychius, Eurykoon to Photius), Hippodamos was born in Miletos about 500 B.C. Although the exact date is uncertain, there should be no doubt as to his birthplace, in spite of other traditions (scholia to Aristophanes, *Knights*, 327) that identify him as a native of Samos or Thourioi; since he probably lived and worked in these cities, they later claimed him as their own. He traveled widely and lived both in Athens, in a house in the Piraeus near the Hippodamian agora named for him, and later at Thourioi (founded in 443 B.C.), the plan of which he is thought to have inspired. The planning of the city of Rhodes (founded in 408–407 under the Spartans) has also been attributed to him, but Strabo (*Geography*, xiv, 654) cites this tradition with some reservations. Aside from the fact that this would entail an exceptionally long life span for him, it is unlikely that Hippodamos, a friend of the Athenians and of Perikles, would have worked for the Spartans while the Peloponnesian War was still going on. The Piraeus, the plan of which is ascribed to Hippodamos, was supposedly initiated by Perikles rather than Themistokles — in spite of the explicit references of Thucydides and Aristophanes — according to Hermann (1841) and others, who hoped to prove that the architect did create the plans for Rhodes. They supported this theory with references to a son of Hippodamos, a certain Archeptolemos, who was in charge of an embassy in 424. The studies by P. Foucart (1907) and D. K. Hill (1932), however, on the boundary stones of the Piraeus, as well as those by M. Erdmann (1884), A. von Gerkan (1924), and P. Lavedan (1926) show that credit for founding the seaport city in about 470 B.C. belongs to Themistokles.

When Hippodamos, who had moved to Athens, was entrusted with the job of tracing the plan for the Piraeus (FIG. 446), he had already had experience at home in Miletos, which after 475 was being rebuilt on its ruins. He was held in high repute for his professional abilities and certainly belonged to Perikles' circle of friends; his philosophical and theoretical turn of mind must have made him take pleasure in the intellectual discussions of that group. Since the plan to establish Thourioi as a Panhellenic center, a symbol of peaceful cooperation between cities so often at war, was especially likely to have interested him, it is very probable that he took part in this enterprise in 443. There is no explicit documentation that he traced the plan; however, Diodorus' description of the city (xii, 9 ff.) permits us to visualize its gridiron type of layout and the principles of subdivision that were followed, all of which are characteristic of Hippodamos. The fact that he settled in the new city would account for his close ties with the Pythagoreans. He was considered a member of this school: according to Stobaios (xliii, 92–94; xcviii, 71; ciii, 26), two Pythagorean treatises [undoubtedly apocryphal, as was convincingly demonstrated long ago by both Hermann (1841) and Erdmann (1884)] were attributed to him. There is no reason to believe that he returned to Athens near the end of his life, since it is no longer possible, after Erdmann's critical study, to maintain the existence of any connection between Hippodamos and Archeptolemos.

A vivid portrait of the young Milesian architect as he appeared to the Athenians is given by Aristotle (*Politics*, 1267b): "... a strange man, whose fondness for distinction led him into a general eccentricity of life, which made some think him affected (for he would wear flowing hair and expensive ornaments, although these were worn on a cheap but warm garment both in winter and summer); besides aspiring to be an adept in the knowledge of nature, he was the first person not a statesman who made inquiries about the best form of government." The Athenians saw in him a representative of that luxurious Ionia, somewhat effeminate and very intellectual, which in the 6th century B.C. had witnessed great prosperity and had wielded such extensive influence in all fields of literature and art.

The ancient lexicographers describe Hippodamos as both an architect and a "meteorologos," characterizing his dual activity as town planner and political theorist. He combined philosophical speculation with practical considerations, following the example of his great forerunners, the Milesian school of the 6th century B.C. that included Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes. Hippodamos, says Aristotle, originated the art of planning cities. The ideal city of Hippodamos was composed of 10,000 citizens and was divided into three principal sectors by classes: namely, artisans, husbandmen, and soldiers. He also divided the land into three parts — one sacred, one public, the third private. The first area was set apart to maintain the worship of the gods, the second was to support the warriors, and the third was the property of the husbandmen. This tripartite classification was also introduced into the laws of the city, which recognized three degrees of crime and imposed three kinds of judgments.

At this point certain questions must be answered in order to confirm the place of esteem accorded Hippodamos in city planning and architecture: What is the Hippodamian plan? Were the plans of Hippodamos governed by theoretical and social considerations such as those mentioned above? What was his original contribution, and did he create any notable single structures?

Hypotheses about the Hippodamian plan have followed a false direction from the start. Since little specific material about the architectural ideas of Hippodamos was to be found in the ancient texts, some scholars, such as Erdmann (1884) and G. Cultrera (1923), tried to find indirect evidence. Using the humorous criticism concerning "modern" theories of city planning that Aristophanes (*Birds*, 945 ff.) puts in his characters' mouths, as well as certain more serious and explicit passages of Plato's *Laws* (745, 778, 848), Erdmann attempted to reconstruct the basic principles of Hippodamos. According to the Aristophanes reference, the ideal plan for a city was circular; the agora or market place was centered at the intersection of the principal thoroughfares, formed by perpendicular axes, and the secondary streets radiated from the center in all directions. "The temples, the agora, and the city as a whole should be laid out in a circle with reference to the high points," says Plato. As a consequence, the influence of such theories was discerned in the plan of the Piraeus, as well as in the organiza-

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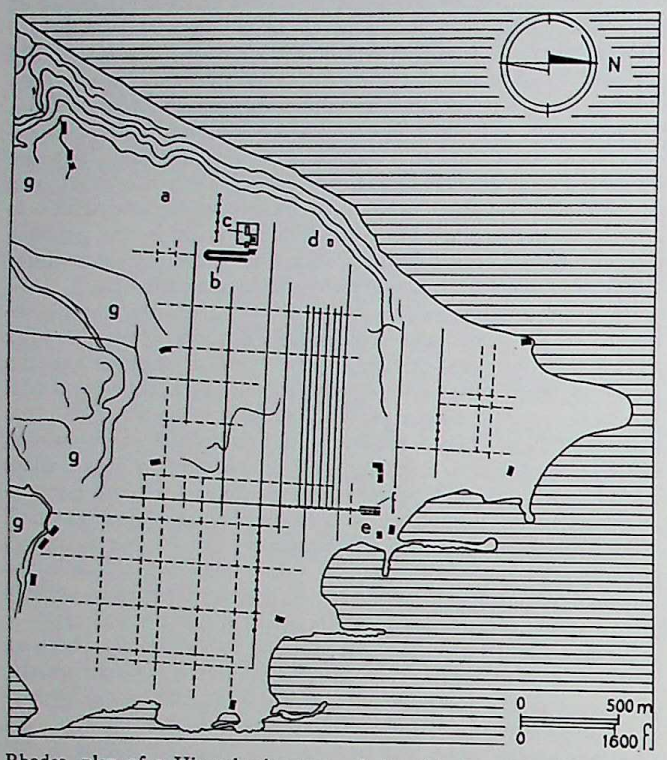
tion of Rhodes along the lines of an amphitheater, which was compared to the plan of Halikarnassos as described by Vitruvius. Other scholars, such as Hirschfeld (1878) and Milchhöfer (1881), limited themselves to Aristotle's description and hoped to trace the three-part division of the ideal city of Hippodamos in the Piraeus — namely, sacred, public, and private zones; their arguments in support of this thesis, however, are not conclusive.




Rhodes, plan of a Hippodamian type of city: (*a*) Acropolis; (*b*) stadium; (*c*) Temple of Apollo Pythios; (*d*) Temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus; (*e*) Temple of Aphrodite; (*f*) arsenal; (*g*) necropolis (*from Kontis, 1954*).

On the other hand, P. Lavedan (1926), basing his contention on the late lexicographers, held that the originality of Hippodamos lay solely in his creation of a particular type of agora similar to that described by Aristophanes, which was conceived of as the geometric center of the city plan and from which all the radial streets originated. The agora of the Piraeus was, in fact, called the Hippodamian agora. According to this estimate of his reputation, Hippodamos actually worked as an architect and created a special design for an agora, which was later termed "Ionian" by Pausanias, who distinguishes two different types of agoras (VI, xxiv, 2). Nevertheless, archaeological evidence from cities where the influence of Hippodamos could have been felt, especially at Miletos and the Piraeus, contradicts all these theories; and such archaeological testimony must be carefully weighed in defining his role in the history of city planning.

Even though the plan of the new city of Miletos is not attributed to Hippodamos, it is very likely that he worked there — or at any rate, that he assimilated ideas there which he later put to use in other parts of the Greek world. Miletos, occupied and destroyed by the Persians in 494 B.C., was liberated in 479 after the victory of Mykale, and the Milesians immediately set about giving their city a completely new appearance. Excavations have shown that the basic outline of the plan was settled immediately following the Persian evacuation, during Hippodamos' time, although major construction did not begin until early in the 3d century. The city was situated on a peninsula running northeast to southwest for slightly over a mile. The three residential zones of the new plan were adapted to fit the contours of a hill which was later occupied by the theater and which dominated two bays — later known as the Harbor of the Theater (west) and the Harbor of the Lions (east). The three zones were similar except for slight differences in orientation that demonstrate the individuation of each plan, and each was geometrically laid out in a checkerboard pattern with straight streets. In the center, a low valley formed the axis from which the zones were articulated; this central region accommodated the public buildings where the commercial, religious, and administrative activities took place. The principal market place, called the "South Agora," was located within this central "reserved" zone, between the extremities occupied by the two harbors and their respective markets. Adjacent to this central commercial area was constructed the political seat, later dominated by the imposing mass of the bouleuterion, the senate house. In the northern sector the Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinos was established, while the southern zone held that of Athena, along with the gymnasiums. The entire city was surrounded by a wall that to the south was laid out in a zigzag pattern with impressive skill. Such a plan, a solution worked out in terms of the particular site and meant to be realized in a single phase of construction, was so functional that it was respected several centuries later, when the city had enough funds to carry out its ambitious reconstruction program. Clear, simple, and logical, it conforms to modern principles of functional city planning.

Archaeological investigation of the Piraeus has made it possible to understand the principles of Hippodamos more fully. After the victories of Salamis and Mykale, Themistokles was able to stimulate the Athenians to an awareness of their maritime vocation; if their future was to be on the sea, they needed not only a fleet but also a well-organized harbor able to serve as both a powerful arsenal and a great commercial port. These functions were to be fulfilled by the Piraeus. For its construction Themistokles called in a young architect from Miletos, which was then considered, because of its architects and engineers, the best school of town planning in Greece. The site was the peninsula of Akte, a jut of land some 65 yards high, and incorporated the low region that attached it to the mainland, as well as the rocky hill of Mounychia. Thus the wall enclosing the whole city protected three ports: the little harbor of Mounychia; the bay of Keos (or Zea), almost completely enclosed; and the large basin of Kantharos. The *emporion*, or commercial port, was established at Kantharos, while the shipyards were at Keos. The modern city of Piraeus, which covers the site, prevents detailed reconstruction of Hippodamos' plan. What has been found shows, however, that each quarter was laid out in a gridiron pattern formed by streets perpendicular to one another, an arrangement recalling the plan of Miletos. Running between Kantharos and Keos, three longitudinal, and almost parallel, thoroughfares have been distinguished.

The boundary stones provide even more valuable evidence, for they confirm the systematic subdivision of the site into zones, a method characteristic of Hippodamos. A group of such *horoi* marked the state land reserved for commercial and public buildings and for military installations. Some of the inscriptions include: "limit of port and street"; "from this street to the port, public zone"; "limit of public anchorage"; "limit of anchorage for ferryboats"; "to this street, zone of Mounychia." A later group of boundary stones illustrates a second phase of construction in the Piraeus, when the buildings were erected in the reserved zones: "limits of public propylon," "limits of agora." At first, then, a general division of the site determined the limits of the major zones and assigned their functions; at this time, certain lands remained the property of the state and were reserved for public structures. Later, interior organization of the zones and building construction were undertaken according to a master program.

The inscriptions and placement of the boundary stones reveal the over-all principles of the plan: instead of the imposition of a rigid checkerboard arrangement, creating a single network of streets throughout the city, a more flexible approach treated the whole in terms of quarters separated by the zones reserved for public use and by the vital mechanisms of the new city — the port, the agora, the shipyards, and the sanctuaries. The *emporion*, dating from the end of the 5th century, consisted of vast porticoes around the commercial harbor; inside these were located the grain market, the stock exchange, and (within five of the porticoes) huge warehouses. Behind this complex was

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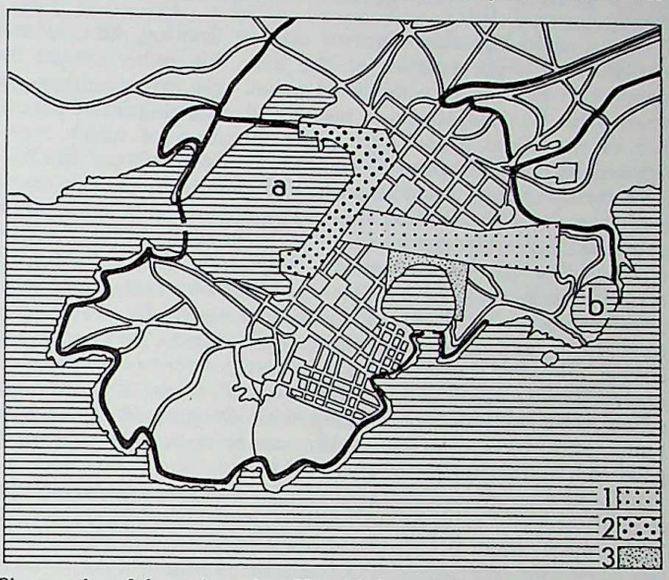
the political center, with the agora, and then the closely related zone of the temples. Here was located the principal sanctuary of the city, dedicated to Artemis Mounychia. The residential zones were spread out partly on the peninsula of Akte and partly to the north of the isthmus, so that they were at the same time separated and interrelated by the centers of public life. It was a remarkably flexible plan, based on the essential functions of this great commercial and military port.

There is some question as to whether it is permissible to go farther than this and attribute specific buildings to Hippodamos. It would mean interpreting the words of Photius literally when he refers to "Hippodamos of Miletos, the architect, who built the Piraeus and the streets of the city" (*Lexicon*, s.v.); hence this vast program would include not only the designing of the plan but the building of individual edifices as well. Such a thesis cannot be accepted without proof; and as we have seen, the boundary stones — and therefore also the work on the Piraeus — belong to two different periods of planning and construction. Because the texts so often refer to the "Hippodamian agora," the agora of the Piraeus was accordingly attributed to Hippodamos, and some scholars have even attempted an architectural reconstruction of it. But the conclusions of Hirschfeld (1870) and Erdmann (1884) are contradictory. While Hirschfeld believes it to have been surrounded by porticoes and completely enclosed, Erdmann conversely sees the Hippodamian agora as an older type, one formed by a series of independent stoas separated by the streets funneling into the agora. However, literary and epigraphic texts show that buildings were put up long after the original plan was created; in the second half of the 4th century B.C. the agora was still quite open on one side, since the house of Timotheos looked out onto it (Pseudo-Demosthenes, xxlix, 22) and an inscription of 320/319 (IG, II, 380) provides for embankment, leveling, and clearing. The conclusion is that only the general principles and the over-all plan of the agora give evidence of the work or influence of Hippodamos; this attribution agrees with everything that is known about him.

What was his role at Thourioi? Though no text explicitly states it, most probably Hippodamos at least influenced the plan described by Diodorus (xii, 10 ff.). Four large longitudinal thoroughfares (the streets of Herakles, Aphrodite, Olympia, and Dionysos) and three others intersecting them (Heroa, Thouria, and Thourine) determined twelve quarters that were in turn divided into blocks by secondary streets. These quarters, or wards, corresponded to the political divisions of the immigrant population, which was divided into ten large tribes according to place of origin. According to custom, another quarter must have been reserved for the original population, the Sybarites, who had scattered into the various colonies after the destruction of their city in 510 B.C.; lastly, a zone was probably left for public edifices, political and administrative, as at the Piraeus and Miletos. The allocation of the land for cultivation corresponded to the divisions of the city. In the historian's account the different phases of the foundation of a city are clearly set forth: the division of the site according to a grid pattern, the delineation of zones, the distribution of the inhabitants in those zones according to ethnic or political groupings, and finally the distribution of the land outside the city for cultivation. Here again are principles of distribution and division characteristic of the theories of Hippodamos.

In this manner the combined study of literary traditions, epigraphic texts, and archaeological evidence permits credible definition of the ideas of Hippodamos and helps to establish his place in the history of city planning. Strictly speaking, he was not an architect, nor was he in charge of the actual construction of the Piraeus or of important buildings. He was, however, both a philosopher interested in the problems of urbanism and an engineer, a technician. He originated the gridiron plan in systematic form and defined the different parts according to their functional relationships, along with actually superintending the subdivision of the site. He revealed to the Athenians the value of a clear, regular plan that would provide for efficient organization of the expanding functions and services of the city. For the first time, Hippodamos and the Milesian architects made available to the Greek world the advantages of a functional city plan, which substituted a clear and logical composition for the anarchy of the archaic cities. They did not invent these plans, any more than they borrowed them directly from the Near East, from the Hittites or from Mesopotamia (G. Cultrera), since gridiron plans were already found in colonies of Miletos in the 6th century B.C. The development of such a plan was closely connected with practical and theoretical research purely Hellenic in character.




Piraeus, plan of the ancient city. *Key*: (1) Area of the agora and sanctuaries; (2) *emporion*; (3) military harbor of Keos (Zea); (*a*) harbor of Kantharos; (*b*) harbor of Mounychia (*from R. Martin, 1956*).

The originality of the Milesian school of planning cannot be considered apart from the history and development of its philosophical school; a similar tendency to combine practical observation with philosophical speculation animated both. Similarly, the theorizing of political philosophers on the best form of constitution was related to interest in the best arrangement for an urban organization. The gridiron, or checkerboard, pattern — regular, clear, and geometrically divided — suited the logical and mathematical divisions into which these philosopher-architects attempted to cast their ideal society. This pattern was extensively applied in Greece and Italy in the classic and Hellenistic periods (PLS. 235, 236). The present-day image of Hippodamos, which has grown up largely by accretion of scattered literary references to the life and influence of the architect, as well as from archaeological finds, is inseparably associated with — and in some measure dependent upon — the long tradition of town planning (q.v.) that attaches to his name.

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Roland MARTIN

Illustrations: PLS. 235–236; 2 figs. in text.

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**HIROSHIGE.** Japanese painter and printmaker, born in Edo (now Tokyo) in 1797. His real name was Andō Tokitarō, and the circumstances of his birth and upbringing were easier than those of many artists of the time. His father, Andō Genemon, was a minor officer of the fire brigade created by the Tokugawa rulers of Japan to protect their rapidly expanding new capital; this hereditary post was lowly, but it gave the family some security.

As a child Hiroshige showed skill in drawing, and, in accordance with the practice of the time, his father sought to apprentice him to an established artist. He first sent him to study with Ōkajima Rinsai, a minor and undistinguished member of the Kanō school (q.v.), the members of which were favored by the Tokugawa rulers. Though well trained in Chinese-style brushwork and in pseudo-Chinese subjects and compositions, even the leading masters of the Kanō school rarely produced work of originality. The basis of their art was far removed from the vital stream of Ukiyo-e (q.v.), the "painting of the fleeting world," which sprang from and served the proliferating lower classes of Japanese society. By Hiroshige's time this school of painters and print designers had produced a long and distinguished line of great masters (see JAPANESE ART). Despite the relative barrenness of ideas of the Kanō school, Hiroshige's early training with Ōkajima Rinsai taught him a brushwork mastery, which was to serve him well, and gave him the essentials of composition.

He also studied the more lively and original "southern school" of Chinese painting under Ō-oka Umpō (1765–1848). This school taught freer and more spontaneous brushwork than the Kanō and emphasized the importance of atmosphere — an element that is fundamental in Hiroshige's later pictures. The young artist also explored the naturalistic styles of the Shijō artists, who were influenced by Dutch engravings smuggled into Japan via Nagasaki (see NAGASAKI SCHOOL) and taken up with enthusiasm by a few artists, including Shiba Kōkan (d. 1818). Western influences played an important part in Hiroshige's development and are reflected in the work of his contemporaries, such as Hokusai (q.v.).

By the time he was fifteen Hiroshige had decided to follow the powerful Ukiyo-e movement, a decision which had social as well as artistic implications, for Ukiyo-e was an art of the people and carried a social stigma which lasted well into the present century. He first tried to enter the studio of Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825), one of the leading print artists of the time, but there was no vacancy, and his second choice of master was Toyohiro (1774–1829), an eclectic painter who used not only the traditional Ukiyo-e styles but also those of the Kanō and other schools. In this he was typical of the period in which Ukiyo-e designers were seeking new elements with which to enliven a flagging art. Both Toyokuni and Toyohiro were pupils of Toyoharu (1735–1814), the founder of the Utagawa school of Ukiyo-e.

Hiroshige was graduated from Toyohiro's studio in 1812, after only one year of apprenticeship, and was given the name Utagawa Hiroshige to indicate his affiliation with the school. We know little of his personal life, and his whole personality is shadowy, as compared with those of Hokusai and Utamaro (qq.v.).

It was some time before he established himself as a leader among print designers. His first work seems to have been in book illustration, and for about ten years (1815–25) he produced some figure designs of no great distinction. These were in traditional styles which by this time were threadbare in subject and execution. It was beyond the power of any designer to enliven them, and the movement was looking for new sources of inspiration and new artists.

Pure landscape, the oldest and most respected branch of Eastern painting, had hitherto been eschewed by the Ukiyo-e artists as typical of the sacrosanct traditional themes which were out of touch with an art of the people. But the wheel was turning full circle, and landscape returned to revive a popular movement which, after two hundred years of feverish production, was in danger of dying out. Hokusai and Hiroshige were the two great masters who gave the print movement another half century of intense productivity. At this time Hokusai, with his *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, was in the ascendant, but Hiroshige gave a foretaste of his powers when he published *Views of the Eastern Capital* (i.e., Tokyo; ca 1826). The two were thenceforth rivals for the public favor.

In 1830 Hiroshige was commissioned by the Tokugawa government to accompany the suite sent to present horses to the legitimate but powerless emperor, who held court in Kyoto. According to some historians, he was entrusted with painting the ceremony, but if he did so, the paintings have not survived; nevertheless, the experience had a profound influence on his development.

The route by which most travelers went from Tokyo to Kyoto was the Tōkaidō, the eastern sea road. Communications under the Tokugawa dictators had been greatly improved, and post horses sped the traveler along roads free of brigands. Travel had become a mania with the newly rich, and even many relatively humble folk could afford at least one visit to Kyoto during a lifetime.

Hiroshige was deeply impressed by the scenery of the Tōkaidō and made sketches of the 53 stations along the route. Having produced his *Views of the Eastern Capital* about 1826, in 1833–34 he published the popular *Fifty-three Stages on the Tōkaidō* (IV, PL. 447), which, with the addition of one print for Tokyo and one for Kyoto, the two termini, made up a set of 55 designs. Printing standards (see ENGRAVINGS) had declined, and Hiroshige personally supervised the production of this Tōkaidō set, which was to bring him fame. The first edition of the set is considered his masterpiece and contains some of his best-known designs, such as *Mishima*, *Shōno*, and *Kameyama*.

This series of prints gives the truest view of Hiroshige's landscape inspiration and of his personality. He faithfully recorded the bustling life of the highroad against the atmospheric background of Japanese landscape. Man is a foil for the beauty of nature or the plaything of its vagaries. Hiroshige's vision of landscape was fresh, and he took only gentle liberties in creating his effects of perfect balance. He had a keen interest in color, which in the best impressions is as carefully organized as the composition. His reputation has suffered by bad late impressions produced to satisfy a degraded public taste. Some of his snowscapes and rain-swept landscapes are masterpieces of sensitive lyricism. The forces of nature and mankind combine in perfect harmony, resulting in an intimacy of vision which Western as well as Eastern observers can accept as perfectly valid; at the same time the prints are full of telling details of Japan which the artist's patrons would have accepted and enjoyed unhesitatingly.

In 1834 he produced *Famous Views of Kyoto*, of which the design entitled *Passenger Boat on the Yodo River* (PL. 241) is perhaps the best known, and in 1835 appeared the eight prints of *Ōmi Hakkei* (PLS. 237, *above*; 240), which is one of his finest sets. In the same year he published *Eight Views in the Environs of Edo*, of which *Autumn Moon on the Tamagawa* is considered one of the classic prints of Ukiyo-e. The decade 1833–43 was a period of intense activity and saw the publication of many other sets of views of the capital, *Tōto Meishō*, *Edo Meishō*, *Kōto Meishō*. About 1839 he produced another of his best-known sets, the 69 prints of *Kisō Kaidō*, the alternative mountain route from Tokyo to Kyoto for those who did not wish to travel the Tōkaidō. *Kanazawa Hakkei*, the rare set of eight prints of the same time, includes *Evening Rain at Koizumi*, one of his best interpretations of drenching rain.

In the years 1844–54 Hiroshige continued his tremendous output, publishing set after set of views of Japan, but even his admirers agree that his powers were beginning to fail and the effort to satisfy an insatiable public was draining his sources of inspiration. In 1852 he traveled and worked in Awa and Kazusa, and two years later he made his last journey to view and record the rivers which cross the Tōkaidō (PL. 237).

Hokusai's death in 1849 removed Hiroshige's only serious rival, and thereafter he, Kunisada (1786–1865), and Kuniyoshi (1797–1861) led the field. From 1835 to 1858 Hiroshige turned increasingly to using the print format in its vertical rather than its horizontal position. His sets of these years include *Sixty*

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*Provinces* (PL. 238), *A Hundred Views of Edo* (PLS. 239, 242), and *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, but the decline after 1850 is very evident in many of the landscapes, which seem forced and lack the sensitivity and care of his early compositions. The ease and grace of expression which characterize his best landscapes here become empty routine and striving for effect. Outworn blocks continued to be used, recut, and used again to produce thousands of impressions. The public accepted anything and did not encourage him to preserve his standards. The quality inevitably declined. It was said by contemporary critics that of a 100 prints, 80 are undistinguished, 10 are good, 9 superior, and 1 breathtaking. Yet so great was Hiroshige's output (an estimated 5,000 designs) that even such a proportion of masterpieces is no mean achievement. Even in a late and somewhat garish set one finds an occasional inspired view which matches his earlier work, for example, the famous *Sudden Rain at Ohashi* (PL. 239).

Hiroshige retired in 1856 and died two years later. He is buried in a Zen temple at Asakusa in Tokyo.

No consideration of the art of Hiroshige and of the final half century of the Japanese print movement would be complete without a brief comparison between Hiroshige and his great rival Hokusai. Both were extremely prolific, both devoted to landscape and to interpreting the role of man within it, both traveled widely, both were masters of composition and of color. But whereas Hokusai was a bold dramatist, Hiroshige was a sensitive lyricist. Hokusai was a lonely figure restlessly ransacking the world to satisfy an artistic ambition which seemed to torment him. Hiroshige was more genial and more settled, lacking the neurotic energy and, it must be admitted, the occasional vulgarity of his rival. Yet Hiroshige never escaped the treadmill of public demand, while Hokusai shook himself free and in his last years was concerned only with perfecting his art. Hokusai took greater liberties with landscape than Hiroshige, twisting and dramatizing nature to create designs of overwhelming power. Hiroshige, with his gentler temperament is perhaps less stimulating, but he was more in love with the real beauty of Japan and fascinated by the countless little dramas enacted in its landscapes. The arrogance of Hokusai appears in many of his finest works, while the most noticeable characteristic of Hiroshige's designs is a deep and sincere humility that is expressed in a moving tenderness.

Hiroshige is the greatest Japanese landscapist of atmosphere. As Binyon and O'Brien Sexton say (1960), he "resembles Constable in his profound affection for the sight and scent and atmosphere of his native land." Always, as Terry (1956) remarks, "he strikes a balance between fact and imagination" (PLS. 238, 242), and whereas, in the words of Hillier (1954), "Hokusai seeks the essential hill, the eternal sea," Hiroshige is more human and produces a world which we recognize and enter into with sympathy. His mists and moonlight, wind and rain are universal experiences. His humor, too, is more gentle than that of Hokusai, whose teasing sometimes lacks compassion. But in the final estimate Hiroshige remains an inspired artist of great invention and output, whereas his rival belongs to that small group of artistic giants, such as Shakespeare, who are finally inexplicable.

Hiroshige's pupils were comparatively few and undistinguished. His daughter married a designer named Shigenobu, on whom it was intended that the mantle of Hiroshige should fall, but the marriage ended in separation. After Hiroshige's death Shigenobu sometimes signed himself Hiroshige II or simply Ichiryūsai Hiroshige. The name of Hiroshige III was taken by Andō Tokubei (1834–94), the adopted son of Hiroshige. The last pupil was Hirokage, active 1851–66.

PRINCIPAL WORKS. *Views of the Eastern Capital*, ca. 1826; flower and bird sets, 1832–34; first Tōkaidō set, 1833–34; *Famous Views of Kyoto*, 1834; *Ōmi Hakkei*, 1835; *Eight Views of Lake Biwa*, 1835; *Edo Kinkō Hakkei* ("Eight Views in the Environs of Edo"), ca. 1835; *Tōto Meishō, Edo Meishō, Kōto Meishō, Honchō Meishō*, 1833–43; *Kisō Kaidō*, ca. 1839; *Kanazawa Hakkei*, ca. 1839; set of fishes, ca. 1840; "*Reishō*" *Tōkaidō*, 1848–54; *Wakan Rōyei shū*, ca. 1853; *Sixty Provinces*, 1853; *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji; Famous Places among the Fifty-three Stages*, 1854–58; *A Hundred Views of Edo*, 1856–58; triptych of *Naruto Rapids, Moonlight on Kanagawa, Mountains and Streams of the Kisoji*, 1857.

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Peter C. SWANN

Illustrations: PLS. 237–242.

**HISPANO-ROMAN ART.** The Romanization of the Iberian peninsula began as early as the 3d century B.C. in the Iberic area of eastern Spain as well as in the Celtiberian part of the interior and western regions (see MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN). These areas were already rich in indigenous art and were thoroughly infiltrated by ancient Greek and Italic cultural influences. This, among other things, explains why Spain, from the early Roman Empire on — especially in the 2d century, the age of the emperors of Spanish origin — was one of the centers of the development of Roman civilization, assimilating elements of the impressive official art of Imperial Rome in architecture, sculpture, and the minor arts (see ROMAN IMPERIAL ART) with provincial characteristics far less evident and less persistent than those manifested in the artistic production of the Roman provinces of continental Europe (see DANUBIAN-ROMAN ART; GALLO-ROMAN ART). The period during which the Greco-Roman civilization was fused with the existing traditions of the Iberian peninsula has important artistic aspects which merit separate consideration.

SUMMARY. Introduction (col. 450). Architecture (col. 451). Sculpture (col. 455). Metalwork (col. 457). Mosaics (col. 458). Ceramics and glass (col. 459). Gems and coins (col. 460).

INTRODUCTION. Roman Hispania may be divided into three large cultural areas, well differentiated according to how much or how little the presence of Rome affected them: (1) the broad coastal strip that includes the eastern and southern parts of the peninsula, from the Pyrenees to the south of Portugal; (2) the center of the peninsula, that is, the two Castilian plateaus and their valleys; (3) the mountainous northern and northwestern parts (FIG. 451). These divisions correspond to the stages of the Roman invasions — the first to the conquests of the war against Hannibal, that is, the last decade of the 3d century B.C.; the second to the Lusitanian and Celtiberian wars in the 2d century B.C.; and the third to the Cantabrian wars of the 1st century B.C. It must be borne in mind that these three divisions do not coincide with the Roman administrative divisions — neither with the Roman republican division into Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, nor with the Augustan division into the three provinces of Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania (see SPAIN); it is erroneous to study (as is often done) the Romanization of the Iberian peninsula in relation to the Augustan division into three provinces. Culturally speaking, only Baetica was on a sufficiently high level to be rapidly and deeply Romanized. The center of the peninsula, although it was relatively advanced culturally, was much poorer economically and less densely populated. The population of the Cantabrian-Galician area lived within so primitive a political and cultural framework that it was not prepared in the 1st century to become Romanized.

From earliest times the east and south coastal areas were in a favorable position for commercial and cultural exchange with the two maritime civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean, the Phoenician and the Greek. This sustained and profound contact with already highly developed civilizations tended to urbanize the natives of the peninsula — particularly the Andalusians — and so prepared the way for the Roman influence which was rapidly to transform their way of life, their customs, and their ideas. This occurred for the most part in the southern and to a lesser degree in the eastern region. When Augustus assumed command of the empire, the process of transformation



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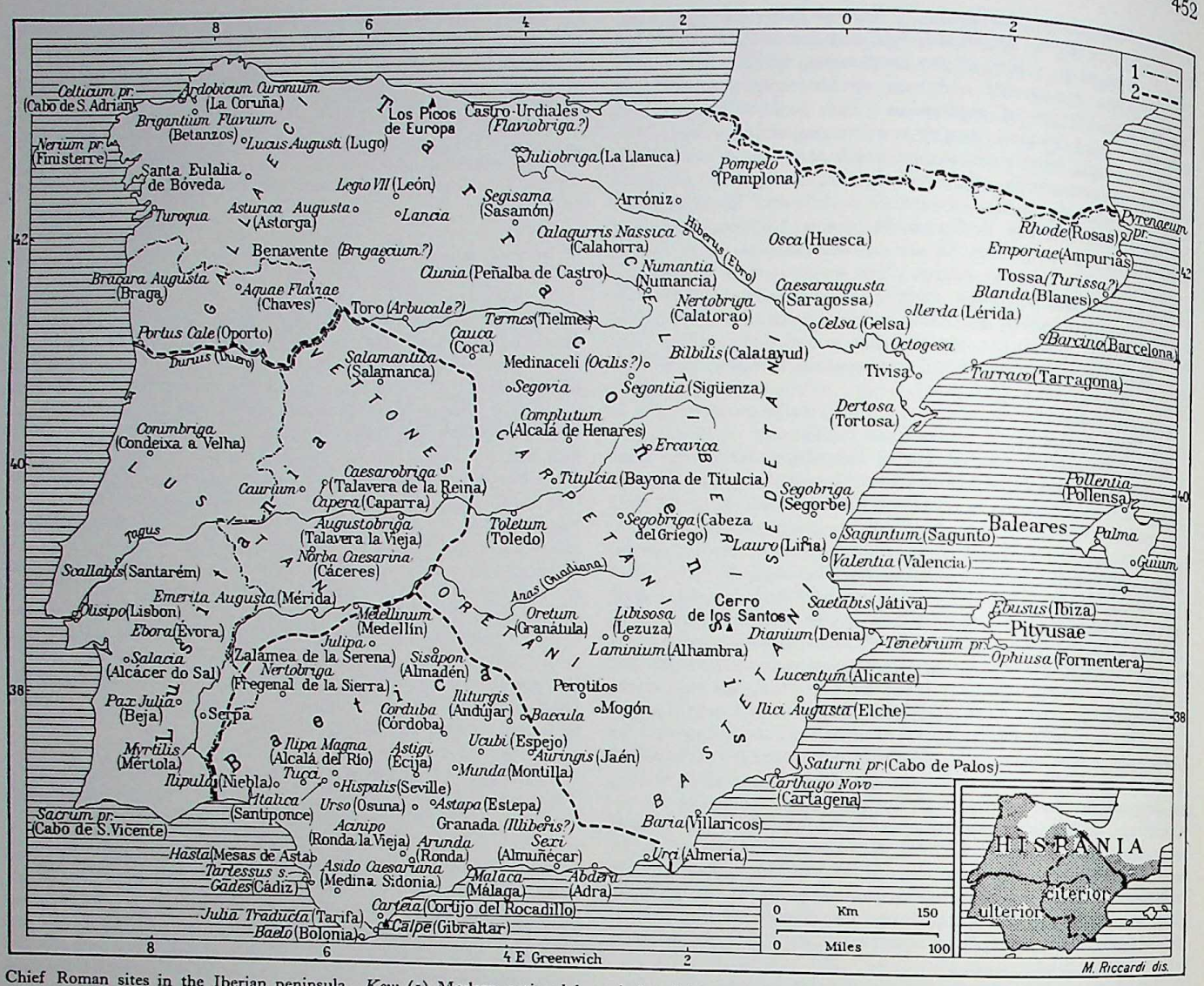


Chief Roman sites in the Iberian peninsula. *Key*: (1) Modern national boundaries; (2) boundaries of the three provinces from the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian. Inset: Extent of Roman dominion at the time of Caesar and Octavian with the division into two provinces. Names of peoples are shown in capital letters.

was already complete: many colonies and municipalities were under Roman or Italic law; almost all the natives were citizens of Rome; the native language had already been replaced by Latin and the local alphabet by the Latin one; local gods were either assimilated to the Roman ones or completely forgotten; public buildings were purely Roman in style.

Before the appearance of the Romans, there was a provincial artistic activity in the eastern and, even more, in the southern area; the inspiration was Greek or Punic, or sometimes a combination of the two. Thus it is easy to understand why Roman art flourished so easily and why the transition period, which we can properly term "Hispano-Roman," was relatively short and largely coincided with the 1st century B.C. In fact, during the Augustan age Spanish art was already typically Roman in style.

ARCHITECTURE. Architecture is the most apparent manifestation of the cultural level of a society. Roman architecture in Spain clearly shows the rapid and complete Romanization of the southern and eastern parts of the peninsula and, at the same time, the less developed Romanization of the central, northern, and western parts. Before the arrival of the Romans and after the Second Punic War (that against Hannibal), the southern and eastern parts of the peninsula had already reached a culturally advanced state, with their own alphabets, coins, monarchic institutions, and a flourishing urban life. The social and political structure could not compare with that of Rome, however, and the architecture remained correspondingly rudimentary. When these more developed peninsular areas were absorbed into the Roman empire, they underwent an architectural transformation, adopting types of structures and methods of construction hitherto completely unknown to them. Since those who commissioned the new buildings were Roman citizens, the structures and the architectural style were also Roman. There was no choice, nor any possibility of compromise between the old and the new, and the new was fully accepted in its entirety. Therefore, in the Iberian peninsula the official Roman architecture for municipal buildings was purely Roman and not a mixed or hybrid style. The old native construction methods were used only in those regions where the land provided a particular kind of building material not commonly used in Roman construction; this is exemplified in nonmonumental architecture (e.g., clay walls and country houses).

The use of tiles was introduced into Spanish architecture late and sporadically. It is not known how much tiles were used in the Greek and Punic colonies of the east and south. After the establishment of Roman rule, tiles were used to such an extent that they — together with fired bricks, which were also introduced by the Romans — came to be thought of as a mark of Romanization.

The use of clay in Hispanic architecture attracted the attention of Pliny the Elder, who, under Vespasian, held the office of Procurator of Tarraconensis, the region that remained most faithful to this traditional method of construction. Clay had two

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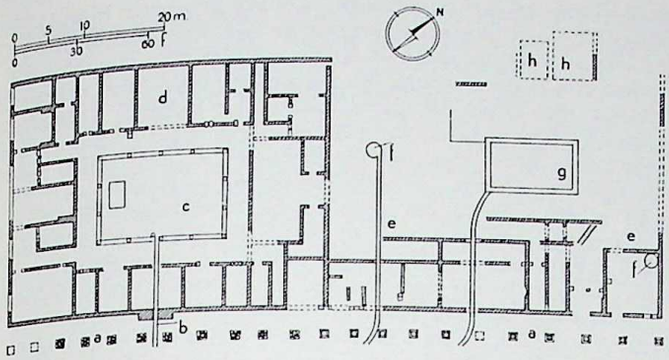
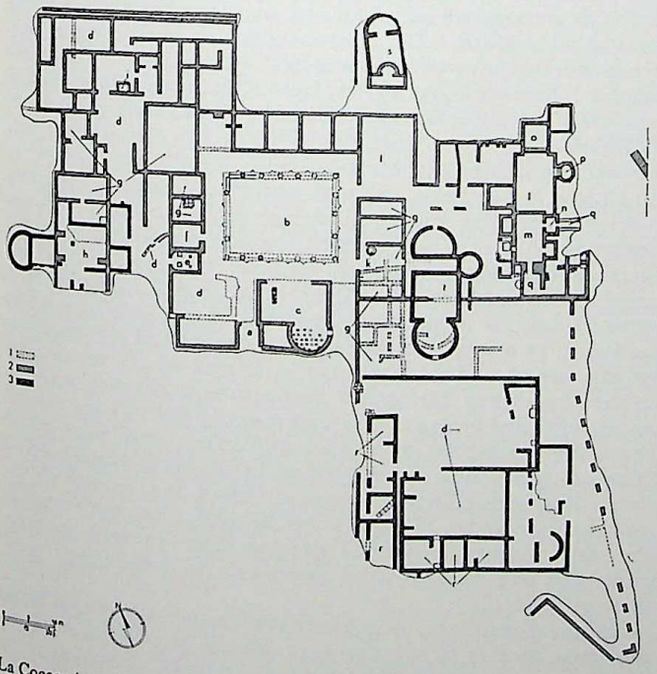


La Llanuca (Juliobriga near Retortillo), plan of a house: (*a*) portico with piers; (*b*) main entrance to the living area; (*c*) triclinium (?); (*d*) peristyle; (*e*) servants quarters; (*f*) cistern; (*g*) snow repository hewn from the rock; (*h*) mosaic (*from AEA, XXIX, 1956*).

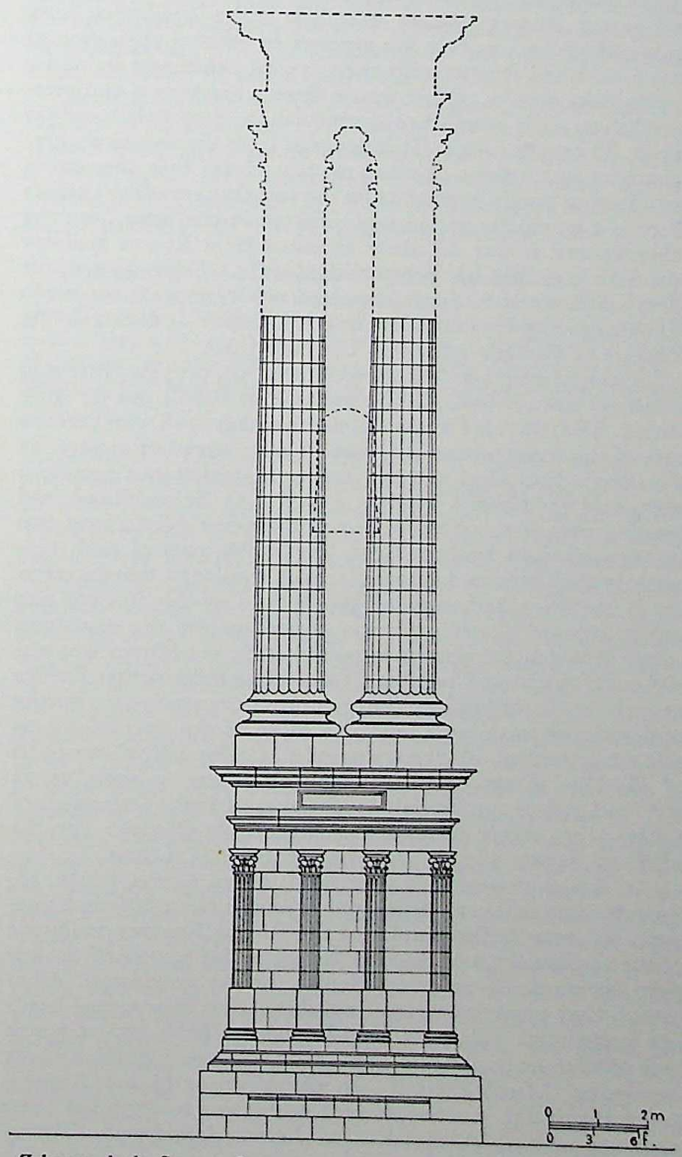
uses: in the making of bricks and as a type of mortar in city and house walls. Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, xxxv, 171) referred to the bricks (*lateres*) of Maxilua and Callet in Baetica as floating on water after firing. No doubt he was referring to the first use of clay. Strabo (*Geography*, xiii, 1, 67) and Vitruvius (*De architectura*, ii, 3, 4) also speak of the use of clay for making bricks. Clay as a mortar (used in Africa as well) is treated much more fully (*Naturalis historia*, xxxv, 169); this use is noted also by Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, xv, 9, 5). The clay walls were called *parietes formacei*, that is, stamped out or "formed." These were made according to the same technique as that used by the Romans for *opus caementicium*, that is, by pressing the clay between wooden cases. This technique is still used throughout the central part of the peninsula. Many important buildings were constructed in this way, but only the foundations remain today. At Augustobriga (mod. Talavera la Vieja) on the banks of the Tagus River there are two well-preserved temples, one of them including even the pediment. The cellae walls of the temples are made of clay (PL. 243). Undoubtedly the enclosing wall was also of clay, but the only part which remains today is the plinth, in *opus caementicium*. The walls of the Roman houses of Juliobriga (mod. La Llanuca, near Retortillo) were of the same material, built on a masonry plinth some 20 in. high; because of a conflagration that fired the clay, there are still some remains (FIG. 453).

Another typical element is a kind of console set horizontally to support the capital. It originated in a short beam connecting the shaft of the column with the architrave. A stone version of this element appears as early as the 4th century B.C.

Some splendid examples of monumental architecture are extant. The bridges of Salamanca (anc. Salamantica), Mérida (anc. Emerita Augusta), and Alcántara; the aqueducts at Tarragona (anc. Tarraco) and Segovia (PL. 244); the theaters of Mérida, Sagunto (anc. Saguntum), and Santiponce (anc. Italica); the amphitheater at Mérida; and the circuses of Mérida and Toledo (anc. Toletum) are all noteworthy. Not to be overlooked are the temples at Mérida, Córdoba (anc. Corduba), Barcelona (anc. Barcino), Tarragona, and Évora (anc. Ebora, in Portugal); the commemorative arches of Medinaceli (anc. Ocilis?) the quadrifrons arch of Caparra (anc. Capera), and the arch of Bará near Tarragona (PL. 244); the nymphaeum of Santa Eulalia de Bóveda; the macellum of Tarragona; the fortifications of Tarragona, Barcelona, Saragossa (anc. Caesaraugusta), Lugo (anc. Lucus Augusti), Coria (anc. Caurium), Santiponce, and León (anc. Legio VII); and the imposing distyle monument of Syrian type of Zalamea de la Serena (anc. Julipa; FIG. 454).



La Cocosa (near Badajoz), plan of villa. *Key*: (1) Walls belonging to buildings preceding the villa of the 1st cent. of our era; (2) walls of the 1st cent. of our era; (3) walls variously and hypothetically attributed to the 4th–6th centuries of our era. (*a*) Entrance; (*b*) peristyle; (*c*) room with hypocaust; (*d*) courtyard; (*e*) oven; (*f*) kitchen(?); (*g*) cubiculum; (*h*) storeroom; (*i*) porcile(?); (*j*) oecus or tablinum with mosaic pavement; (*k*) mill; (*l*) tepidarium with mosaic pavement; (*m*) calidarium; (*n*) laconicum(?); (*o*) piscina of the frigidarium; (*p*) small frigidarium; (*q*) fornax; (*r*) probable storerooms; (*s*) funerary aedicula; (*t*) Christian church(?) (*From Serra Ráfols, 1952.*)



Zalamea de la Serena, funerary monument, reconstruction of façade.

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ARCHITECTS. C. Julius Lacer, active during the reign of Trajan; bridge over the Tagus at Alcántara, A.D. 105–06; small temple in the Tuscan order dedicated to Trajan, on the banks of the river. – C. Sevius Lupus, perhaps of Aeminium in Lusitania, early 2d cent., known through a dedication perhaps referring to the lighthouse of Torre de Hércules with foundations of the era of Trajan. – Belcile[sus](?), perhaps of local or Gallic origin; fragmentary signature on the mosaics of baths at Cabeza del Griego (anc. Segobriga). – In two inscriptions at Cartagena (anc. Carthago Nova), the names of some 20 *magistri* are cited, among whom are three Greeks who contributed to various works (A. García y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," *AEA*, XXVIII, 1955, pp. 14–17).

SCULPTURE. With regard to Hispanic sculpture in general, distinctions must also be made between the two geographical groupings already mentioned. In the more Romanized one, that is, in Baetica, southern Lusitania up to the Tagus River, and in the part of Tarraconensis that borders the Mediterranean, there are two periods, corresponding to the republican and the Imperial eras. In the first of these two periods the sculpture may be considered Hispano-Roman, while in the second the sculpture is Roman without any trace of provincialism.

As early as the 1st century B.C. there was a series of unusual sculptures executed in local materials by local artists. Particularly to be noted are the fragments of the relief friezes that were perhaps part of a commemorative monument found at Osuna (anc. Urso), probably executed after Caesar's victory over the sons of Pompey, in 45 B.C. (PL. 245). Some of these friezes show war scenes alternating with scenes of processions and games: Roman soldiers and their native auxiliaries, both on horseback and on foot, are depicted in relief; a procession of native men and women with their typical ornaments is led by double-flute players. Other friezes show circus scenes and erotic subjects. It is possible to distinguish in these reliefs various hands, all equally rough. It is assumed from the technical characteristics and artistic qualities of the friezes that the artists were local, a theory supported by the fact that among the reliefs there is a trumpeter completely different in character from the other figures; it was definitely executed by a Roman sculptor and is in a simple but accomplished style. Taken as a whole these reliefs attest to the existence of one or more monuments commemorating an important military victory — doubtless the entrance of Caesar's army into Urso in 45 B.C.

A similar commemorative monument was probably executed at Estepa (anc. Astapa), in the province of Seville not far from Osuna. The two relief fragments that have survived were perhaps part of the same monument, even if they were not created by the same artist. One of these fragments depicts two sacrificial attendants (*victimarii*) leading a sheep to be sacrificed and forming part of a suovetaurila, and the other relief shows two standing warriors ready to fight, fitted with coats of mail, helmets, long shields, and greaves (*ocreae*), similar to those appearing in the Ahenobarbus reliefs (PL. 210). Probably this one also commemorated Caesar's victory, as perhaps did the equestrian statue of which a fragment is preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial in Córdoba. It is very significant that Baetica as early as the republican era was producing sculpture worthy of association with such reliefs as those of the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus. A literary parallel is offered by those poets of Córdoba whom Metellus found absorbing as early as 74 B.C. and whose provincial touch attracted the attention of Cicero (*Pro Archia poeta*, 26). A little later Córdoba saw the birth of Seneca and, in the next century, of Lucan.

Of the same period is a series of togaed figures which, although of an inferior quality and executed for a different purpose, are nevertheless similar to the Roman funerary sculpture of the 1st century B.C. Among the numerous statues of the ancient shrine at Cerro de los Santos (in the province of Albacete), whose name is derived from this shrine, four togaed headless statues (PL. 246) have been brought to light, two of which bear Iberian inscriptions on the chest, and one bearing a Latin inscription, L[uci] Lic[ini]. In the Albacete Museo Arqueológico Provincial is a female bust which comes from the same sanctuary and which also has an Iberian inscription. Therefore, it may be deduced that these are ex-votos of people who were already in part Romanized, as is also suggested by the use of the toga, not to mention the *nomen* and *praenomen* of the togaed figure with the Latin inscription, which evidently indicates Roman citizenship [though the third of the usual three personal names of the Romans (*tria nomina*) is still lacking]. One may assume that many heads from the same sanctuary are also of the period or a little later and are the work of local artists who followed Roman taste or were influenced by Roman art. The close relationship to the male heads so frequently found on Iberic coins (1st cent. B.C.) or to the Hispano-Roman bronze coins (which end with Claudius) permits one to attribute them with certainty to the same artistic circle. Other togaed figures such as those of Jaén (anc. Auringis) and Cartagena, in the museums of Tarragona and Barcelona, are of the same period.

The work of the Imperial age is entirely different. With the complete Romanization of Baetica, the south of Lusitania, the coastal region of Tarraconensis, and the Ebro valley, and with the appearance of the great official art in Rome itself, one sees the disappearance of republican art on which were superimposed two layers of provincial influence — that of Hispania with respect to Rome and that of Rome with respect to Greece. In the Spanish regions cited above, and particularly in Baetica beginning with the Julio-Claudian period, there was produced abundant sculpture which in quality and artistic level approached the greatest works of Rome itself. Thus it is sometimes difficult to distinguish imported Roman sculpture from that produced locally. The discovery of works only roughly sculptured or unfinished, as well as numerous portraits of local people (PL. 247) who could hardly have had their portraits done in Rome, leads to the conclusion that there must have been workshops in Italica, Emerita Augusta, Tarraco, and probably also in other important cities such as Corduba, Carthago Nova, and Gades (mod. Cádiz).

There may have been traveling sculptors, as there were itinerant mosaic workers, but in some cases there must have been local artists, since in these provinces sculpture had an ancient tradition that was pre-Roman. This uncertainty is connected with a problem of a more general nature which concerns the originality of Roman art and the background of its artists. As far as Spain is concerned, history gives us the names of eight sculptors, seven of whom bore Greek names and one whose origin was probably Latin. There is no signature whatsoever of any itinerant artists who were natives or Roman citizens. The workshops of Emerita Augusta, capital of Lusitania, have yielded numerous examples of excellent, even if provincial, works of sculpture which were executed in the 1st century of our era. Several fine heads in stucco came from the Roman building at La Cocosa in Lusitania. Several workshops continued to carve busts on aediculae and cippi during the 2d century and the beginning of the 3d, after which there is no further historical evidence that they were active. In Emerita Augusta is the only proof of the presence of a Greek artist settled in Spain. The name Demetrios is inscribed in Greek at the base of a statue belonging to a local Mithraeum. Of the several known works by this artist, one is dated 155, a period which corresponds to the time when Demetrios was active at Emerita Augusta, where he probably also carved figures associated with the theater. From the workshops of Corduba, Tarraco, and other towns there are reliefs and portrait busts in the most typical official style. Nothing is known, however, about the activity of the workshops of Gades, Hispalis (mod. Seville), Carthago Nova, etc. The few remains, however, suggest that the work in these workshops was done in strict accordance with the trends prevalent in Rome.

In the second area, which includes the northwest part of the peninsula, that is to say, the high central plateau north of the Guadiana, the northern part of Cantabrian Spain, and the Atlantic coastal area north of the Tagus, Romanization was notably late and sparse. Here one finds no workshops or centers producing sculpture of quality, and even funerary portraiture, whether in the round or in relief, is virtually unknown. Funerary steles, however, are abundant (PL. 246); they bear inscriptions in barbarous Latin and are decorated with rude reliefs of folk or plebeian character, executed in an elementary technique.

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Sometimes they include symbolic scenes, such as a funeral banquet or an illustration of the professional activity or preferred pastime of the deceased. (The latter category includes many hunting scenes.) Still other steles have engravings executed in an extremely primitive style, with figures of animals (horses, deer, pigs), and symbolic ornaments of plant and geometric types. Roman themes are not infrequently found on these steles; they retain the original religious meaning but are interpreted in a rudimentary manner. Besides solar symbols — wheels with curved spokes, six-pointed stars, crescents — deriving from indigenous religion, there are symbolic motifs of classic origin — ivy, dolphins, garlands, crowns, amphoras, rinceaux, grapes and grape leaves, *tabulae ansatae* — accompanied by such genuinely Latin religious formulas as "D[is] M[anibus] S[it] t[ibi] t[erra] l[evis]." The forms of names are predominantly indigenous, since the *tria nomina* of Roman citizens are practically unknown. However, Latin *praenomina* and *gentilicia* (gentile names) are fairly common. These facts suggest a population, though itself little Romanized, in intimate and frequent contact with Roman culture, so that the art is appropriately called Hispano-Roman. These steles, almost all of which are datable to Roman Imperial times, were abundant in the 2d and 3d centuries of our era, some being produced as late as the 4th century. There are a few examples, perhaps before or slightly after Augustus' principate, with Iberic inscriptions; the rest, without exception, bear Latin inscriptions — those of the more Romanized areas in carefully cut epigraphic characters and with the current funerary formulas and those of the less Romanized areas with badly formed characters, badly aligned, and with unusual formulas. Among the latter there are some written on enormous rounded blocks that are left unworked (e.g., the so-called "Vadiniense" group in the area of Los Picos de Europa).

SCULPTORS. C. Aulius Fidius, possibly a freedman of Greek origin, active in Spain in the 2d–3d cent. of our era; signed two headless togaed statues at Emerita Augusta (one signature is incomplete). – Demetrios (Δημήτριος), a Greek, active ca. mid-2d cent. of our era; signed the statue of a torch-bearer (*dadophoros*) in the Mithraeum of Emerita Augusta, consecrated ca. 155. – Francia(?), uncertain reading of the name of a sculptor who signed a lost statuette at Emerita Augusta. – Hyllu, probably Hyllu[s] (Gr., Ὕλλος), signed a Corinthian capital of the theater at Emerita Augusta. – Mais[. . .] (Μαισ[ων]?), signed an architrave of the theater at Emerita Augusta. – Rhopos (Ῥόπος), signed a cornice of the theater at Emerita Augusta. – M. Sargeas (M. Σαργήας), signed a cornice of the theater at Emerita Augusta. – Illegible signature of a Greek coroplast on a lost fragment of a male bust in relief (A. García y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," *AEA*, XXVIII, 1955, pp. 6–10).

METALWORK. Gold- and silverwork presents a situation analogous to that noted for sculpture. The Ibero-Roman work belongs to the sphere of the Roman republic; under the Empire the production of art of mixed character ceased (PL. 250). The pieces from the famous treasure of Tivisa (near Tarragona) reveal Mediterranean and classical features, probably transmitted in part by Rome. This treasure, which is preserved in the Barcelona Museo Arqueológico, includes a group of pateras of exceptional interest. Aside from a Greek patera and others that are purely Iberic, the most important in this context is an example with a continuous decoration of unique religious scenes. Together with figures doubtless derived from native mythology, there are a number of motifs from the classical world — a centaur, winged genii in the act of sacrificing, and the ancient motif of a lion devouring an animal (IX, PL. 407). If, as it seems, the treasure may be dated toward the end of the 3d century, it must be assumed that Greek, rather than Roman, influences were operative. The boss of this patera forms the head of a wolf, an animal of great importance in Iberic religion. The back of the patera bears a legible Iberic inscription, but its interpretation is uncertain.

From the southern part of the peninsula come two important treasures which have provided new and more certain evidence regarding art of mixed character. These are the finds of Perotitos (Santisteban del Puerto) and Mogón, both in Jaén province at the foot of the Sierra Morena. Together with various pieces of jewelry, the first includes five calyxes in solid silver and fragments of five others. The most important piece of this group, however, is a silver patera, the boss of which consists of the same motif of a wolf in high relief as that found on the Tivisa patera. In the former the wolf holds a human head in its jaws, and both its arms are serpents. The two circles that enclose the central emblema are strictly Hellenistic-Roman, albeit executed in a local, provincial style. The narrow inner circle consists of several scenes, the protagonists of which are tiny winged putti. The outer circle is divided radially into nine metopelike compartments, in each of which are shown male and female centaurs galloping toward the right; some of them play musical instruments — lyre, double flute, drum, etc. — or bear torches and branches. The artistic quality of the patera is not outstanding. Although the craftsman derived his subject matter from Hellenistic-Roman prototypes, he was unable to assimilate the spirit of the classic forms. One of the calyxes bears an inscription in archaic Latin characters.

From the Mogón find come several indigenous silver pieces, together with others that show classic decorative elements. Examples of the latter are a medallion with the head of Medusa and a band (perhaps a diadem) with plant motifs of classical origin, though bastardized. Both of these treasures — now preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid — can be dated before the beginning of the 1st century B.C. In the case of the Perotitos treasure, this date may be deduced from other material found with the objects described. This treasure includes two silver fibulas of the late La Tène type, the arcs of which bear the typically Hispanic form of horse. In the Mogón treasure the date is established more precisely by the discovery of a vase containing no less than 1,258 Roman coins, the latest of which date from 89 B.C.

In Hispania Ulterior there seems to have been a considerable number of metalworkers in the 2d century B.C. working in the Roman taste; many pieces of silver jewelry of this type have come to light. It is interesting to note that Cicero (*Verrine Orations*, iv, 25) mentions a goldsmith of Córdoba who, in 154 B.C., repaired a ring for the praetor Calpurnius Piso.

GOLDSMITHS AND FOUNDERS. L. Julius Apolaustus, 1st–2d cent. of our era, maker of silver vases, according to a funerary inscription of Valentia (mod. Valencia). – C. Valerius [Dioph]ane[s], silversmith, known from a lost inscription from Corduba. – Asellus, 3d–4th cent. of our era, founder with workshop at Emerita Augusta (A. García y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," *AEA*, XXVIII, 1955, pp. 17–19).

MOSAICS. The earliest examples of Roman mosaics in Spain are *opus signinum* pavements with geometrical decoration in white tesserae and datable to the Julio-Claudian period. These pavements are found from Ampurias to Cartagena, reaching as far as Navarre in the interior. Beside these appears the Hellenistic technique of *opus vermiculatum*, the examples of which generally belong to the Julio-Claudian period. These latter mosaics present the same range of subject matter as their counterparts in Italy (fish, partridges, pinaces, masks, and copies of large-scale paintings). Probably from this same period is the emblema with a gorgoneum in Tarragona (Mus. Arqueológico); the emblema was reused at a later period in another mosaic. Other emblemata of similar type and mounted on ceramic plaques are more recent (e.g., the *Odysseus in the Cave of Polyphemus* of the 3d century in the Mus. Arqueológico of Tarragona). The Flavian period coincides approximately with the diffusion in Spain of geometric mosaics in black and white, which are of Italian origin. Antonine figural mosaics, however, are rarely found in Spain. The emblemata of polychrome mosaics inspired by Hellenistic cartoons show a strong painterly tendency. In relation to this tendency it should be noted that Greek names figured in the signatures and that elements appeared which are frequent in the Roman East, while absent in Italy and Roman Africa. These three trends — Italian, Hellenistic, and North African — recur constantly in the mosaic art of the Iberian peninsula, but it is impossible to separate clearly one from the other or to specify the period of greatest influence of a single tendency. The figures of the emblemata reveal a strong organic quality which is dissipated in the later mosaics,

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as that in Mérida (Mus. Arqueológico) with Ariadne on Naxos, or those created by workshops of popular tendency, as that of Vitalis in Tossa (anc. Turissa?). This change affects the rendering of light and shade and the chromatic and tonal presentation of relief. The background of the mosaics is obscured or schematized; there are no depictions of landscape. Sometimes several episodes of a myth are shown in series of scenes, as in the mosaic of the Labors of Hercules from Liria (PL. 248), or in the mosaic of the Muses from Arróniz (Madrid, Mus. Arqueológico Nacional). Illusionistic tendencies are rarely found. In 4th-century mosaics, such as that of circus scenes in Barcelona (PL. 248), the details are often rendered with rich colors. Others, such as the Liria Hercules mosaic, show vivid contrasts of color. The range of subject matter is varied. Scenes of agricultural life, so common in Africa, are absent, but scenes of the four seasons are numerous. Thiasos scenes are normally limited to the scene of the triumph of Dionysus; the marine thiasos is rarely found. More frequent than in other provinces of the Roman Empire are scenes taken from the myth of Orpheus (PL. 249), scenes of Bellerophon, and of the Labors of Hercules. The mythological repertory predominates over scenes of daily life; hunting scenes are summary and infrequent. In contrast to the wealth of circus scenes, amphitheater scenes are absent.

Nonfigural mosaics, of which many have been found, tend to imitate on the pavement the pattern of the coffering of ceilings, or to imitate textile motifs (PL. 249). Also worthy of note are pavements in *opus sectile*.

The only wall mosaics known are those of the post-Constantinian mausoleum at Centcelles. Their unusual thematic material — the story of Jonah, hunting scenes with landscape elements — is common in Italy but absent elsewhere in Spain. For this reason, they constitute a monument apart in Hispano-Roman art.

PAINTERS AND MOSAICISTS. Q. Attius Messor, 2d cent. of our era, known through a funerary inscription at Tarraco. – C. Silvanus, ca. 3d cent., signed a tomb painting in the necropolis of Carmo (mod. Carmona), near Seville. – Annius Ponius, 4th–5th cent., signed a mosaic with Dionysus and Ariadne at Emerita Augusta. – Anthus and Seleukos (Σελεύκος), perhaps of Greek or Syrian origin; they signed a mosaic with Latin names in a Roman house in Emerita Augusta. – Cecilianus, signed a mosaic of the 3d or 4th cent. in Gerona. – Felix, known from a Roman villa at Tossa (probably anc. Turissa, which is mentioned in the inscription of the pavement), 4th cent. – Mascel and Marcianus, uncertain signature on a lost mosaic at Italica. – Perissoterus, signed a 2d-cent. mosaic from Italica, now in Seville, Mus. Arqueológico Provincial. – Valerius, signed a mosaic, now lost, at Igabrium (mod. Cabra; see A. García y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," *AEA*, XXVIII, 1955, pp. 10–14).

CERAMICS AND GLASS. Among the crafts, ceramics perhaps offers the greatest number of mixed Hispano-Roman features. Iberic ceramics was an art which, because of its popular origin, retained a strong individuality. Its long history, stretching from the 5th century B.C. to early Imperial times, laid it open to frequent contact with foreign ceramic influences. In the period before the Second Punic War there were evident similarities in form and decoration with Punic and Greek vases. After the Roman conquest connections may be observed first with Campanian ware and then with Arretine vases and terra sigillata. However, it is difficult to distinguish traditional indigenous work from that which imitates outside models.

The rapid Romanization of the southern and eastern parts of the peninsula put an end to local ceramic production, which was gradually supplanted by Arretine ware and its provincial derivatives. Toward the end of the 1st century of our era terra sigillata came into widespread use; several potteries with special characteristics are known (see CERAMICS, cols. 241, 242). Toward the end of the Roman republic and in the early Empire, Iberian vases achieved renown through the perfection of their firing, their rich painted decoration, and their original forms. The favorable references found in Martial (*Epigrams*, iv, 46; viii, 6; xiv, 108), Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia*, xxxv, 160), and Juvenal (*Satires*, v, 5, 20) attest to the popularity of these wares through the early 2d century. Furthermore, archaeological finds document the diffusion of these wares in the south of France, in Liguria, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, the Lipari Islands, Carthage, Algeria, and Morocco, for the period stretching at least from the 3d century B.C. to the early Empire.

Glassmaking, which was practiced from Punic times, continued in the Roman period, especially in southern Spain, but its products are exclusively commercial in character.

GEMS AND COINS. The glyptic material that has been found was all imported, but the possibility of local production of glass imitations of gems should not be discounted. A terra-cotta form found at Ampurias may be evidence of this production.

From the early days of the occupation a typically Hispano-Roman silver coinage was produced, the *argentum oscense* mentioned by Livy (*Roman History*, xxxiv, 10) and attributable to Huesca (anc. Osca). There are no other distinctive characteristics of Hispano-Roman coinage.

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Antonio GARCÍA Y BELLIDO

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**HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.** Although art draws much inspiration from past and present events, its subject matter is "historical" only if there has been a deliberate intent to commemorate. The events or persons represented must be important to the community and must be clearly individual and recognizable to the spectator. Historical subjects can thus be distinguished from the mere representation of actual scenes conceived generically or drawn from everyday life. It may not always be possible, however, to establish the precise meaning of a specific figure or composition in works of the remote past, given the lapse of time and the lack of a sure knowledge of the original cultural milieu.

Historical works often have a narrative character, describing dynastic, civil, military, and other events, with composition types that tend to recur (e.g., meetings, scenes of worship, battles, victories). Narrative art, in fact, is often considered synonymous with art of historical content. But the former term is more inclusive: it refers also to sacred history — events

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in the lives of gods, heroes, and saints. Unequivocal iconographic parallels to secular history often occur in religious art.

The use of historical subjects in art is typical of the higher civilizations that have distinctly ceremonial characteristics and a predominant emphasis on personal and dynastic power. Historical subject matter remains foreign, however, or largely unacceptable, to primitive, egalitarian, and middle-class societies and to those cultures strongly bound by religious symbolism and thought. Thus the development of the genre in the history of art is rather discontinuous. It flourished, for example, in the Mediterranean area in antiquity under the Oriental monarchies but was largely absent in Greece; later it reaffirmed itself under the Roman Empire. But despite distances of space and time between the various civilizations that produced a historical art, frequent over-all similarities in conception and motif justify treatment of the theme under one heading.

Though there are, even today, manifestations of traditional art with historic and commemorative purpose, the genre as affirmed in the painting of the 19th century had unique characteristics that were linked to the romantic milieu and the rise of modern historical research. If this 19th-century development has affinities to any representational art form, it is to the illustration of the novel. See also BIBLICAL SUBJECTS; GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS; GRAPHIC ARTS; ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY; MYTH AND FABLE; ROMANTICISM; SAINTS, ICONOGRAPHY OF.

SUMMARY. Prehistoric and primitive peoples (col. 461). Antiquity (col. 463): *Narrative art of the ancient Near East; a. Egypt; b. Western Asia; c. Iran. The Greco-Roman world: a. Greek art: archaic to classic period; b. Hellenistic art and the origins of Roman historical representation; c. Augustan and early Imperial art; d. Roman historical art under Trajan and the Antonine emperors; e. The late Empire.* The West (col. 481): *The Middle Ages; The modern era.* The East (col. 495): *Islam; India; China; Japan.* Pre-Columbian cultures (col. 503).

PREHISTORIC AND PRIMITIVE PEOPLES. It is difficult to discuss the historical content of prehistoric or primitive art, for such art is primarily a manifestation of religious feeling, often expressed in conventional, schematic, and geometric forms. History and myth are generally fused in primitive cultures, and our concept of history, which we must use as a criterion, cannot be easily applied here. For historical sources primitive peoples have only oral traditions; most of these traditions among present-day primitives, who are largely acculturated, have been lost. Thus it is possible that some primitive representations are not recognized by us as historical.

During the Upper (or later) Paleolithic era — from the later Aurignacian period to the beginning of the Mesolithic — there were frequent representations of human figures in complex and dynamic scenes of rituals, hunts, and battles. Particularly significant examples are the cave pictures at Lascaux in France, those of the eastern coast of Spain, and the graffiti of the cave at Addaura near Palermo. It is impossible to decide with certainty whether the artist intended only to represent a scene as the instrument of sympathetic magic (in which case the scene is generic and in a certain sense outside of time) or whether the work commemorated a *specific*, though ritualized, episode of war or the hunt. It is probable, however, that the magically sympathetic image was inspired by actual events seen and remembered and that in some cases it was the artist's intent to depict specific events. Either magic or history may be represented in the Lascaux rock painting of a man with the head of a bird (perhaps a mask) facing a wounded bison he has speared and in the graffiti of Addaura on the slopes of Mount Pellegrino, where, among other representations, a group of ten men dance about two ithyphallic figures lying upon the ground. The latter is perhaps a scene of initiation or a magic rite for the fecundity of the tribe. The same alternatives are presented by the graffiti and painting of the Sahara and by those which the Australian bushmen continued to produce almost up to our own time.

With the beginning of the Mesolithic age, naturalistic representation declined. Figures became more and more schematized and geometric until the decorative element triumphed in the products of the Neolithic period and the metal age. Possibly the transition from the mobile and eventful hunting culture to the sedentary agricultural economy was unfavorable to the formation of a narrative, commemorative tradition. A narrative tradition began to be effective only with the creation of important organized communities, clashes between such communities, the appearance of noted leaders, and the origin of writing. These developments took place in the Near East and Asia with the first glimmers of recorded civilization (see below).

Historical-commemorative representations among primitive populations of recent times include pictographic accounts incised on birch bark or bone by Eskimos and Siberian natives, current histories depicted on elk or bison skins by the Plains Indians (III, PL. 1), schematic records of Iroquois wampum, and narratives cut or burned on bamboo by the Kanakas of New Caledonia. In most cases, however, such modern primitive representations comprise messages, topical events "shown" to persons far away, rather than commemorations of past happenings; that is, commemorative representations by present-day primitives are largely the products of peoples with a rather high level of civilization, an authoritarian government, and bellicose tendencies. These culture traits are favorable to the production of historical art for two reasons: (1) Among warlike peoples, subject at times to absolute political authority, there is a constant impetus to exalt military leaders and exploits. (2) Societies with a fairly high civilization also have a "history"; they can draw on and transmit fairly accurately many recollections of the outstanding events and persons regarded as "historic" (i.e., raised above the realm of the anonymous).

Notable examples of commemorative art come from two art centers of the Gulf of Guinea: Benin, in Nigeria, and Abomey, capital of the kingdom of Dahomey. Both centers were created by populations whose political organization was that of the state and city-state ruled by a semidivine king having a powerful, well-trained army, a brilliant court, and a body of peripheral officials to transmit the plan of centralized government. From Abomey come the painted bas-reliefs of the "Great Palace," so called because it was formed by a complex of earthen buildings executed during 10 reigns. Each king built his own private apartments, sleeping quarters, reception rooms, and so forth. The walls were adorned with bas-reliefs of historical and religious subjects celebrating victories of the Fon over their neighbors or inspired by religious symbols or statements of the kings involved. The reliefs often represent the king allegorically under such terrifying aspects as a shark, lion, elephant, or buffalo (PLS. 116, 129).

Benin, from the 16th century until its conquest by the English in 1897, produced a series of commemorative works of very high artistic value, including the famous portrait heads and commemorative plaques (PL. 113). The plaques, which originally covered the columns and piers of the royal palace, show genre scenes (the most interesting of which, both esthetically and historically, represent Portuguese soldiers and merchants) and figures of the Obas (chieftains) of Benin holding court, hunting, or presiding at ceremonies. These royal images are occasionally mixed with those of the deity Olokun, which suggests that the sovereign received divine honors, as did the majority of the despotic rulers of Sudan. There is a great uniformity of facial types in the portrait heads, which recalls, as William Fagg points out, those busts of Roman emperors who wished to exhibit in public images their brute strength rather than their wisdom. The heads belong to a stylistic phase that corresponds to a period of decadence in Benin, when the absolute authority of the king was manifested not in wars of expansion but in palace revolutions and massacres to acquire religious and magical power.

In the Congo, among the Bushongo of the Kasai River, the aim is to celebrate the social and cultural, rather than the military, achievements of each monarch, and small portrait statues take the place of multifigural representations. The great king Shamba Bolongongo, for example, commissioned a portrait statue so that future generations could remember him and "console themselves with the contemplation of his image in times of tribulation." The statuettes are all fairly similar: the king is seated cross-legged on a small bench, and before him

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is placed an object that symbolizes his most important regal act to benefit the community.

Italo SIGNORINI

ANTIQUITY. *Narrative art of the ancient Near East.* The ancient civilizations of western Asia have left an impressive, and almost unequaled, series of narrative and historical monuments that proclaim their deeds and ruling ideals. This art appears somewhat problematic in its origins, development, and even definition. Before the New Kingdom in Egypt and the New Empire in Assyria (and even later) it is difficult to distinguish an art that can be strictly called "historical," that is, intended to commemorate specific deeds. The eminently religious character of ancient Near Eastern civilizations makes it hard to isolate sacred elements from the profane, and conservative iconography long retained schemes that had little specific reference to the event represented in any individual work.

Nevertheless, within the area, a purely historical-commemorative art developed, but its course was not smooth. In Egypt, historical events apparently inspired occasional works from the very earliest times, but commemorative art in the grand manner did not fully ripen until the middle period of the New Kingdom — and then it appeared primarily as the celebration of military exploits. In the southern part of Mesopotamia (Babylonia), where civilization appeared earlier than in the north, some historical subjects have been found from the 3d millennium B.C., but these are few, scattered, and small, and linked to the extrahistorical world of sacred and symbolic elements. Such objects are not found later, significantly enough. A true commemorative art developed only at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., in the northern part of the region (Assyria). In ancient Anatolia, in Syria, and in Palestine there was never a truly original historical art.

This remarkable discontinuity finds its principal explanation in the various conceptions of political government and in their maturation over the course of time. Such conceptions seem to determine not only the presence and diffusion of historical representations but also their iconography and style. In Egypt the idea of the god-king dictated the iconographic convention of representing the pharaoh in rather larger dimensions than other men and in rigidly fixed conventional poses, even when the surrounding scene was enlivened by a more realistic development of action. The idea of a divine king favors the repetition of unvaried iconographic formulas removed from the world of time and thus from the specific historical event. It tends to make the symbolic character of the subject — especially in monumental sculpture — prevail over the narrative. Moreover, in Egypt the gods, and therefore the pharaohs, did not usually appear in action. There was little mythology, and therefore little of it carried over as narrative into art.

The situation was different in Babylonia, where the monarch appeared as the earthly representative of a god, rather than as a god himself; the office and activity of the Sumerian ruler was the interpretation of the will of the god of the city-state. War was given little emphasis, and peaceful activities predominated within the framework of religious belief. Representational art remained a part of sacred history, rarely linked to narratives of specific events. A king's activity was recorded in a relatively monumental work only after a progressive exaltation that finally endowed him, if only temporarily, with divine powers. (This progression is indicated by the prefix of divinity attached to the names of Akkadian rulers of the 3d dynasty of Ur.) However, with the political decline that followed the age of Hammurabi, the concurrent artistic decline, and especially the reaffirmation of the traditional Sumerian concept of the monarch, this process of exaltation came to an end, and historical subjects disappeared from Mesopotamian art. They reappeared only at the end of the 2d millennium B.C. in Assyria, where a powerful state was created by a new political concept. The ruler was primarily the military leader, the protagonist in great conquests, the implacable destroyer of the enemy. This was essentially a secular conception of power, even though in the ancient Near East, conquests were inevitably depicted as positive realizations of the will of the national deity. Since the conception of power was secular, the commemorative art became secular. The ruler was therefore not represented as larger than other men, although he appeared with all the insignia of his rank. The narrative was not focused solely on his person but covered every phase and facet of the event. Egypt had shown something of this secular, military aspect of the ruler, especially in the 19th dynasty, but only in Assyria did it emerge so fully, in a manner that was almost unique in ancient Near Eastern art.

The absence of historical representations in Syria and Palestine (adaptations of Egyptian motifs in the minor arts, such as the ivories from Megiddo, are not sufficient exceptions) can be connected to the lack of a unified political power and of an artistic tradition able to serve it. This political and social climate, however, did not prevail in Anatolia, which saw the Hattushash empire and the great rock reliefs at Yazılıkaya. A flourishing and unique written history is to be found in Anatolia. The capacity to understand and estimate facts in chronological order, which may be deduced from their historiography, would suggest that some counterpart to Egyptian and Assyrian art existed. Yet it did not — perhaps because the traditionally religious and ritualistic concept of the Anatolian sovereign and the very limitation of his power prevented him from personifying the destiny, fortunes, and military glory of the state. This framework was altered partially in the Neo-Hittite period, when scenes of war appeared in reliefs (although rarely); they were rather conventionalized and certainly under the prevalent influence of nearby Assyria.

A rebirth of these official commemorative themes occurred in Achaemenian Persia, fostered by the tradition of poses and compositions of Mesopotamian and Egyptian commemorative art and by the desire to glorify the empire and exalt the sovereign. The Achaemenian development included special characteristics inseparable from the religious nature and symbolism of the Iranian tradition (see below).

As we have seen, a basic factor in the development of the historical narrative and in the determination of its artistic characteristics is the significance accorded the state within the larger world view supplied by religion. But this is not the only factor to be considered, as some have suggested. The local material conditions under which art develops are also important. A notable example is the availability of stone: its extreme scarcity in southern Mesopotamia prevented the development of large-scale relief in that area, irrespective of any other circumstances; the abundance of stone in Egypt, in northern Mesopotamia, and on the Iranian plateau favored large-scale relief. But apart from such extrinsic conditions, the basis of commemorative art is the underlying values of the society and the evolution of history. Thus it was not by chance that a commemorative art developed in the ancient Near East in a period that saw the politics of expansion and the mutual encounter of empires. There arose a necessity to immortalize a political situation of international breadth through imposing monuments. Nor was it by chance that a commemorative literature also developed at this time and in this area; for it is in precisely the type of civilization found in the ancient Near East that the spirit of analysis is formed and allowed to flourish. Historical representation and analytical narrative are integrated and set side by side upon the monuments, all aiding in the celebration of imperial glory.

The basic question of whether monumental commemorative art arises in isolation or whether it is connected to other cultural and historical occurrences by way of intermediary influences had hardly been touched by modern scholarship until recently. Contemporary criticism has emphasized the unquestionable autonomy of the development of both Egyptian and Assyrian production — which, moreover, had no local precedents to clarify their origins.

Historical subjects in the ancient Near East are, from the thematic point of view, dominated by the motif of the battle victoriously waged by the sovereign, whether the enemies are one or many and whether the scene is reduced to a symbolic, almost emblematic, presentation or extended to a series of narrative episodes. Representations of peaceful enterprise are rare, but exceptions occur: in Egypt, the expedition of Queen Hat-

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shepsut to the land of Punt (IV, PL. 360); in Assyria, the expedition to the source of the Tigris, of which Shalmaneser III gives an account on the bronze gates of Balawat (IX, PL. 490). A partial variant of the victory motif, or perhaps an integral part of it, is the theme of tribute rendered to the conquering ruler. But here one nears the limits of historical representation; in the Egyptian reliefs at Beni Hasan, the Semitic peoples bearing tribute are probably depicted not so much because of the particular event but because of their costumes and racial types, so different from those of the Egyptians. The treatment of themes in the ancient Near East goes from one extreme to the other — from allusive, symbolic representation (carried to the point of purely emblematic significance ignoring setting and chronology) to representation that is naturalistic, narrative, and episodic. A typical example of symbolic representation is the tablet of Narmer (IV, PL. 324), in which the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt is symbolized by the iconographic scheme (already ancient and destined to be of great influence) of the ruler who strikes a kneeling enemy with a mace. Inscriptions and attributes that allude to the event complete the scene. In contrast, the Assyrian reliefs are inherently naturalistic (VI, PL. 55). Chariots crossing a river, the pursuit of enemy cavalry through the reeds of a swamp, an attack on a fortress wall, the counting of the heads of decapitated enemies, the flight of people from a city, or scenes of prisoners in the field are all as essential to the illustrated account as the figure of the king fighting or passing by in a canopied chariot or receiving the homage of the conquered enemy. This Assyrian manner of illustration requires the use of continuous narrative — a technique in which the same figure can reappear in successive scenes.

In other instances of ancient Near Eastern commemorative art, the symbolic and naturalistic treatment appear combined. Thus in the historical representations of Egypt's New Kingdom, of which we may take the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak as an example (PL. 252; IV, PL. 369), the artist reaches the height of his ability in faithfully presenting the various phases of the battle; yet the figure of the Pharaoh in his chariot appears according to the traditional scheme — in the center of a scene that is completely dominated by him as the sole protagonist. Elsewhere the two narrative modes are simply juxtaposed and not organically combined. Thus the Mesopotamian Stele of the Vultures shows on one side the particulars of the battle (the massed phalanxes, the King in his chariot, advancing at the head of his light infantry) and on the other side the gigantic god Ningirsu (or again the King?), who holds a net in which the conquered enemies are enclosed (I, PL. 506).

*a. Egypt.* Egyptian history begins with a famous work of commemorative purpose — the small votive tablet of King Narmer, mentioned above. On this tablet the great historical event of the conquest of the Nile Delta and the unification of Egypt appears synthesized into a symbolic, almost emblematic representation, lacking reference to time and place. While, therefore, the inspiration is historical and the intent commemorative, the realization lacks that precision and concern with the individual event which characterizes true historical narrative. It was not until the 5th dynasty, in the reign of Sahura, that historical representations appeared. In the 5th-dynasty cycle of reliefs that once formed part of the Pharaoh's funerary temple, the documentation is, however, unfortunately fragmentary. A large relief on two levels, one above the other, illustrates the departure and return of a naval expedition to Asia. (A division into units by means of horizontal lines is an ancient Egyptian convention.) Large ships designed for sailing on the open sea are shown, equipped with oars and movable masts for the sails. In the scene of return, the ships are obviously loaded; above this, next to the Egyptian crewmen, are many Asian figures, probably hostages. All appear in the act of homage to the Pharaoh, whose figure has, however, been lost. Another relief from the funerary temple of Sahura commemorates a victory over the Libyans. Even here the upper and lower scenes were dominated by the great figure of the Pharaoh, also lost, in the act of striking down a leader of the Libyans with a mace. Above, in front of the Pharaoh, in superimposed registers, princes and princesses with their children beg mercy. Behind them Sesat, the goddess of writing, sets down the "number of the prisoners brought from all the foreign countries," according to the inscription. In the center are seen herds of cattle and asses and flocks of sheep and goats, with indications of the numbers of each species captured. Below, in an attitude of desperation, are the wife and son of the Libyan leader about to be executed by the Pharaoh. The detailed, analytic character of these representations should not obscure the impression that the various scenes are types rather than depictions of specific individuals and events. Although the accompanying inscriptions give the names of the Libyan prisoners and the number of the animals taken, the data are not necessarily reliable, for later in the New Kingdom lists of conquered peoples were simply copied from previous lists and included peoples already extinct for some time. Also of the 5th dynasty, the relief in the Temple of Unas representing starving people, singularly individualized, may have historical reference.

In the following dynasty, scenes of battle appear in two private tombs at Deshasha and at Saqqara; the historical reference in the reliefs of the tomb of Pepi II, at Saqqara, is rather doubtful, their subject appearing predominantly ritualistic. These battle scenes — two versions of the same composition — seem to follow general models. This, however, does not detract from their interest. The scenes suggest prototypes in lost royal monuments, particularly because of their appearance in private tombs.

In the Middle Kingdom, historical representations existed in the funerary temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri. A few fragments with battle scenes remain, of almost no significance. The typical composition of the pharaoh striking the enemy with his mace (IV, PL. 344) appears more animated and dramatic than the version on the tablet of Narmer. In private tombs there is notable stress on commemorative subjects in themes of battle and presentation of tribute. The laws of typification and the repetition of iconographic schemes still prevail. Of this epoch are the reliefs at Beni Hasan; we have already noted that, despite the accompanying inscriptions, the artists seemed more interested in the description of racial types and costumes than in the principal event. There is in all the reliefs of the Middle Kingdom a taste for what we call "genre." That taste, combined with a much more diffuse mode of narration, is found again in the oldest historical commemorative cycle of the New Kingdom — the one cut upon the walls of the so-called "Portico of Punt" of the funerary temple of Queen Hatshepsut. The cycle is exemplary both for the happy solution of problems relevant to the development of the narrative and for its most accurate execution. The peaceful expedition of the Queen to the country of her admirers, situated on the coast of Somaliland, is presented in a series of large pictures that follow the narrative in chronological order. In the first register the Queen sails over the Red Sea and disembarks at the mouth of a river. Transport is furnished by large boats with large central sails. The crews are well differentiated from the troops that protect operations. Native huts, flora, and fauna are represented with great care, and even the ethnic characteristics of the local population are indicated with attentive precision. The exchange of products takes place in an atmosphere of cordiality. The next scene shows the loading of rare woods, balls of resin, ivory, gold, and rare trees transported with their roots. The final picture represents the triumphant reentry of the expedition into Thebes. Long didactic inscriptions complete the historical intention of the work.

The other historical representations of the New Kingdom are by and large concerned with war. The scene of the triumph of Thutmosis III over the Asians on the seventh pylon of the Temple of Amen at Karnak is summed up in the figure of the King, who strikes with his mace a cluster of prisoners held by the hair. About him are figures of chained prisoners emerging from cartouches that carry the incised name of a place or a conquered people. The figural scheme, by this time a stereotype, is related to the verbal account of the events cut into the walls of the Hall of the Annals in the same temple. Thus in Egypt, as later in Assyria, representations and accounts move

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in strict parallelism. The two languages of the figural and the verbal are also found at times in significant intermixture.

The repertory of historical subjects probably did not vary much until the Amarna period. While evidence may be lacking among the major arts, the minor arts attest the presence of the usual scenes of victorious battle, as in the carriage of Thutmosis IV. Yet iconographically the motif of the pharoah in a horse-drawn carriage, which from the very start appears as a triangular composition, is a great innovation. The cultural revolution of Tell el 'Amarna, with its attention focused on the human aspect of the sovereign, might have provoked a radical change in historical representations. Yet the only scenes that were represented and repeated were genre scenes, though there were basic changes in their manner of representation. These changes include the reduction of division by register, the tendency toward use of an environmental setting (fulfilled by the depiction of the buildings in which individual scenes take place), and the introduction of continuous narrative; the last, however, is not the invention of this period, since such scenes appeared in earlier eras. The results of the revolution become more obvious in a later period of political reaction against the new religion of Aten. A fragmentary scene of the battle of King Horemheb gives precise historical references. The reliefs of Seti I on the walls of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (PL. 252) realize for the first time in the history of Egyptian art a narrative that can be called complete; it is a succession of many scenes in a unified context. Yet conventional schemes are not significantly reduced in number. Thus the Pharaoh, represented in larger proportions than his enemies and his own following, impairs the descriptive realism. In some instances, however, the difference in proportions is reduced — and just in those places where the specific action emerges most strongly. The triangular composition formed by the figure of the king in his chariot does not disappear, but an important development is the change in the position of the Pharaoh's body from scene to scene, which adjusts to the course of the narrative. The interest of the artist runs also to the figures of the conquered, their cities, and the landscape in which the scene takes place. The desire for realism is therefore combined with compositions expressive of the symbolic and timeless invincibility of the Pharaoh, creating a tension capable of producing great monumental art. This interrelationship and tension disappear in the reliefs of Ramses II, where the artist turns his interest solely to the historical content in a narration that is outstandingly discursive. The vast representation of the Battle of Kadesh (PL. 251; IV, PL. 369) is lost in details, which are, moreover, described at length by inscriptions accompanying the various scenes. (On the reliefs of Seti I the inscriptions had been brief and impersonal.) The atemporal aspect of the royal victory is abandoned in favor of a pictorial epic diametrically opposed to the principles that had previously motivated the art of Egypt.

With the reliefs of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, the evolutionary cycle of ancient Egyptian art closed, in a return to the purest symbolism. The defeat of the invaders from the sea — a more important historical event than the half victory at Kadesh — is reduced to a scene in which the Pharaoh, heraldically erect and far removed from the fighting, draws his bow at an undetailed mass of enemies and ships. There is no tension here — only the nondramatic juxtaposition of facts: absolute victory, complete defeat.

In the long course of Egyptian history and art that followed, the schemes of historical representation, by now crystallized, reappeared. But they were to be mere repetitions of the past, in which the ideal of a representational art transcending the flow of time became an anachronistic cult of lost glory.

*b. Western Asia.* Representations of historical content and intention are not lacking in the oldest Mesopotamian art, but their appearance is infrequent within a largely decorative and symbolic production. Nor is it always clear if, and to what extent, initial historical content and purpose are preserved in the final product. There is also the difficulty, already mentioned, of distinguishing between historical and religious scenes. Because of the nature of the material available in the southern part of Mesopotamia, the vehicles of artistic expression are small objects (vases, seals, plaques; rarely steles), in which the complexity of the monumental is seldom attained.

Despite some recent opinion to the contrary, it is difficult to see in the predynastic vase from Erech (Uruk; IX, PL. 466), adorned with scenes in relief, more than the representation of a ritual event. And it is hazardous to affirm, as has been done, the complete historicity of an Erech seal on which is represented a standing figure faced by other figures seated or in a falling position. The fragmentary stele from Erech showing a man hunting lions with a spear, and in an adjacent scene with a bow and arrow, could have been inspired by a concrete historical fact and commemorate an individual personality; yet this is no more than hypothesis. Equally disputable are the value, content, and intention of the "standards" (bitumen inlaid with shell and mother-of-pearl), from the intact one found at Ur (VIII, PL. 77; IX, PL. 471) to the fragmentary examples from Kish and Mari. It is not clear whether victories are being ceremonially commemorated and whether the banqueting and battle scenes are generic or descriptive of definite events. Scenes showing Sumerian rulers on the foundation plaques of temples that they built or restored generally have a purely ritual purpose; the representations cannot be described as historical. However, the distinction is not always clear, as the plaque with the inscription of King Ur-Nina shows (I, PL. 502). This plaque records the foundation of a temple as specific fact — a fact to which the ruler attributed a historical importance equal to that of the battles he fought.

The first monument that was historical in every sense (i.e., involved in the recording of an important secular event) was the Stele of the Vultures of Eannatum in Lagash (mod. Telloh; I, PL. 506). As has been indicated, in this monument the objective character of the battle and its extrahistorical meaning are divided in their representation — one aspect on each of two faces — thus presenting in dichotomy what in Egyptian art became basically unified.

In the Akkadian period, historical representation evolved in various ways. Typologically the flat, two-faced stele was replaced by a massive one of truncated-cone or pyramid shape. The clear division into registers, derived from archaic modes of representation and already partly superseded in the stele of Eannatum, was abandoned in favor of a more unified composition in which the old partitioning was barely implied in the disposition of the figures. There was also a thematic change. It was no longer the god who intervened in battle but the king. Given divine powers, he led the troops and looked up to heaven, where the gods were represented by symbols. Such was the theme of the stele of Naram-Sin, the most famous, best preserved, and most beautiful of the Akkadian steles that have come down to us (I, PL. 507). Not all Akkadian steles are of the same type. On a fragment in the Louvre the band dividing two scenes is still discernible. The one scene now visible, of a soldier accompanying two prisoners, indicates that the repertory must have been somewhat more varied than the stele of Naram-Sin suggests, and that a narrative system using successive episodes was also followed.

The fragmentary steles of King Ur-Nammu and Gudea, ruler of Lagash, return in type to that of Eannatum. In subject matter these fragments reflect the change in atmosphere brought about by the violent end of the Akkadian dynasty. Scenes of religious or ritual character showing divinities as actors bring to a close the 3d millennium, with religious preoccupations prevailing, as they had when the millennium began. Not even the policies of Hammurabi later sufficed to resurrect a genre that had flourished under different political and spiritual conditions. From the artistic point of view, the reign of Hammurabi was but a weak attempt to revive some compositions and conventions of the Akkadian past, and in the field of historical subjects it achieved little success. Even the representation that surmounts Hammurabi's famous stele (I, PL. 512) cannot be called truly "historical." Though prompted by a specific fact, the scene is only a stylized expression of the relation between king and god as it was then conceived in

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Mesopotamia. Also within the Akkadian region are the scenes on the walls of the palace at Mari (I, PL. 513), the first signs of a genre destined to become extremely important. Although the scenes refer to a ritual event, they are inserted in a context that is ornamental rather than narrative.

Historical subjects reappear later in Assyria, in northern Mesopotamia. In the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., during the Middle Assyrian period, there were sporadic representations that were historical in purpose: a small stone relief of Tukulti-Ninurta I with a battle scene; a panel of enameled bricks showing war chariots and soldiers of Tiglath-pileser I; and the so-called "Broken Obelisk," which bears at its top, in the middle of an inscription, the figure of a ruler receiving homage from vassals, the latter in reduced proportions. Monumental historical narrative begins, however, with Ashurnasirpal II (884–859 B.C.), in the Assyrian New Empire. In this period the obelisk no longer contains only one scene (as in the Broken Obelisk) but shows a series of figures placed in horizontal bands on three or four of the obelisk's faces. The scenes sometimes continue over two adjacent faces. This type of composition, which is found on the White Obelisk of Ashurnasirpal II, already presents the motifs that later appear on the wall reliefs, such as rows of chariots, lines of prisoners, and cities besieged.

Although the obelisk underwent successive variations (from the fragmentary obelisk of Ashurnasirpal II to the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III; IX, PL. 488; X, PL. 144) regularizing the surface to be illustrated, it fell rapidly into disuse. Historical narrative continued to develop, however, on the great mural reliefs that decorated the interiors of Assyrian royal palaces. This particular locus for the reliefs is significant; as interior wall decorations rather than works exhibited in the open, they were designed to accompany visitors from the door of the palace to the ruler's throne. The occasionally monotonous insistence on meaningful details, the recurrence of the figure of the king, and the repetition of enemy slaughter all fulfilled political and propagandistic requirements and made possible the creation of a new figural language. Such a style cannot entirely be considered the end product of a gradual evolution. Despite their inevitable reminders of earlier iconography, perhaps even of Egyptian examples from the New Kingdom, the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal introduce so new and unexpected a sensitivity that they can be explained only by the emergence of a very great artist. The episodes are remarkably novel and lively. The battle theme is animated with scenes of a parade of war chariots, the transport of the royal chariot across a river (an episode that occupies three large slabs), and an attack on an enemy patrol that flees across a river with the aid of inflated skins (IX, PL. 493). The details are somewhat awkward, but their liveliness in the landscape and battle scenes largely compensates for the lack of the organic sense of space gradually attained by artists of later generations. This fondness for minutiae often isolates itself from the whole, and details seem to live a life of their own, as in the frequent and sensitively depicted scenes of prisoner life. With this development of detail the way to the historical narrative was opened to the Assyrian artist.

Under Shalmaneser III, successor to Ashurnasirpal II, the scope of the historical narrative was broadened in both content and technique. Metal became a medium for relief, and the iconography was enriched with numerous motifs. Whereas the lateral scenes on the Black Obelisk were merely poor imitations of earlier themes, the nearly identical scenes of homage of the kings of Judah and Tyre were new and important. The great artistic undertaking of the artists of Shalmaneser was the bronze gates of Balawat. Hundreds of figures were lined on long, thin horizontal bands — often monotonous rows of soldiers, chariots, prisoners, and bearers. Some scenes, however, were notably original in theme, such as the tribute of Tyre and a reconnaissance mission to the sources of the Tigris.

We know little about the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. But in the extant fragments it is possible to observe considerable progress in the representation of space, with more skillful attempts at perspective. In the numerous reliefs of Sargon I historical narrative is almost absent; the figures of courtiers seem to anticipate those on Achaemenian reliefs. A new impulse to commemorative art came during the reign of Sennacherib, when battle scenes acquired a fresh vividness with the appearance of landscape — a new element that played a decisive role. The battles are always seen in natural settings, such as swamps, wooded mountains, and hills. (It little matters whether they are faithful to historical fact.) This apparent desire for greater fidelity occasionally brought about grotesque effects, as in the reliefs of the siege of Lachish: the mountain city appears flanked by diagonal lines covered by soldiers attempting to approach. The landscape background and the requirements of perspective led artists under Sennacherib to eliminate the old divisions into bands that had always characterized reliefs and later characterized those of Assyria. The bands returned in the historical reliefs of Ashurbanipal; the landscape ceased to encroach upon them. The scenes appear more complex and rich in detail, when they are not rows of figures, the best example being the relief of the capture of Susa (PL. 253) showing the defeat of the Elamites, in which the composition achieves epic grandeur. This work suggests a certain imbalance of form and content that characterized Assyrian historical relief from the time of Ashurnasirpal on: compositions were so organized that either an episode of secondary historical significance dominated, or an episode of decisive importance (as the defeat of the Elamites) was subdivided into a thousand unimportant details.

After Ashurbanipal there were no Assyrian reliefs. The brief renaissance of the Neo-Babylonian empire did not lead to a rebirth of the art in southern Mesopotamia. Although there was a Babylonian art of wall decoration in small enameled bricks, it differed from relief in technique and site of application and fulfilled a purely ornamental purpose with its real or imaginary animals in regular alternation; the art was at the opposite pole to that of historical narrative. In Neo-Hittite art there are some similarities, though sporadic, to Assyrian historical narrative. From the 9th century B.C. on, scenes of foot soldiers killing the enemy and of bowmen on chariots pursuing the routed appeared in the palace of King Katuwas at Carchemish. They were placed next to the ritual representations proper to Hittite tradition — a tradition that largely prevailed in Neo-Hittite culture, even in the Carchemish palace (PLS. 254, 285–287). Some later historical scenes are found in reliefs on orthostats from Zincirli (PL. 287) and Karatepe. It is difficult to see in these later scenes, no less than in those from Carchemish, anything more than a provincial reflection of Assyrian art, which was reaching its point of greatest development. This reflection, moreover, occurs in scenes that are essentially types rather than depictions of specific events; they are not historical narrative in the strict sense of the term.

Some very special phenomena tangentially connected with the narrative tradition of ancient Mesopotamia are the scenes of war and the chase that appear on movable precious objects produced in the area of Syria and Cyprus during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Of especial note are those scenes on the plates of gilded and embossed silver with concentric decoration. Exported in large numbers to Greece and Italy and there imitated, they constitute one of the most characteristic groups within the so-called "Orientalizing" production (see ORIENTALIZING STYLE). In these objects iconographic recollections of the commemorative art of the great Mesopotamian empires appear; but the work is conventionalized, rigidified, and often rendered confusedly hybrid in costume and composition by an indifferent eclecticism. Every link with specific historical events is lost, and the scenes have purely decorative, evocative value. Nonetheless, these works demonstrate the enormous influence and renown of the great monumental commemorative art of ancient Mesopotamia.

Sabatino MOSCATI

*c. Iran.* The Iranian spirit was more drawn to myth than to history; Iranian art reflected this preference. Only rarely were important individual events represented, and when an occasional historical episode interested the artist, the work took on an epic quality. It was not the action itself but the result of the action that was immortalized; the triumph — not

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the way it was won. Thus, static rather than dynamic qualities typify Iranian art. A few battle scenes have been found, however, displaying a certain dramatic character.

History itself, in ancient Iran, tended to pass into the realm of myth and legend. Thus the accession to power of Artaxerxes I was depicted in the traditional colors associated with the rendering of myth. The historical ruler, in literature as well as art, was seen more as a type than an individual figure. Individualization was achieved mainly by such details as the shape of the crown, the costume, and the trimming of hair and beard, which were correctly rendered from a historical point of view.

The patron — a king, prince, or crown vassal — was an essential figure in the development of the genre. Only the patron class possessed the necessary interest in history to encourage its use as subject matter for art; and thus historical art in Iran became an imperial art. To the patron, however, history meant, and perhaps meant chiefly, the great exploits associated with the memory of his forefathers. Historical tradition became linked with myth and legend and emerged in art as the blend of fact, symbolism, and mythical motif characteristic of the Iranian epic tradition. Triumph, not defeat, was recorded.

The royal art of the Achaemenian (Old Persian) period (mid-6th–4th cent. B.C.) seems to emerge fully developed, without any recognizable formative stages. Such stages may be postulated by means of single monuments preserved from the Median period (before 550 B.C.); a mature Median art flourished during this epoch, predating the emergence of a ripe Persian art. Median art inherited, in turn, the traditions of Assyrian art, which can be seen from certain characteristic details in the former. Stylistic traits in Achaemenian art that seem typical of Assyrian royal art are undoubtedly derived from Median art as a connecting link, rather than adopted directly from Assyrian art. For an understanding of Achaemenian art as it emerges in Persepolis, late Assyrian art as evidenced in a site such as Dur Sharrukin (mod. Khorsabad) is highly significant. Whether Median art, protected by the Median rulers, exhibited the same motifs found in Old Persian art is not known. Presumably the walls of the royal palaces at Ecbatana (mod. Hamadan) and other Median towns possessed reliefs glorifying the triumph of the king over his enemies; the few remains of Median art do not, however, permit any definite conclusion on this point.

The outstanding examples of Achaemenian historical art have been found at Persepolis (VIII, PLS. 132–135). The rock reliefs at Behistun (anc. Bisutun), however, are the only specimens of Achaemenian art that afford an illustration of Iranian history in the proper meaning of the term. The reliefs illustrate one of the great historical events, the victory of Darius I over the nine rebel kings, the "kings of lie" (521–520 B.C.). Darius is depicted placing his left foot on the Magian usurper Gaumāta, who is stretched out on the ground, lifting his hands in a gesture beseeching the King's mercy. Darius has his right hand lifted, refusing the prayer of the conquered enemy, while holding his bow with his left hand. It has been rightly stressed that this picture possesses a symbolical value only. Such a scene never occurred, for we know that Gaumāta was surprised in his fortress Sikāyāhuvati during the night and was killed outright by the seven conspirators, including Darius. But what was essential to Darius and the artist who followed his wishes was the triumph over the pretender — a glorification of Darius as the representative of righteousness (*arta*) opposing the "lying" Magian, the representative of lie (*drauga*). The two historical persons, Darius and Gaumāta, are seen as representatives of the two eternal mythic and cosmic forces of *arta* and *drauga*. In depicting this struggle the artist returned to an old pattern, conspicuous in the Akkadian victory stele of Naram-Sin and the monument of triumph of Anubānini (probably 3d millennium B.C.), the latter of which he copied in the late Assyrian style; this is clear from such details as the hair and beard of Darius and position of his bow. Following Gaumāta in the Behistun reliefs are representations of the other rebel kings and vassals, all mentioned in the inscription. They are given individual characteristics, but each has his neck fettered and hands bound behind his back. Here too the artist has attached more value to symbolic meaning than to historical truth; for there never was an occasion when all the rebels were taken captive and paraded before the King to be executed afterwards. The symbolism is further accentuated by the tenth figure, Skunkha the Śaka (Scythian), who did not belong to the rebels. He is included among the prisoners to illustrate the completeness of Darius' victories. Not only is the triumph of the Great King (a title Darius and subsequent Persian rulers bore) immortalized, but also the unity of the empire is in all probability illustrated deliberately by showing the fate of the conquered rebels and enemies.

At Persepolis the existing reliefs have a much looser association with history. The battle of the King against his enemies is depicted only in a purely symbolic form — Darius fighting a mythical monster. The royal triumph and victory are only indirectly alluded to by procession scenes in which bearers of tribute from the whole empire are depicted.

Achaemenian coins depicting the Great King do not individualize the ruler; however, satraps who possessed the right of minting took the opportunity to immortalize themselves. Thus the faces of such persons as Tiribazus, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus have become known to us. Characteristically enough, they did not use such occasions to glorify their own historical deeds, any more than their overlords did.

When the Parthians became dominant in Iran about the middle of the 2d century B.C., they brought a new spirit into the history of the area — a spirit of chivalry. In the few preserved monuments, it is not only the king's triumph that is celebrated but also the victorious battle itself. While the Achaemenian Great King was too elevated to be shown in a contest of life and death against human beings, the Parthian King of Kings was a knight among knights as well as a sovereign ruler and the scion of the gods.

At Behistun there is a rock sculpture showing a combat of three horsemen. The rider in the center of the relief, above whom a little winged Nike flies, bears the name of Gotarses Geopothros inscribed in Greek letters. He is followed by an attendant on horseback. His adversary, who bears no name, is pierced through with a lance and his horse is tumbling. The problem of identifying the chief characters has not been difficult to solve. The victorious horseman can only be the Persian king Gotarzes II, conqueror in A.D. 50 of the Arsacid pretender Meherdates (Mihrdāt), who was supported by Rome. The event is recorded by Tacitus (*Annales*, xi–xii). The victory of Gotarzes has been symbolized and condensed in the rock sculpture in a scene of single combat between the two rivals — "almost a tournament" (Herzfeld) — in accordance with the Parthian spirit of chivalry. It is significant that the Parthians, being a riding people, introduced this type of scene between two horsemen to celebrate the memory of Gotarzes' victory; it was something apparently quite new in Iranian art. The motif won considerable popularity, as evidenced in the drawings found at Dura-Europos; here, however, all historical background seems to be missing. The symbolic significance of the relief of Gotarzes' victory must be stressed. There is no indication that Gotarzes and Meherdates actually met in a duel, but such a tournament between two hostile generals belonged to the code of Parthian chivalry, and therefore this representation is true to the historical atmosphere of the Parthian period. Furthermore, it recorded an incontestable historical fact — the victory of Gotarzes near the place where the monument is found. Unfortunately the poor state of the relief does not allow any stylistic analysis; only the scheme of iconography is clearly recognizable.

Another rock sculpture at Behistun, considerably older, can be dated to the reign of Mithradates II (ca. 124–87 B.C.) from traces of an inscription and from a drawing executed in 1673 by the French traveler Grelot. The King stands at the right in the relief. Before him there were once seen four men, the first identified as Gotarzes I, Satrap of the Satraps and ancestor of Gotarzes II. The name of the second figure has been lost. The third was Mithradates the Confidant, a title in the feudal nomenclature, and the fourth is Kophasates (Kōfāzāt), a name

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or title found in later epic tradition. The scheme of iconography, which was later perpetuated in Sassanian and even Islamic times, permits the attribution of this scene to a certain occasion when homage was paid to Mithradates II by his four great vassals. As Mithradates II is here called only "Great King," the monument can be dated before 110 B.C., when he assumed the title of "Great King of Kings." Unfortunately, Parthian history is not sufficiently well known to allow a more precise attribution. The scene is much more in keeping with the spirit of the Achaemenian period than with that of the Parthian relief showing the single combat. Here the Great King is depicted in all his glorious majesty, receiving the homage of his vassals; in the earlier Parthian relief, however, he was fighting for his crown and his life.

Until the beginning of the Christian Era, Parthian coins were struck under clear Hellenistic influence and were extremely well executed and individualized. During the Christian Era, however, they depreciated in quality. Historical events were sometimes reflected in the coins, as when Musa, the queen of Phraates IV, was depicted on the currency of her son and consort. Historical subjects in the proper sense of the word are not represented in this medium.

The Sassanian period (A.D. 224–642) began, according to tradition, with a battle in which Artaxerxes, founder of the Sassanian dynasty, conquered and killed Artabanus V, the last Arsacid king. This turning point in Iranian history is represented in a rock sculpture at Firuzabad, showing in three scenes of single combat: Artaxerxes and Artabanus; the Sassanian crown prince Shāpur and presumably the vizier of Artabanus; and one of Artaxerxes' knights and a follower of Artabanus. The artist has given individual characterization to all the combatants by means of horses' armor and coats of arms worn on helmets. Artaxerxes is further characterized by his globular hair style. He and his son Shāpur are mail-clad (as are their adversaries), but their coats of mail differ from those worn by the Parthians. Both style and subject carry on the Parthian artistic traditions as represented both in the graffiti of Dura-Europos and the monument of Gotarzes at Behistun. The Firuzabad sculpture has condensed the historical event into the symbol of tournament, as did the Behistun sculpture.

The next most important event in Sassanian history was the great victory over the Romans which Shāpur I gained in A.D. 260. It was fitting that such a glorious triumph was celebrated in art and natural that it took form in a series of rock reliefs. The reliefs are found at Naqsh-i-Rustam, Darab, and Bishapur (PL. 254), all the works belonging to the same period. The sculptures at Naqsh-i-Rustam, however, are the most famous. In the center the dominating figure is Shāpur on a huge Nisaean charger (here, as always in Sassanian sculpture, given impossibly small proportions). Before the King the captive emperor Valerian is kneeling, asking for mercy. Valerian's paludamentum and the mantle of Shāpur flutter from the shoulders in a manner typical of Sassanian art. Both Valerian and Shāpur are represented conventionally as the typical Roman emperor against the typical Sassanian Great King. In front of Shāpur, to the left of the Emperor, stands the Roman traitor Cyriades, protégé of the King; their hands are clasped. The clasp signifies the alliance between the Great King and the Roman and shows the ruler of Iran giving investiture to a Roman vassal emperor. Here again we meet with a symbolical representation of a history which is highly condensed. The victory over Valerian and the installing of a Sassanian protégé in Roman Syria mark two different stages of the Sassanian campaign; these two most remarkable events of the campaign are condensed into one single action — the triumph of the Sassanian ruler over the archenemy Rome. The rock sculpture therefore shows Iran as ruling the world.

Stylistic variations have been found at Bishapur, where another school of art was developing. One of the scenes celebrates Shāpur's victorious expeditions against India; about the specific event, unfortunately, little is known. While the proportions of the elephant are curiously misrepresented, the scene of Shāpur's Roman triumph is in correct proportion. Another triumphal scene is the rock sculpture of Bahrām II (276–93) receiving the homage of some Arabs. The historical context is unknown to us.

The accession of many Sassanian rulers has been depicted in rock sculptures and reliefs, in so-called "scenes of investiture." Since they contain no allusions to specific circumstances — everything is formal and symbolic — the works can scarcely be considered representations of historical subjects. Only the choice of various deities as actors beside the high god Ahura Mazda betrays individual inclination. Nor do Sassanian coins give any hint of historical subjects; rulers are characterized only by their different crowns. While an inscribed legend may reveal that a coin was struck in commemoration of a famous victory, the coin gives no other suggestion of the event. It has been said that Sassanian sculpture implies the existence of both Parthian and Sassanian mural and miniature painting; possibly this painting, if it existed, was more closely associated with historical subjects than is evident in preserved monuments of art.

Geo Widengren

*The Greco-Roman world. a. Greek art: archaic to classic period.* While historical representation in the restricted sense was almost unknown in Greek art before the age of the Persian Wars, in archaic times votive monuments and sculptural embellishments on temples perpetuated the memory of important events. Generally these commemorative works were not completely realistic. Hellenic art treats history in an allusive manner through the great epic cycles or local myths, thus giving a definite religious or symbolic association to specific events. A few great exceptions known to posterity were all created in response to special circumstances. One example of a votive monument in the archaic period is the sculpture of the Tyrannicides (Harmodios and Aristogeiton). Erected in Athens in 509 B.C., it was removed by the plundering Persians and replaced by a second in 477–476 B.C. (III, PL. 347); the monument commemorated a historical incident, depicting the two protagonists in full action. Perhaps the most important historical representation in classic Greek art was the large fresco in the Stoa Poikile in Athens showing the Battle of Marathon, probably made by Polygnotos (q.v.) of Thasos shortly after 460 B.C.; now lost, the fresco is known from Pausanias' description. It depicted the battle descriptively in three phases, but the action occurred in the presence of divinities, including a personification of the battle itself. The introduction of divine elements was considered essential in the depiction of historical events.

*b. Hellenistic art and the origins of Roman historical representation.* A true historical and commemorative iconography in the Greco-Roman world was first created with the establishment of the dynastic spirit in the age of Alexander the Great and the Diadochi. At least two somewhat later but very important works have survived to show a direct reflection in sculpture and painting of events in the life of Alexander: the so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus" from Sidon (now in Istanbul; PLS. 151, 152) and the great Alexander mosaic from Pompeii (PLS. 154, 155). The sarcophagus shows a battle between Persians and Macedonians conducted by Alexander and, in a corresponding scene, Persians and Macedonians as friends hunting together. The compositions are built up of meticulously balanced individual figures disposed in the rigidly formal manner typical of Greek or Greco-Hellenistic conventional battle friezes. The Alexander mosaic, copying a monumental painting probably by Philoxenos of Eretria, is composed in a totally different way. A Persian nobleman, trying to protect Darius on his royal war chariot, is transfixed by the lance of Alexander, who leads the Macedonian cohort. The figures are arranged in a throng suggesting a large multitude of warriors, their lances standing out against the sky.

Highly praised in antiquity were the triumphal monuments of the Pergamene kings erected at Delphi, Athens, and Pergamon to celebrate their victories over the Gauls. The votive monuments at Delphi (second half of 3d cent. B.C.) formed a series of bronze statues in larger-than-human scale showing the defeated barbarians in a half-realistic and half-

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heroic manner. Another series, on a somewhat smaller scale, was erected in Athens (second half of 3d cent. B.C.; PL. 175). These groups are known through Roman copies under such traditional names as *The Dying Gaul* (PL. 164) and the "Ludovisi Gaul" (PL. 162). A generation later, King Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) erected the great altar at Pergamon, excavated by German scholars in the 19th century and reconstructed in Berlin (PLS. 172–174; IV, PL. 218). The "historical" reliefs of the great altar were conceived as a mythological paraphrase free from all realistic elements. They depicted an enormous battle of gods and giants (symbolizing combats against the Gauls) and the story of Telephos, mythical precursor of the Pergamene kings (representing the history of the city).

The Italic and Etruscan world, though not lacking realistic representation, especially in funerary art (see ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART; GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS), had no real interest in commemorative art before the early Hellenistic age. The peculiar Roman custom of creating ephemeral images of places and events in wars, for exhibition in triumphs, gave the first impulse to historical and realistic painting in the Italic world. In addition to these, votive paintings appeared in the temples, according to literary sources. In 304 B.C. Caius Fabius Pictor, a member of a famous noble family, painted, signed, and dated frescoes on the walls of the Temple of Salus; however, we have no details concerning motifs and manner of presentation. In 274 B.C. the Curia Hostilia was adorned with a painting dedicated by Manius Valerius Maximus Messala, showing the battle in which he defeated the Carthaginians and Hieron II of Syracuse; as a portrayal of a specific event it must have presented some definitely realistic elements. A fresco dedicated half a century later by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in the Temple of Libertas probably also had certain realistic elements. The fresco showed the feast of liberation at Beneventum in 214 B.C., a rare specimen among the more usual martial and triumphal motifs, and surely a narrative historical representation.

Only a few fragments of this sort of painting have survived, the most remarkable being a portion of a fresco from the Esquiline hill (PL. 260). The fresco shows the story of two warriors (Marcus Fannius and Quintus Fabius) making a treaty of peace. The composition has a severe archaic character, with the story told in superposed zones. The protagonists are repeated twice and are rendered larger than the other less important figures. The background is neutral, and a portion of a city wall is depicted without any attempt at perspective. The fragment belonged to a tomb and was probably a modified copy of an ex-voto or a work inspired by a triumphal painting.

In 174 B.C. a large memorial painting in honor of another member of the Gracchus family was placed in the Temple of Mater Matuta, showing the slaughter or enslaving of the Sardinians. The painting took the form of a map with the outlines of Sardinia and with the battles depicted on the surface of the island. This mode of presentation may have been due to Hellenistic influences. (An Alexandrian map painter named Demetrios was mentioned as living in Rome at this time.)

In 168 B.C., after the Battle of Pydna, the victorious Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paulus asked the Athenians to send him an artist to make pictorial decorations for his triumph; Athens sent the painter Metrodoros. A contemporaneous monument at Delphi commemorating the Pydna victory (PL. 260) may have been chiseled after the cartoons of Metrodoros. The monument contains a marble frieze depicting various combats, made in an elegant but rather weak style. While the composition is conventional, there is an attempt to show the differences in Roman and Macedonian armor — possibly a concession to the taste of the Roman victor.

Of great importance for the understanding of Hellenistic influences in republican triumphal art is the information provided by Appian concerning paintings carried in the famous Asiatic triumphal procession of Pompey the Great (61 B.C.). An entire set of paintings was devoted to the history of Mithradates VI Eupator, king of Pontus and the great enemy of the Romans, defeated by Pompey in 66 B.C. One of the pictures showed the Pontic king escaping from the besieging Romans in the middle of the night. Considering the means of expression available to an artist of Hellenistic education at that time, the scene must have included — in addition to the usual narrative features — effigies of the goddess Nyx and a personification of taciturnity, representing, according to Appian, "the darkness" and "the silence" of the King's flight.

*c. Augustan and early Imperial art.* A considerable wealth of surviving monuments from the Augustan age onward permits a study of details and general tendencies in the historical art of ancient Rome. The Augustan works have an ambiguous character, reflecting the converging influences of the period and various lines of tradition, some already disintegrating and disappearing, others beginning a long development of their own. The principal monument of the age was the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome (PL. 261), dedicated on the victorious return of the Emperor from the west in 13 B.C. It was completed and finally consecrated in 9 B.C., and is now reconstructed, not far from its original site, inside a protective building beside the mausoleum of Augustus. Some of its famous historical reliefs have been known since the Renaissance; others were excavated as recently as 1937–39. They originally consisted of two extensive compositions on the long sides of the monument, which depicted contemporaneous events, and four mythological or allusive scenes on the shorter sides (III, PLS. 385, 488), which gave the legendary background of Rome's early history and promises for a blissful future.

Together the two long panels form one scene. Groups of citizens are gathered outside the city gates to meet the returning Emperor and to assist him in the sacrifice for peace. The scene shows Augustus as *primus inter pares* and conveys the atmosphere of an aristocratic republican society with traces of a popular background. While many different interpretations have been given to the events depicted (such as a sacrifice proper or a mere procession), very likely they refer to occurrences on July 4, 13 B.C., the day of Augustus's official return. Time and space are condensed into one idealized composition. All figures in the preserved parts portray real persons — men, women, and children — many having clearly individual traits. Also manifested in the frieze is a new iconography, already timidly approached in the funerary reliefs of Etrusco-Italic sarcophagi and Etruscan urns showing processions of magistrates. (In a sense the new iconography is also apparent in the census in the reliefs of the "altar of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus"; PL. 210.)

As far as can be seen, myth and allegory are not directly introduced into the main composition but are presented in the complementary panels of the shorter sides as free allusive elements. They are clearly separated from the reality of the state ceremony and yet conceptually form an integral part of the whole. Hellenistic tradition lives on in the mythological panels. The two best preserved are the sacrifice of Aeneas, which prefigures the Augustan sacrifice, and the scene with Mother Earth nourishing her children, an allegory of fruitfulness as a blessing of peace. The combined mythological and realistic treatment in the monument raises to a higher level the historic importance of the Emperor's return and ritual sacrifice. Thus the structure is perfectly in accord with an aspect of contemporaneous literature represented in the *Aeneid* of Vergil, the *Carmen saeculare* of Horace, and the *Fasti* of Ovid. The spiritual character of the monument is meditative and intellectual, free from even the slightest trace of naïveté. Its style is academic classicism at its best, combined with penetrating verism in portraiture and in the rendering of concrete detail.

This Roman interest in matter-of-fact description can be studied in another almost contemporaneous monument — the Arch of Augustus at Susa (Torino prov.) in the Cottian Alps. Humbler than the Ara Pacis Augustae, it also differs in other respects. In the naïve but vigorous and expressive style of a provincial craftsman, its frieze (VIII, PL. 230) depicts sacrificial ceremonies and the treaty of peace and friendship between Augustus and Cottius, the local king.

Another Roman historical genre, totally different from these official types, is represented by the "Gemma Augustea" in Vienna (VI, PL. 39) and the "Grande camée de la Ste Chapelle" in Paris, usually called "The Paris Cameo" (Cab. Méd.). On

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these carved gems members of the imperial family; gods; personifications; and various symbolic figures, attributes, and adjuncts all together form a highly complicated allegorical pattern. The subtle technique and luxurious character of the gems must be understood as a continuation of Hellenistic art or, more precisely in this case, of Alexandrian glyptic work in the service of Ptolemaic court tradition (see GEMS AND GLYPTICS).

In the Vienna cameo, Augustus is seated beside Dea Roma, equal in rank and importance to the tutelary goddess herself and surrounded by personifications and symbols alluding to his beneficial political achievements. While this sort of pictorial idiom is not necessarily bound to a concrete situation, the entire scene seems to be connected with a specific occasion by the figure of a young man shown descending from a triumphal chariot conducted by Victory. The occasion was very likely the Germanic triumph of Tiberius in A.D. 12, which marked the last achievement of Augustan imperialism.

The Paris cameo shows a somewhat later stage in the assimilation into Roman historical art of Hellenistic attempts to theomorphize the monarch. There have been many theories concerning the identification of persons depicted in the cameo and various explanations of the scene and its historical significance. Probably the cameo is an allegory with primarily dynastic purpose. Tiberius is shown as Jupiter, and members of the Julio-Claudian family are gathered round the seated Emperor or are apotheosized in heaven. Such elaborate compositions were probably not created exclusively for these cameos but emanated from one or more groups of archetypes. In early Imperial Rome this sort of historical representation must have been a rather rare exception in the west, contrary to national tradition and unwillingly tolerated by public opinion. On this point the western part of the Empire was opposed to what may have been quite acceptable in the east. However, the imperial glorification that was introduced in the west remained for centuries and was soon crystallized into types and formulas.

The two well-known reliefs on the Arch of Titus in Rome show parts of his triumphal procession. One panel contains the table of shewbread and the seven-branched candelabrum from the Temple of Jerusalem, carried on handbarrows by laureates (IX, PL. 161); the other panel shows Titus himself in his triumphal chariot crowned by Victory, conducted by Roma-Virtus, and accompanied by the genii of the Senate and the Roman people (PL. 262). The accumulation of gods and personifications in the second scene signifies no deliberate change in conception but rather an intensification of the artist's means of expression to emphasize the scene's importance.

Somewhat later in date, and very mature in style and mode of expression, are the two great friezes (now Rome, Vat. Mus.) excavated in 1938–39 below the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome. The friezes give a brilliant illustration of the dynastic ideas and political propaganda of the last of the Flavian emperors. The first scene (PL. 262) shows Vespasian and Domitian (father and son) in the presence of lictors, vestal virgins, and enthroned Dea Roma, and personifications of the Senate and the Roman people. The scene probably alludes to an actual ceremony in A.D. 70 (after Vespasian arrived from the east) that proclaimed Domitian as the rightful heir to Rome. The other panel depicts Domitian surrounded by Mars, Minerva, Roma-Virtus, the two genii of the Senate and the Roman people, various officers, and others. Presumably Domitian has been urgently entreated to set out for the frontier, but he seems to be hesitating. The work is an attempt at political propaganda, showing the Emperor as peace-loving yet ready for warfare, with the underlying conception subtle and halfspoken and perhaps not even entirely clear. The artistic means used provide possibilities far surpassing the capacity of purely realistic narrative description. The artist has not merely depicted historic events but has tried to present the meaning of a complicated psychological situation in an allegorical setting, magnificently stressing its historic importance.

*d. Roman historical art under Trajan and the Antonine emperors.* The reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117) marked a new high in quantity and quality for historical art. The state traditions of allegorical relief became more firmly established and enriched with additional motifs or new combinations of old concepts. Exemplifying this development are the Great Frieze from the Forum of Trajan in Rome, now in dismembered parts on the Arch of Constantine; the two Anaglypha Traiani, or Plutei di Traiano (parapets), in the Roman Forum; and the Arch of Trajan in Benevento (IX, PL. 161). The reign of Trajan also saw in historical art a revival and improvement of the old practice of telling a story full of concrete details, once popular in early republican days. The continued development of this tradition provided an elaborate narrative method of great importance for the later evolution of conception and method in historical art, even during late antiquity and the Middle Ages. The most important Roman monument in this tradition is Trajan's Column (PL. 263; III, PL. 329; X, PL. 152), with its frieze wound round the shaft. The monument contains by far the most interesting and detailed historical narration preserved from the art of classical antiquity.

The Plutei in the Roman Forum show two important events in the social policy of Trajan: the proclamation of the *alimentatio Italiae*, which established free food for poor children in the Italian communities, and preparations to burn the lists of debtors, resulting from Trajan's relaxation of certain taxes. The narration of this second scene in presented factually rather than allegorically; the actual event is shown as taking place in the Forum. In the *alimentatio Italiae* scene there is a symbolic group showing a female personification with a child on her arm and another at her hand, like the later Christian figure of Caritas. The present mutilated state of this scene makes it impossible to verify whether the artist meant to represent an Italia, as generally supposed, or a Libertas Restituta, or an Annona.

The social aspect of Trajan's political achievements is equally emphasized on the arch at Benevento (X, PL. 154), the best preserved and artistically most valuable monument of its kind that has come down to our time. Not a triumphal arch in the common martial sense of the word, it was built to commemorate the opening of the Trajan Way in A.D. 114. The two most important reliefs on the arch, according to their prominence, are situated in the archway (as were the earlier reliefs on the Arch of Titus) on opposite sides. They show a sacrifice and the *alimentatio Italiae*, the latter scene combining factual details, symbolic action, and personifications in one of the most original and advanced compositions of surviving historical scenes. The piety of the Emperor toward the gods and his liberality toward rising and future generations of Roman citizens are presented as fully equivalent counterparts. This treatment is significant: in terms of the Roman cultural ethos, state religion and practical politics were a closely knit union, mutually indispensable.

The entire inner front of the monument, facing the town, has been interpreted as a series of allusions to the Italian policy of the Emperor; the outer side, facing the road leading to the eastern parts of the Empire, is devoted to Trajan's relations with the provinces and colonies or his efforts to make secure the large new frontiers. Most of these motifs seem to be new. They are treated in a self-conscious and vivid plastic style rich in gestures and symbolic attributes. As historical allegories, however, they are not very clear, owing to the absence of an established iconographic tradition.

In Trajan's Roman monuments the martial character is completely dominant. The great Forum of Trajan was built with treasure captured in the Dacian wars, a point fully emphasized in the choice of subjects and their presentation. The larger part of the Great Frieze is devoted to an impressive demonstration of Roman military strength; even the scenes of the right and left sides have reference to this central motif. There is no question of historical and chronological sequence in the narration, nor, apparently, any reference to individual battles. The frieze presents the ideas of bravery, cruelty, and triumph transformed into a very condensed and idealized symbolic exposition composed almost exclusively of time-honored traditional elements: Trajan, bareheaded like a new Alexander, leads a select body of Roman officers representing all branches of military service; the soldiers show their commander in chief the severed heads of their beaten enemies; Trajan himself is crowned

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by Victory and received by Roma-Virtus. The forms are exaggeratedly plastic, accumulating motion and countermotion, combining strength and relative simplicity in the figures with an elaborate display in the details. The intention of the artist was apparently to render an impressive panegyric of the Roman victories over the Dacians, achieved by artfully arranged but historically incoherent details.

Trajan's Column, the spiral *columna cochlis* of A.D. 113 (dated by the inscription), belongs to quite a different category of historical representation (PL. 263; III, PL. 329). Surviving in a miraculous state of preservation, its reliefs contain some 2,500 figures arranged in what may have been meant as 100 selected scenes of military life. For practical purposes of identification the column is usually divided by modern publications into 155 units of varying size. The story begins at the base, winding upward round the shaft and ending at the top below the moldings of the capital. The reliefs present a form of continuous narration, following the Emperor and his army through the two Dacian wars (A.D. 101–02 and 105–07). The narrative technique involves a skillfully arranged alternation of a few recurrent motifs, the story told in an epitomized matter-of-fact manner. Divine figures are used very rarely, and then only to emphasize natural phenomena such as thunder, night, and water. The scenes are joined more like portions of an epic rhapsody than paragraphs of a military report. But by and large they appear to follow one another in true temporal and spatial sequence. Trajan himself — omnipresent, inspiring, the soul of every enterprise — is seen addressing his troops, sacrificing, or dealing with prisoners and envoys; a noteworthy interest is also shown for his great adversary, the Dacian king Decebalus. A comparatively small part of the frieze is devoted to the battles proper: the army is seen marching, building fortifications, and so forth; as in reality, the fighting occupies only shorter, dramatic portions of the generally monotonous life of a military expedition. The innumerable details of the narrative are stamped with authenticity and the freshness of realistic observation.

During the last hundred years there has been a great deal of argument among scholars about the historical exactness of these reliefs, as well as those which paraphrase them on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, erected little more than half a century later (PL. 264). The Trajan reliefs have often been regarded as documents comparable to a strategic report or a strictly historical commentary. This approach to the "truth" of the reliefs disregards iconographical traditions and artistic license and has provoked sharp reaction stressing the comparatively free artistic character of the frieze and, particularly, the original narrative method that is relatively independent of literary models. It is quite possible that the primary intention of the artist was to create a memorial devoted to the virtues of the Emperor and his army, their endurance through years of meticulously organized labors, and the final and complete victory — rather than simply to reconstruct the route of an expedition or to enumerate historical facts known to everybody.

While the mode of presentation of the Trajan reliefs is in almost every respect contrary to that of the Great Frieze from the Forum of Trajan, the two reliefs share the same laudatory purpose and underlying moral concepts. This use of moral concepts as a spiritual basis for historical art belongs to the very essence of Roman tradition. It can be better studied on the reverse sides of coins, which show verbal legends and figures complementing each other.

The pictorial language of Trajan's Column is further developed on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (the Antonine Column, according to an old tradition; not to be confused with the aniconic Column of Antoninus Pius; see PL. 264). The Column of Marcus Aurelius was erected to commemorate the Germanic and Sarmatian wars of 169–72 and 174–75; dedicated in 180 shortly after the Emperor's death, it was completed just before 193 and was intended to be a counterpart to Trajan's Column. In narrative method and pictorial style the Column of Marcus Aurelius is considerably modified toward greater clarity, intelligibility, and emotional concentration on essentials, compared with the complex compositional structure and unlimited richness of detail on its prototype. Whereas the frieze of Trajan's Column is almost impossible to read from the ground, the scenes of the Column of Marcus Aurelius are easily understood even at a distance. Thus the latter marks an important step toward assimilation of this special type of monument as an artistic means of expression. The Column of Marcus Aurelius, however, clearly shows the beginnings of a disintegration and barbarization of the classical legacy in military and political attitudes. On Trajan's Column (perhaps in contrast to the Great Frieze from the Forum of Trajan) the Dacians were depicted as worthy adversaries, capable of organization, bravery, and subtle human feelings — certainly an inheritance from the Greek conception of war as a noble competition. But on the Column of Marcus Aurelius the representatives of the Germanic and Sarmatian peoples are treated by the Roman soldiery almost as hunted and slaughtered animals, fighting with a combination of discipline and coarse passion. The Emperor himself seems to fulfill his obligations as commander in chief almost reluctantly, although with a stoic sense of duty. While the artist and his assistant marble cutters — superb psychologists and physiognomists — demonstrate a certain compassion for the adversaries, their wives, and children, they also display a grim satisfaction in depicting the enemy's sufferings.

The problem of historical truth in the scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius has aroused discussion among scholars similar to that concerning the frieze on Trajan's Column. Again it is necessary to stress the freedom of the artist in selecting typical scenes from the campaigns. This license has been exercised more freely in the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The episodes are knit together in a more staccato manner with an apparent search for both deliberate contrast and deliberate monotony. On the other hand, and despite all that has been argued, there is no real proof that the Column of Marcus Aurelius is not a generally true and chronologically correct representation of the campaigns of the Germanic and Sarmatian wars. It must, nevertheless, be kept in mind that the primary interest of the artist was psychological rather than factual, descriptive, or analytical.

Erected in the reign of the Emperor's son and successor Commodus, the Column of Marcus Aurelius shows a far more advanced character than the earlier and well-known sets of historical panels now partly on the Arch of Constantine (PL. 265) and partly on the walls of the great staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (PL. 264). These sets of panels certainly belong to the earlier part of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Though there are differences between the column and the panels due to stages in an internal development, the great historical monuments in Rome form a conceptual and stylistic unity.

At present we know very little about the continuation of purely Hellenistic and monarchic ideals in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Official portrait statues sometimes show traits of a theomorphization that was unusual or unacceptable in the west. Fragments of a great triumphal monument in Ephesus (now in Vienna) show Marcus Aurelius as apotheosized, on the sun's chariot, conducted toward heaven by the sun god assisted by Roma-Virtus and Victoria. Tellus with a cornucopia is depicted below the chariot, reclining on the ground. This scene and its compositional context, which comprises battles and other allegorical scenes, is presented in colossal scale and in heavy, idealized forms that are a reassertion of the old Pergamene plastic traditions. The Ephesus monument thus splendidly verifies the existence of a vital eastern school, in many respects totally different from the better-documented western tradition.

*e. The late Empire.* The difference between urban and provincial Roman art is clearly demonstrated by the two great triumphal arches of Septimius Severus — one in the Roman Forum (PL. 264), the other in the Emperor's native town of Leptis Magna in North Africa. The former is dated 203; its African counterpart may be almost contemporaneous, with a difference of only one or two years. In architectural type and choice of figural subjects, the arch in the Forum is a continuation of the great local tradition, although the work is presented in a style typical of its own time. Wholly conventional are the

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Victories and river gods in the spandrels and groups of prisoners on the columnar plinths. The four great reliefs depicting the history of the Emperor's campaigns, however, show a bold and stylistically very advanced character for the period. The choice of subjects and compositional ideas displays the result of detailed studies of the Column of Marcus Aurelius probably combined with other influences from topographical painting or map making. The scenes are arranged in a kind of "simultaneous succession" against a landscape seen in bird's-eye view.

The Leptis Magna arch is a tetrapylon with four equally important sides, and does not follow the usual Roman model. The presentation of the historical content through the figural decoration and great relief compositions also differs from the usual western types, although a strong influence of Roman iconography is present. While the historical scenes on the Forum arch are mainly devoted to the glory of the Roman state, with the Emperor as merely an exalted symbol of a great political and military tradition, the Leptis Magna arch is primarily a dynastic monument showing the splendor of the new African-born imperial family. Reflecting their role in the life of the time, the ladies depicted on the arch play a part equal in importance to that of the Emperor and his sons.

The last great monuments of traditional historical art from the late Empire are the triumphal arches of Galerius at Salonika and Constantine the Great in Rome (PL. 265); and the triumphal columns of Theodosius (PL. 265; II, PL. 467) and Arcadius in Istanbul. To a certain degree these historically important works may be considered a degeneration of Hellenistic-Roman tradition; at the same time, they anticipate Byzantine art in ethos and means of expression through new iconographical tendencies and a new figural style.

Per Gustaf HAMBERG

THE WEST. *The Middle Ages.* During the Middle Ages historical representation was linked to a conception of history as part of the divine plan for salvation. Past and present were essentially one manifestation of God's work to perfect the world through the redemption effected by Christ. The historic event as such was more important than the individuals who enacted it; the event was, in a sense, outside of time. It was therefore not strictly necessary that the artist faithfully reproduce the persons involved in any given occurrence. The artist even had the right to insert into religious scenes historic figures of the past and present (see PORTRAITURE); or to transfer into his own time events of the Old and New Testament, myth, stories of the saints, past secular history, and tradition. During the early Middle Ages in particular, there was so close an intermingling of reality, symbolism, allegory, and iconography that any distinction based upon their relative importance becomes difficult. The mosaics in the presbytery of S. Vitale, Ravenna (II, PLS. 440, 446; IV, PL. 18), are simultaneously portraits (in the late-medieval sense) of Justinian and Theodora, types of the imperial couple, and representations of an actual ceremonial event. Similarly the figures on the frontispieces of the great Carolingian and Ottonian Bibles, evangelistaries, and Sacramentaries are portraits of rulers and at the same time representations of court ceremony, dedicatory scenes (presentations of the codex to its commissioner), or documents of jurisdiction (showing the homage of a subject king or conquered province). The sovereign was shown on the frontispiece as emperor or *vicarius Christi*, the earthly representative of Christ, as, for example, Charles the Bald in the Bible of Charles the Bald (the Vivian Bible; Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 1, fol. 423: III, PL. 64) and in the Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald (or St. Emmeran; Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 14000, fol. 5v; III, PL. 392); the same emperor (?) is similarly depicted in the Bible of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (Rome, fol. 1). In still other works appear Otto III (Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 4453, fol. 24r) and Henry II (PL. 266; Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 4456, fol. 11r). Faithful copies of compositions such as these have been made (e.g., mosaic of the Doges, Venice, St. Mark's; and Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 4456, fol. 11v). They should not be considered historical representations in the strict sense.

Many representations have also been found — especially Byzantine — that show the ruler or the royal couple with or below Christ or with the Virgin and saints. Basil II is so depicted (end of 10th cent.; Venice, Bib. Marciana, Cod. gr. 17). The mosaics of Emperor Constantine, Empress Zoë, Emperor John, and Empress Irene (Istanbul, St. Sophia; II, PL. 448; X, PL. 185) are similarly arranged. Other examples are the ivories of the coronation of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Moscow, Mus. of Fine Arts), the ivory of Romanus (Paris, Cab. Méd.), that of Otto II (Paris, Mus. de Cluny), the family scene of Henry the Lion (12th cent.; Gospel Book of Helmarshausen), the portraits of Constantine Comnenus and Euphrosyne (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ms. gr. 35) and John VI Cantacuzene (14th cent.; Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. gr. 1242, fol. 5v). In all these works, which are of immediate historical import, some elements have been rendered for their own sake (e.g., scenes of presentation and dedication); the deliberate exclusion of divine and saintly figures (in the role of assistants) from the scenes separates them from the realm of the transcendent (*10th-cent. ms. examples*: Rome, Vat. Lib., Reg. Christ. 438, fol. 1v; Bamberg, Cod. class. 79, fols. 1r–1v; Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm. 4453, fols. 23v–24r. *11th-cent. ms. examples*: the *Vita Henrici Regis*, Klagenfurt, Geschichtsverein-Bib., fol. 1; Rome, Vat. Lib., Ottob. Ms. lat. 74, fol. 198v; Bremen, Stadtbib., Cod. b21, fols. 2v–3r. *12th-cent. ms. examples*: Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 14355, fol. 1r; Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 2599, fol. 77r).

In documentary representations and picture chronicles, there is true and immediate reference to definite events. These two groups originated in the late-antique period but developed fully only in the late Middle Ages. A documentary representation in the strict sense refers to the representation of a specific historical event, by virtue of which the commissioner of the work derives some juridical claim. For this reason such a representation was occasionally executed notably later than the event. A dedicatory picture may have a similar character if it represents, for example, a founder of a church with the model of the structure he has built. Generally, depictions of founders are exceptions in documentary representations. Examples of such exceptions among documentary representations are the ivory plaque from the Magdeburg Antependium representing Otto I with a model of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (Coll. of monastery of Seitenstetten, Austria), manuscripts in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett, 78A2, fol. 1v) and Munich (Reichsarchiv Formbach, Lit. 1, fol. 3a), the mosaics of the south door of St. Sophia, Istanbul, which depict Constantine the Great and Justinian as founders (II, PL. 443; X, PL. 185), and the mosaic (1310) of the Church of Kariye Camii (Kariyé Jami), Istanbul, which depicts Theodore Metochites as founder.

Some of the documentary representations that have survived or are known from literary references have particular importance as authentic historical sources. From such material it is possible to follow the varied history of the contests between pope and emperor in the Middle Ages. Important examples are the mosaic of Pope Leo III and Charlemagne (796–99) in the triclinium of the Lateran Palace, Rome, showing both Charlemagne and Leo as vassals of St. Peter; the mosaic depicting the coronation (814) of Louis the Pious by Pope Stephen IV (ca. 840; Reims); four mosaics (dating from 1122) in the Lateran depicting Calixtus II, the struggle over investiture, and the Concordat of Worms; and mosaics executed under Innocent II representing the rites of the triple coronation and the anointing of Lothair II, who appears as the Pope's vassal (1133–43; Rome, Lateran, Oratory of St. Nicholas).

Another group of documentary works comprises representations of councils and synods, found both within the Byzantine Empire (see HERETICAL SUBJECTS; PL. 220) and the Western Empire. An example is the fresco in St. Peter's representing the synod called by Pope Leo IV against the antipope Anastasius; Anastasius ordered the fresco destroyed in 855, but the following pope, who had been elected in the regular manner, ordered it remade. There is also a Bolognese miniature depicting the Council of Lyon of 1245 (14th cent.; Vat. Lib., Pal. lat. 629, fol. 262) and Ulrich von Richenthal's chronicle of the Council of Constance of 1437. Picture cycles of a narrative character



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were inspired by legal and political matters, as seen in a series executed first in the chapel of the Doges' Palace, Venice (1319), and then in the Great Council Chamber in the palace (1365). They represent the meeting of Pope Alexander III with Frederick Barbarossa and give great emphasis to the bestowal of ensigns upon the Doge for his fidelity to the Pope. A representation, now lost, of an act of homage rendered by the dukes of France to Pope Clement VI at Avignon in 1342 should be considered more as a document than as a historical scene. Works of this period containing representations of official acts — besides the illustrated 14th-century decretal books (e.g., those of Niccolò di Giacomo) — are a 13th-century tapestry in the Monastery of Maria Laach (dispute over investiture), some frescoes in the Palais Royal at Etampes (conferment of the barony of Etampes), and some miniatures in the Missal of Jean Galbos (Milan, Bib. della Basilica Ambrosiana, fol. lv; the ducal coronation of Gian Galeazzo Visconti).

Within the field of documentary representations there is a special group of so-called "pictures of infamous crimes," known to us almost solely through literary reference. The pictures are representations of civil and political offenses. From the 13th to the late 15th century the works were placed inside or outside public buildings, especially in the cities of northern Italy. Examples portray the assassination of Prince Henry of England (1271; Viterbo, Church of S. Francesco), the 1312 theft of relics from the Cathedral at Prato, the expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence (1343; Florence; X, PL. 158), and the execution of Conradin of Hohenstaufen and Frederick of Austria (1351; Naples, penitential chapel of the Mercato Vecchio). Other such works are documented as having been on the Campidoglio in Rome (the subject: the Italian patriot Cola di Rienzo) and at Florence (Bargello or Palazzo del Podestà), Siena, Milan (where in 1390 their public exhibition was forbidden), Lucca, Pisa, and Orvieto.

The subjects of lost medieval historical representations — many of them antedating extant examples of their kind — can be deduced from literary sources. From the 6th century are mosaic representations of the expeditions of Belisarius to North Africa and Italy and of his triumphal parade, both in the Chalke of the Palace of Justinian in Constantinople; and scenes from the life of the Lombard queen Theodolinda in the Chapel of Queen Theodolinda of the Cathedral in Monza. (These were replaced by other pictures in the 15th century.) From the 9th century come such subjects as Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain and Saxony, as depicted in the Emperor's palaces at Aachen and Ingelheim; from the 10th, the war in Hungary and the victory of Henry I at Riade, 933, as seen in the palace at Merseburg.

From the middle of the 11th century on, a rapid increase occurred in the production of single subjects and representations in series, all of a purely historical character. This was brought about by several factors: the changed conception of history that emerged at the beginning of the late Middle Ages; an increasing departure from Augustinian theology with its emphasis on the role of divine Providence; and the expanding wealth, power, and self-esteem of both religious and secular rulers, who became patrons of the arts (as did the medieval city later). The beginning of this period was marked by the famous Bayeux tapestry (1077; ca. 69 yd. long; PL. 271), a representation in numerous individual scenes of the Norman Conquest of England. The Bayeux tapestry was followed by a series of epic chronicles woven on wall coverings. (The daughter of William the Conqueror is said to have possessed a similar work.) During the 14th and 15th centuries, especially in France, these wall coverings adorned the homes of the ruling class. They illustrated in series of scenes not only the stories of legendary heroes such as Roland, Arthur, and Tristan but also the lives of such historical figures as William the Conqueror, Godefroy de Bouillon, and Bertrand Du Guesclin.

Also from literary sources we know of two German tapestries from the beginning of the 12th century that illustrated the deeds of Charlemagne (Cathedral of Halberstadt) and the journey of the Count of Zimmern to the Holy Land. The former theme was much in favor throughout the Middle Ages. Cycles of the life of Charlemagne are preserved on Charlemagne's reliquary at Aachen, in stained-glass windows in St-Denis, and in the Palazzo dello Steri in Palermo. These cycles also appeared in tapestries recorded in 15th-century inventories of the kings of France. Here history and saintly legend mingle (VI, PL. 316), as in the cycles taken from the life of St. Louis [St. Louis cycles: St-Denis, stained-glass window; *Histoire de St. Louis*, Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. 13568 (X, PL. 75); several editions of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*; various tapestries]. The chief intention was a history of the great kings of France.

In the 13th century the Carolingian tradition of historical fresco cycles was adopted in England (Clarendon Castle, Westminster Tower; frescoes depicting the Crusades and deeds of Henry III and Richard the Lion-Hearted), Germany (the Hessenhof in Schmalkalden), the Tyrol (castles Roncolo and Lichtenberg), and Italy (Novara and Perugia). In the 14th and 15th centuries there was an extensive series of representations, including the deeds of St. Louis's brother (castle at Conflans-lès-Paris). These works are of particular interest, since the contract stipulated that the painters reproduce the costumes with historical fidelity. In 14th-century Italy the following works are significant: the history of the Castelbarco family (castle at Avio; PL. 271), the battles of Archbishop Ottone Visconti (Angera, on Lake Maggiore), the history of the Carrara family (Padua, Palazzo del Capitanio), the meeting of Henry VII and Clement V at Rivoli in 1310 (Rivoli, Piedmont), a representation of the battle of Val di Chiana of 1372, and a fresco by Spinello Aretino of the campaign of Pope Alexander III against Frederick Barbarossa (Siena, Palazzo Pubblico; PL. 272). In 15th-century Italy the important works are Ambrogio Lorenzetti's painting of the admission of St. Louis into the Franciscan order (IX, PL. 197; this subject is peculiar to Siena); Piero della Francesca's depiction of the triumph of Federigo da Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino, and the Duke's wife, Battista Sforza (Florence, Uffizi); and Agostino di Duccio's representation of the triumph of Sigismondo Malatesta (Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano).

Miniatures were an important means of expression for historical subjects. Examples can be found in chronicles, of which the oldest remaining date from the 12th century. From this period is the *Vita Mathildis* of Donizo (Vat. Lib., Lat. 4922, Lib. II, c. 1), illustrating the meeting of Emperor Henry IV with Matilda of Tuscany and Hugo, abbot of Cluny. Also of the early 12th century are the various versions of the Chronicle of Ekkehard von Aura (the history of Henry IV). From the end of the century is the *Chronicle of the Guelphs* (Fulda, Cod. D. 11). It is difficult to determine the relationship between miniatures, wall paintings, and tapestries, since most of the paintings and wall hangings have been destroyed.

With the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf of Hohenem (1260–70; Munich, Staatsbib., Cod. germ. 6406) begins the series of illustrated world histories produced in southern Germany. Almost contemporaneous with it are the oldest versions of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Bib. Ste-Geneviève, No. 782), which were constantly extended in scope during the 14th and 15th centuries and which are associated with many other illustrated histories written on commission for the court and the peers of France. The 13th-century miniatures in the *Carmina* of Peter of Ebulo (Bern, Stadtbib., Cod. 120) illustrate events in the history of the house of Hohenstaufen in southern Italy. The *Codex Balduini Trevirensis* (Koblenz, Staatsarchiv) illustrates in 73 pictures the journey to Rome of Henry VII. The most important Byzantine illustrated chronicle is the 14th-century Bulgarian *Chronicle of Manasse* (Vat. Lib., Cod. slav. 2).

Representations of historical events are less frequent in sculpture. Noteworthy exceptions are the capitals of the Porta Romana at Milan, on which is figured the expulsion and return of the Milanese in 1162. A similar monument is the bas-relief on the mid-14th-century Porta di Ulre, also at Milan, bearing a representation of the unsuccessful attack on the city in 1268. From the 14th century on in northern Italy, numerous historical reliefs on funerary monuments celebrate the deeds of the deceased [e.g., 1330, tomb of Bishop Tarlati, Arezzo, Cathedral; 1342, tomb of Archbishop Simone Saltarelli, Pisa, S. Caterina; 1347, tomb of Taddeo Pepoli, Bologna, S. Domenico; 1330,

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tomb of Cangrande della Scala, Verona (VI, PL. 367)]. These representations present us with examples of triumphal deeds that in the 15th century became one of the most important types of historical subjects.

Ludwig HEMPEL

*The modern era.* Historical representation did not fundamentally change from the Gothic period to the Renaissance; a definite iconographic continuity can be observed. Along with an enthusiastically modern spirit, the Renaissance displayed a certain lack of imagination and a tenacious persistence of old types and formulas. In the visual arts the movement exhibited considerable indifference to realistic interpretation — that is, to concrete representation of historical events in their chronological and topographical setting. The impetus was toward an ideal association of the particular happening with some great mythological or legendary event; the sense of time remained eschatological. Concerning historical representation, the one real difference of attitude between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was that the identification of contemporaneous events with antiquity and the interpretation of history through allegory was carried out more intentionally during the later period (see ANTIQUE REVIVAL; RENAISSANCE; TRADITION). The Renaissance turned to this task of identification with more complex stylistic means than were previously used and employed a type of archaeological documentation that was often subtle. Its interpretation of history was always elevated, sublime, and tragic; it eschewed objectivity for the possible or the probable. The end result smacked clearly of courtly scholarship, and was therefore propagandistic in purpose and immediate effect.

It is difficult to distinguish clearly between representations of sacred and secular history from the 15th and 16th centuries up to the Counter Reformation, since these representations follow parallel rules. There are, of course, isolated instances of authentic historical representation in localized cultural settings, usually related to military, political, and religious crises.

Continuing in the medieval tradition, Renaissance pictures of infamous crimes — some distinguished for their realism — enjoyed favor in several cities of northern Italy and Germany. In Florence some of these works were executed by great artists (e.g., Andrea del Castagno; q.v.) during their periods of apprenticeship. Pictures commemorative of the founding of buildings or institutions, often with allusions to their votive character multiplied both north and south of the Alps. The fresco by Melozzo da Forlì (PL. 274), for example, represents the nomination of Platina as prefect of the Vatican Library. The composition of this work is intentionally modeled after the frontispieces of great illuminated codices. Commemorative representations of councils, of the solemn promulgation of decrees, and of the consecration of churches continued, particularly in manuscripts. Also commemorative in subject was the great fresco composition by Masaccio (q.v.) and another by Filippo Lippi (both Florence, S. Maria del Carmine; the former is lost and the latter is in a fragmentary state). Masaccio's fresco represented the consecration of a church and, according to Vasari, consisted of a series of portraits of contemporaneous persons; these even included persons of ordinary station such as the doorkeeper of the monastery, shown with his keys in hand. The frescoes were somewhat similar to folio 285 of the Missale Romanum (Florence, Mus. Naz., Ms. 67) by the brothers Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Fora, showing Martin V consecrating the Church of S. Egidio in Florence. The elegance of the miniature corresponds to the pomp of the occasion, which must have been considerable, in view of the luxuriant decorations and displays that Manetti described as accompanying the consecration of the Cathedral of Florence in 1426 at the completion of Brunelleschi's dome (see description by Antonio Manetti; *Umanesimo ed Esoterismo: Atti del V Convegno Internazionale di Studi Umanistici*, Padua, 1960, pp. 310–20).

Historical subjects during the Renaissance remained, for the most part, linked to the decoration of interiors with tapestries. Italy did not have established manufactories for tapestry, and Flemish wall hangings were imported in large quantities. As in the 14th century, their subject matter included battles, Biblical stories, the hunt, and episodes from romances. Whether the episodes were contemporaneous or classical, legendary or true, they were generally illustrated with a complete indifference to anachronisms; the protagonists, especially if armed, were given contemporaneous costumes, emblems, and weapons. As E. Povoledo (1956), speaking of sacred representations, correctly observed: "The Gospel story, the lives of the saints, and secular episodes especially are transferred into the century and society in which they are depicted. Thus, the birth and death of Christ do not occur in Judea but in Flanders, the Artois, or Coventry. The public identifies the rich pageantry of the mystery plays with the splendor of kingly retinues, the squalor about the pool of Bethesda with the misery of the peasants or with the rags of the beggars that crowd the church precincts. Elements of characterization and of spectacular display are fused together." The final result in sacred representation was more a fictional than historical narrative.

The same forces were at work in the miniatures that illustrated tales of chivalry, writings of ancient authors (especially historians, such as Livy and Polybius), world histories, and romances. Obedience to traditional schemes of representation always prevailed (in accordance with a phenomenon elucidated by Wittkower, 1957), and even if the representation was intended to follow the text closely, the emphasis remained predominately fanciful or decorative. In the three famous battle scenes by Paolo Uccello (q.v.) the nonrealistic is prevalent, although in this case it is because of the intentional neglect of realistic characterization of persons and setting. The scenes represent parts of one single historical episode — the encounter between the Florentines and Sienese on June 1, 1432. The pictures were presumably commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in commemoration of his friend Niccolò (Mauruzi) da Tolentino, leader of the victorious Florentines, who died while still young. According to the Medici Palace inventory of 1492, these battle scenes were seen in the palace along with such fictional and fantastic compositions as a battle of lions and dragons and a history of the shepherd Paris. A fruitful comparison can be made between one of the Uccello battle scenes and a fine Flemish tapestry representing Caesar crossing the Rubicon (ca. 1470, from Tournai tapestry works; now Bern, Historisches Mus.). The tapestry narrative is accompanied by explanatory verses and allegory, such as Rome emerging from the waves of the river. The comparison points up the fact that the tapestry's lack of compositional unity (typical of Flemish Renaissance tapestries) is compensated for by an accurate characterization of the principal actors, variety in the groups and poses (often highly dynamic in effect), and notable richness in human and emotional situations. Dramatically contrasted is, on one side, the uncertain and reflective attitude of Caesar before crossing the boundary and, on the other side, his impetuosity once the attack has been decided upon.

An important exception to the usual 15th-century historical representation is the work of Fouquet (q.v.; PL. 267) and the artists active in his circle. This work is significant less for its consequences than for its quality of style. Fouquet's characteristics are particularly apparent in the miniatures for *Les Antiquités Judaïques* (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. 247; V, PL. 363) and the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. 6465), where the emphasis is placed on the action of a single protagonist or a group, and the proportional relationship between the individual and nature as a background. The revolutionary aspect is thus neither the setting (at times exotic or deliberately archaic) nor the costume (generally contemporaneous). The changed emphasis placed historic action in a delimited locality rather than an indefinite and universal space. In rare instances Fouquet executed historical representations of the utmost fidelity; the miniature showing the trial of the Duke of Alençon at Vendôme has the authenticity of an eyewitness account. Fouquet's taste for the dramatic characterization of events of antiquity could be a consequence of his stay in Rome. Probably a further consequence is a group of religious miniatures whose detailed architectural settings display a style typical of 15th-century Tuscan and Roman monuments — not merely a generalized Italianate style. This approach is

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the product of a contrast between two civilizations, obviously emphasized in a non-Italian somewhat unaccustomed to the continuity of the classical tradition and to dramatic and direct participation in political events.

Although the tendency to characterize and to individualize — even in this iconographic sphere — was generally more developed in northern than southern Europe, a great Tuscan painter strongly influenced by the Flemish arrived at a perfect synthesis of heroic idealization in narrative and emotional content, expressed in telling detail. This synthesis was achieved by Piero della Francesca (q.v.) in lost compositions for the Palace of Borso d'Este in Ferrara and, most importantly, in the famous cycle in the Church of S. Francesco at Arezzo; in the latter group the general heroic tone is, surprisingly enough, strongest in the scenes that are properly historical. In the battle between Constantine and Maxentius, and in the defeat of the Persian king Khosrau, the descriptive realism is reinforced, not diminished, by the monumental construction of the protagonists, including those of secondary importance. Each figure can be distinguished easily, even in a crowd, and functions importantly in the composition. The battle is a struggle between heroic personalities. Noteworthy is the pathetic representation of the dead and wounded, although the effect is at times macabre. While anachronism of costume is extensive in the cycle, some differentiation of place is indicated. The background, however, includes a view of Arezzo, the town in which the artist was painting; this was homage paid to Piero's patrons. Standards, hair styles, and costumes exhibit many exotic traits, the intention being to distinguish clearly the faithful from the infidel.

The heroic accent in works of this period — which, under Italian influence, became for centuries the peculiar characteristic of history painting — was sought for the sake of fidelity to the subject. Behind this approach was the attitude of the Humanists (see PLS. 267, 268) rather than the direct impact of the themes of heroes and triumph. These themes had their origin in the writings of Petrarch, the first great Humanist, and were widespread Europe (see HUMANISM). During the 14th and 15th centuries heroes were represented in miniatures, panels, frescoes, and tapestries in northern and central Italy as well as beyond the Alps (e.g., Cologne, Rathaus, Hall of the Hansa). These representations, however unified iconographically, belong to two different stylistic currents: one is characterized by grace, elegance, and fluid stylization in the late Gothic manner (e.g., works in Castello della Manta, Piedmont, VIII, PL. 94; the great *Nine Heroes Tapestries*, now New York, Met. Mus., The Cloisters). The other current is clearly sculptural and monumental, and culminates in the series of famous men and women, ancient and modern, painted by Andrea del Castagno for the Villa Pandolfini (I, PL. 245). In both currents the marshaling of heroes has less historical than allegorical and didactic value; but the plasticity and realism of Andrea del Castagno give his figures the appearance of participation in the present and an impressive purposefulness which, while indeterminate as to end, seems to direct their whole psychology.

A successful attempt to motivate traditional religious iconography psychologically, and to do so in a manner as dramatic as Castagno's treatment of secular heroes, had previously been made by Masaccio; this is evident in the frescoes of the life of St. Peter (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine; IX, PLS. 347–349) and in devotional subjects such as the Crucifixion. The solemn but impoverished setting provided by Masaccio for the sacred characters and their degradation to the level of the common people of Florence may have had polemic value as a protest against late Gothic courtly idealization; the protest was raised in the name of historical fidelity to the Gospel text, which would require that Christ, the Virgin, and the apostles be represented as poor people. The Carmine chapel thus anticipates a means of argument essential to the Counter Reformation.

As the Florentine Humanist viewed history, the religious-philosophical viewpoint did not predominate over the political. Mantegna later employed solemnity and heroic bearing — even in compositions exclusively secular in character, such as the frescoes showing scenes of court life in the *Camera degli Sposi* of the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua (IX, PLS. 328, 329). It was Mantegna who gave a heroic tone to triumphal scenes through his passion for archaeology (PL. 268). Although the triumphal motif had been furnished previously with at least one example based on Roman Imperial models (lost reliefs executed for Frederick of Hohenstaufen on the triumphal arch at Capua; later imitated in the triumphal arch of the Castel Nuovo, Naples; III, PL. 390), the motif had been made popular by Petrarch in allegorical form. Mantegna changed it from allegory back into history. In this he was followed by Dürer (and assistants), who, in an extremely decorative and official manner, re-used the triumphal motif to honor Maximilian I.

The funerary motif of the leader on horseback, suggested by the statue of Marcus Aurelius (X, PL. 148) or the so-called "Regisole" of Pavia, enjoyed great favor during the Renaissance — perhaps because of its relation to the triumphal theme. We have versions of this funerary motif in fresco [works of Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno (I, PL. 246); Cathedral of Florence], sculpture [works by Donatello (IV, PL. 249), Verrocchio, and an unrealized project by Leonardo da Vinci (IX, PL. 118); all northern Italy], painting (greatest example: the equestrian portrait of Charles V by Titian; Prado), engravings, and so forth. The frescoes in Florence were placed within a sacred rather than a civic edifice; and Donatello's monument in Padua, and perhaps Verrocchio's at Venice, arose within the precincts of a cemetery.

From Mantegna on, the heroic overtone was definitely coupled with the imitation of classical art, effecting in peculiar fashion that fusion of classicism and history painting that persisted (although disputed) up to the advent of romanticism. Gradually this fusion supplanted both the heroic idealization of the common people (attempted by Masaccio) and the insertion of human events within a natural, cosmic framework, as in Leonardo's unfinished *Battle of Anghiari* (fresco; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Great Hall) or, with still more impressive results, in Altdorfer's celebrated picture *The Battle of Alexander* (I, PL. 64), where all the universe seems to echo the defeat of Darius. The latter work, ordered by William IV of Bavaria, was but one episode in a larger cycle, as were the codices and tapestry series.

In Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, this heroic classicism eventually supplanted the taste for historical accounts realistically rendered as to setting and era, as in the *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* (Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ms. Böhm, no. 24) and on the *Ehrenpforte* woodcuts, following the program supplied by Johannes Stabius (cf. Cat. of the Exhibition of Maximilian I, no. 350, Vienna, 1959). In German graphic arts, however, a taste for realism — a realism akin almost to that of genre scenes — continued to characterize a great number of city chronicles, histories (e.g., that of Charles V and the Reformation), illustrated geographies, and single maps, all executed upon occasion by artists of the greatest stature. This interest in realism had been widespread in 14th- and 15th-century French and Flemish miniature painting. Even in Italy it appeared in peripheral centers (e.g., frescoes by Pinturicchio; Siena, Lib. Piccolomini). Such a preference could not later be set aside every time a print or tapestry artist wanted to represent the great historical events of the 16th century with documentary fidelity and with intent to commemorate rather than merely celebrate. Subjects, included the battle of Pavia, the exploits of Charles V, the victory at Lepanto, and the defeat at Saint-Quentin. Peripheral parts of the compositions were devoted to allegorical figures.

Genuine historical narrative remained largely realistic and anecdotal during the 16th century; and out of respect for the facts, it set itself in opposition to the literary doctrine of history painting as formulated by theoreticians following Aristotle's treatise on tragedy and Horace's concept of "decorum." The rigid, academic interpretation of history painting should not obscure the fact that Renaissance art — a source of inspiration for both theory and criticism alike — presented singular variations of style and of attitude toward the subject from place to place and from generation to generation. Unfortunately a comprehensive study of the matter is lacking, but it is possible to distinguish three main currents of these variations.

The first is linked with the classicism of the early years

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of the 16th century and attains its highest expression in the first of Raphael's Vatican Stanze, particularly in the *School of Athens*. In this painting, history is considered only in its cultural aspect, and progress is seen as one cumulative deposit undisturbed by any individual achievement. The scene is not conceived dynamically but as a triumph; it is something at once static yet in the nature of a celebration held outside of time and occasioning the placement of the great men of ancient and modern times side by side on a plane of absolute parity. There is no direct interrelationship among the actors.

The second current takes its impetus from the Palazzo Vecchio frescoes of Leonardo and Michelangelo, which were devoted to military subjects, and is dynamic in character, with points of emphasis that are decidedly expressionistic. The best representative of this current is Giulio Romano (q.v.); he even succeeded in making the style of Raphael (as seen in the Stanze) conform to it and ultimately created, in the Sala di Troia of the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua, one of the freest and most dramatic cycles devoted to classic history.

The third current is more narrative in character and thus partly foregoes the idealization that had permitted complete anachronism both in classicistic works and in the mannerism of Giulio Romano. Medieval incidents (e.g., the fire in the Borgo) were enacted by figures — some in contemporaneous dress, others in antique costumes — sometimes with the direct assistance of mythological and literary motifs (e.g., the destruction of Troy, the flight of Aeneas). This third tendency dispensed with the construction of compositions emphatically centered on one or two nuclei (generally duels or scenes of struggle), in order to give the figures more freedom of gesture and greater individuality of face and bearing — portraits were occasionally used to achieve these results. The origins of this approach were Flemish and Venetian influences and, in the last three decades of the 16th century, a wish to respect historical reality and a general turn toward naturalism. This new interest in naturalism had been adopted by Caravaggio in his imposing religious compositions and with less success by Santi di Tito's *riformati* at Florence, in response to the ideas of the Lombard Counter Reformation.

The above distinctions are based on tendencies rather than on groups or individuals. Minor masters and those in transitional phases usually rendered the various differences in orientation less clearly, one reason being the ideological freedom these artists enjoyed. In general, historical art during the 16th century evidenced a greater spontaneity of style in secular than in religious history painting. However, the century lacked a convincing realism such as that of Caravaggio. The first attempt at popular history painting in the modern era came with the Bamboccianti (q.v.) in the 17th century. Historical scenes belonged for the most part to cycles destined solely for large rooms of public, official character and employed exclusively celebratory motifs. These scenes were to be found initially in the decoration of reception rooms, on the Campidoglio at Rome, and in palaces such as the Cancelleria and the Vatican; in the Vatican Palace, next to the Sistine and Pauline chapels, other splendid chambers were gradually added to the Stanze that had already been in process of decoration since the end of the 15th century. In Florence, historical scenes were found in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Palazzo Pitti; in Venice, in the Palazzo Ducale; in Verona, the Palazzo del Comune; in Siena, the Palazzo Pubblico; and in Genoa, the Palazzo Doria-Pamphili (perhaps the most splendid complex of historical decoration in the entire West). Historical subjects also adorned the private villas of rulers. As the power of some private families gradually increased, the throne rooms and reception rooms of their palaces were decorated with cycles, especially in fresco, depicting the important events of their cities and families [e.g. Farnese palaces in Rome and Caprarola (PL. 268; IX, PLS. 294, 310) and the Palazzo Spinola in Genoa. See also ITALY; RENAISSANCE]. Cycles of ecclesiastical history dedicated to religious orders and institutions (as in the Collegio Borromeo, Pavia) also appeared.

The three attitudes toward historical representation noted above for Renaissance painting are valid in an even more distinctive manner for the 17th century; at this time these approaches were undoubtedly subjects of debate. They were exemplified in three of the greatest artists of the time — Poussin (PL. 268), Rubens, and Velázquez (qq.v.) — and were not only ways of seeing historical events but specific and entirely different conceptions of the lyric content of painting. Poussin, a great admirer of Raphael, painted pictures in which emotional expression is restrained, almost as if reference to Stoicism was intended; and in which, even when the figures loom largest, architecture and surrounding landscape assume a most important role (as in *Death of Germanicus*, Minneapolis, Inst. of Arts, one of the most important works of its kind, containing iconographic references to the Barberini family). In those paintings with landscape background, the historical events once more become part of the great cycles of nature. The Arcadian tone pushes thing back in time and renders everything mythological and allusive. Settings and figures appear artificial and seem to be creations of fantasy or archaeological elaboration, indistinguishable from allegories or personifications.

Rubens, especially in his grandiose cycle for Marie de Médicis (1622–25; now Louvre), achieved highly decorative effects but also developed his celebratory themes with the same dynamism that he must have treasured in Leonardo's cartoon for the *Battle of Anghiari*, of which Rubens has left a copy (detail, IX, PL. 119). He also inserted violently realistic elements into an almost exclusively allegorical context. Rubens always attempted a combination of the real and the ideal without renouncing the dialectical play between his two terms of comparison (in contrast to Poussin, who evened them out in order to identify them). Human action within Rubens' whole dynamic apparatus received an almost cosmic resonance and profundity. Here the inspiration of Leonardo must have been of fundamental importance, especially in Rubens' finest historical masterpieces — the great battle scenes that are outstanding in the various cycles he executed for the principal rulers of his time. In this exaltation, naturally, realism of setting and costume had no significance, although its use by engravers and book illustrators was continued.

The third approach was dominated by Velázquez, who, in *The Surrender of Breda* (PL. 276), a pictorial homage to magnanimity and one of the greatest masterpieces of the century, demonstrated that a respect for reality (the "vraisemblance mécanique" of Abbé Dubos) was compatible with both didactic purpose and the moving sonority of history painting. He accurately utilized the topography of the place and historical accounts and employed life models.

Of these three currents, only the second — that of Rubens — when made academically correct through application of the purist rigor of Poussin, spread finally into the main course of historical painting. Perhaps this was because the current exemplified by Rubens was also applicable to religious painting. In contrast, the realistic third tendency, especially after the ill-fated and contested experiment of Caravaggio, who employed naturalism in religious painting, became tantamount to heresy. In its strict form classicism, the first tendency, was eventually considered a bit too secular for devotional purposes. Secular history no longer had sufficient dignity to inspire a style of its own, and the influence of realism gradually weakened.

The 18th century produced numerous historical subjects, allegories destined for the various courts, and comparisons of contemporaries with the heroes of antiquity. Among others, Tiepolo was a productive painter of such subjects (PL. 269). However, even in works heavily laden with emotion such as *The Taking of Carthage*, formerly in the Castiglioni Collection in New York, and the contemporaneous paintings of Roman history in Vienna (Kunsthist. Mus.) and in Leningrad (The Hermitage), his subject matter is overwhelmed by the anecdotal, the picturesque, and the verve of the brushwork — so much so that the same style was very nearly applicable to subjects frivolous or dramatic, historical or mythological.

In 18th-century painting the historical subject as the source of visual images and meaning was entrusted to the theoreticians and to the academies. This gave rise to tiresome bas-reliefs in chalk, hardly ever translated into marble, and to an

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almost infinite number of imitations of Raphael. Yet during this century, in the very years when Tiepolo was at the height of his fame, a double reaction was maturing: this involved, on the one hand, a conception of antiquity no longer allegorical and literary but, rather, political — a conception to which the French Revolution was later to subscribe; and, on the other hand, a revolt inspired by national pride in medieval and Renaissance events and directed against the rigid confines of Greco-Roman subject matter, which was consecrated by academic theory as the only truly poetic subject matter. Fundamental to this academic theory was the conviction that there exists in poetry and painting (and consequently in the other representational arts) an identity of intentions and, in a certain sense, of "rhetorical" device; and that similar criteria must therefore be applied to these art forms (see CRITICISM; PHILOSOPHIES OF ART; TREATISES). The principal result of this theory was that the hierarchy of literary genres which had been artificially worked out on the basis of poetry, giving absolute priority to tragedy and elevated language, came to be imposed upon painting (see GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS). Alberti had declared in his treatise on painting [as R. W. Lee emphasized (1940)] that "the greatest undertaking of the painter is history" and "A great undertaking for a painter is to deal with some significant monumental subject; but history . . . gains for him more praise of his genius than any such subject [as colossi]." For history painting the artist must be a man of letters and a humanist, combining knowledge of the poetic and historical sources of antiquity with an equally profound knowledge of human anatomy, perspective, and archaeology. In one of his poems Michelangelo relates the choice of genre to the greater or lesser genius of the artist, intentionally excluding set themes such as the portrait and the chronicle. This shift of history painting from naturalism and concern with the human situation toward an increasingly stressed idealization became more noticeable as the ideas of the Renaissance passed from Florence to Rome and from Rome to France.

Although initially history painting was admired as the sum and synthesis of many different notions and stylistic variations, in the 17th century it was conceived strictly as a genre in itself, whose chief characteristics were idealization, decorum, and a moderate degree of eclecticism of style and it enjoyed the highest esthetic position, as a passage by Félibien shows: "It happens constantly that painters, in the measure to which they concern themselves with the more difficult and nobler matters, rise above that which is of a lower, more common nature, and ennoble themselves by means of more illustrious work. Thus he who executes landscapes perfectly ranks above another who paints only fruit, flowers, or shells. He who paints living animals is more worthy of esteem than the man who depicts only inanimate objects, without movement. And since the figure of man is the most perfect work of God on earth, so is it certain that he who makes himself the imitator of God in painting human figures is considerably more excellent than all the others . . . . A painter who does only portraits has not yet attained that high perfection of art, and cannot claim those honors that belong to the more learned" (*Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, ed. 1725, p. 310).

As a result of these considerations the history painter assumed a notable loftiness of social position. He enjoyed absolute privilege, at least in official regard. According to the statutes of the French Academy (1664, Art. XIII), no one could be nominated professor to the Academy save as a history painter. Historical subjects became obligatory even as trial pieces in competitions; and there are odd instances of artists of quite different orientation who, for opportunistic reasons, not only accepted the theme but temporarily adjusted their styles to it. Gradually a split was created between the Academy and the taste of private collectors, who were inclined more toward erotic and mythological compositions, genre scenes, portraits, and landscapes. Both the Academy of St. Luke in Rome and the French Academy sought to oppose this tendency through petty legal strictures. Twice in Rome, in the 17th and 18th centuries, suits were brought against genre painters for not



recognizing the moral authority of the Academy and for refusing to pay the taxes the Academy imposed upon them. In Paris in 1747 there was even a proprosal by Lenormant de Tournehem and La Font de Saint-Yenne to fix prices for the various artistic genres, artificially raising the compensation to artists for historical paintings, which were in such little demand.

Artists in the 18th century were uncertain how to represent historical events. This uncertainty is demonstrated by curious cases such as James Thornhill's sketches of 1720 (Br. Mus.), where antique costume is used in one version of a subject and contemporaneous costume in another. The abandonment of anachronism in theatrical costumes occurred almost at the same time throughout Europe, as Edgar Wind (1938) observed, owing to the presentation of works of obvious national character such as the history plays of Shakespeare (1762–62), Schlegel's *Hermann* (1766), and De Belloy's *La Siège de Calais* (1765). In painting, a scandal was created by the costumes used in *The Death of General Wolfe* (1771) by Benjamin West (q.v.); this work was not unique, however, nor was it the first of such a subject to be treated in the so-called "modern" manner. There had already been a painting of the same scene in 1763 by Edward Penny; and in the 17th century there were numerous colored prints, battle paintings (especially Dutch scenes depicting naval encounters), and other works, all of purely reportorial character. In answer to charges made against West by the London Academy (charges based largely on Roger de Piles's affirmation that "obedience to the rules of art is more important than obedience to the reality of facts"), West replied: "The event intended to be commemorated took place on the 13 of September, 1758, in a region of the world unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and at a period of time when no such nations, nor heroes in their costume, any longer existed. The subject I have to represent is the conquest of a great province of America by the British troops. It is a topic that history will proudly record, and the same truth that guides the pen of the historian should govern the pencil of the artist. I consider myself as undertaking to tell this great event to the eye of the world; but if, instead of the facts to the transaction, I represent classical fictions, how shall I be understood by posterity! The only reason for adopting the Greek and Roman dresses, is the picturesque forms of which the drapery is susceptible; but is this an advantage for which all the truth and propriety of the subject should be sacrificed?"

The dispute lasted for a long time. There were even unsuccessful attempts to treat the colonial theme using the heroic nude rather than figures in military costume. Perhaps it was because of these discussions that England in this period enjoyed a notable flowering in history painting, with pictures definitely committed to one or another style and, on occasion, vividly dramatic.

Compared with these and other 18th-century instances of the search for fidelity in costume, environment, and narration, neoclassical paintings of an artist such as David seem extraordinarily anachronistic, despite the fact that David had diligently informed himself of historical details concerning his subject matter (IV, PLS. 123, 126). He even requested information from scholars, and for his *Death of Socrates* he received a long letter from Père Adry. David's paintings seem anachronistic not so much because of their curious and often intentional historical inaccuracies, for which they have been frequently criticized, but because of the inevitable comparison between these works and the paintings that were the prototypes from which the neoclassical versions drew inspiration. While the original classical models had been interpretations in their own time, by the 18th century they had become facts in themselves and inextricable parts of that antiquity which the neoclassicists were attempting to revive. The real limitation of neoclassicism was not the confusion between Roman and Greek or the stereotyped, even allegorical, character of the sentiments expressed, but rather the predominant intention, which was to orate, to instruct, to serve as a placard. This intention reduced the historical event to the level of a slogan or moral emblem. Corrado Maltese (1960) correctly observed, concerning neoclassical painters: "What in essence mattered most was not so much

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being 'Greek' rather than 'Roman,' or 'Egyptian' rather than 'Etruscan,' but being 'antique.' By freeing the antique world from its shell with the help of the corrosive acids of history and science, to gain from it instruction for the present, they attempted to evoke a past that had (supposedly) broken with the prejudices, vices, and corruptions of traditional governing institutions and that had escaped from the duality of classicism-Christianity."

If in the 17th century the contest was between reality and poetry, in the 18th it was between chronicle and history, between frivolity and morality, even between the all-leveling idea of empire and the individualistic idea of nationalism; in other words, between cultural conservatism and a program that was secular, rational, and modern. The return to antique costume was an attempt to go back beyond all the differences of dress and regional mentality which existed in the 18th century and which supplied ground for the political game played by the great and little nations of Europe.

The revolutionary force of the succeeding century was romanticism, revealed above all in its active desire to have a hand in history through the painting of spontaneous and emotional pictures. Important works of this type, which are realistic illustrations of contemporary political events, are *The Executions of May 3, 1808*, by Goya (1814; VI, PL. 399), an incomparable masterpiece of its kind; the Napoleonic cycles of David, Gros, and others; and various paintings by Delacroix — an artist capable, as in *The Death of Charles the Bold* (Nancy, Mus. B.A.), of interpreting events far distant in time with the dismay of a contemporary (IV, PLS. 143, 145). There were also paintings by minor artists such as Waffers, Pierreman, Rochussen, Romko, Fattori (PL. 277), and others; works of graphic artists such as the Ticinese Carlo Bossoli; and canvases devoted to nonmilitary episodes, such as the *Raft of the Medusa* (1819; VI, PL. 118) by Géricault. (The Géricault picture was connected with contemporaneous history, since the captain of an actual ship called the "Medusa" was accused of conspiracy and had abandoned the shipwrecked to their fate.) The illustration of medieval events finally prevailed in this period largely for nationalistic reasons, except in a few instances generally Pre-Raphaelite in taste, such as the frescoes by Rethel in the Rathaus at Aachen. In a few decades, illustration of medieval events was transformed into banal imitations of genre scenes. The costumes first belonged to the world of opera, then to operetta; painting, in a style of Flemish inspiration, was rarely capable of vivid narrative or even of the erotic (e.g., H. Makart, the cortege of nude women accompanying the entry of Charles V into Antwerp; Hamburg). The formulas used for history painting became equally applicable to important events in the national history of various countries and to scenes from antiquity selected mostly for the possibilities they offered for staging (e.g., Couture, *Romans of the Decadence*, Paris, Louvre; F. Faruffini, *Virgin of the Nile*, Rome, Gall. Arte Mod.; K. P. Bryullov, *Last Day of Pompeii*, Leningrad, Russian Mus.).

Forming a special subchapter of 19th-century historical painting are reconstructions of the surroundings of the great creative geniuses cherished by romanticism. Perhaps the best of these were M. Munkácsy's canvases dealing with Milton, Mozart, and others, which bring to mind historical novels in the manner of Scott. It is in opposition to these works that verism (realism), as exemplified by Courbet and particularly Millet (qq.v.), favored in both painting and sculpture an approach to reality as seen in the popular mind — without the aid of the picturesque, or of any special conception of the nude (still a serious matter in academic circles), or of heroic drapery (seen until Rodin's *Burghers of Calais*, 1884–86). The rapid degeneration of nationalistic history painting into empty rhetoric was accompanied by a great production of drawings, prints, and engravings that clearly corresponded in their popular appeal to propagandistic, social, and anarchistic pamphleteering. Famous among these are the engravings and paintings of Daumier (q.v.) and, because of their social aspect, the first paintings of Van Gogh (q.v.). It is possible to compile a number of similar works, all of high artistic value.

There were, at this time, cultural relationships between various groups and individuals, typical of which was the connection between Jean Grave, the anarchist-Communist chief, and neoimpressionists Camille Pissarro, Paul Signac, Henri-Edmond Cross, Charles Angrand, Théo van Rysselberghe, and Maximilien Luce; their ties occasioned the publication of the lithograph albums of *Les Temps nouveaux* (1896–1900) and the production of a large number of drawings. The drawings have, in part, remained unpublished (e.g., album of Pissarro, "Les Turpitudes sociales," 1890, now Geneva, Coll. Albert Skira); they constitute the graphic *comédie humaine* of that time.

With these works the perspective of the historical subject changed radically for the first time. The protagonist became the nameless masses, and the new hero was the worker, who maintained that his rights had been systematically violated and his ambitions thwarted. The connection with party struggle gives to many of these drawings an agressiveness that previous representations of popular uprisings did not have, although such representations had been frequent. [The latter included woodcuts and engravings concerning the peasant struggle during the Reformation, the canvas by Cerquozzi and Codazzi (PL. 276) that both exalts and makes ironic the popular revolt of Masaniello in Naples, prints that allegorized or accompanied the French Revolution in all its phases, and Delacroix's extraordinary *Liberty Guiding the People*, of 1830.] Subsequently joining this 19th–20th-century current were the political caricatures of George Grosz, the graphic production of Central Europe (and still later of China also, with a most notable production of woodcuts), and the graphic art of America (I, PL. 114). (See also COMIC ART AND CARICATURE.)

In the 20th century, by virtue of an insistent process of change that is not only cultural but historic and political, great celebratory painting has almost entirely disappeared; wherever it survives, its production is generally of a very low level. Recent examples have been produced in Russia — large compositions in a style that lies between romantic and realistic and of low, academic quality (by artists such as P. D. Pokarzhevskiy, O. I. M. I. Chalen'ko, F. A. Modorov, A. M. Gerasimov, A. P. Burnov, and P. P. Sokolov-Skalya). Of these works Lionello Venturi (1952) wrote: "Reproductions of these pictures recall illustrations in popular journals of the end of the last century, or certain popular songs — hymns to unending progress — like 'Excelsior.'" On the other hand, in Mexico the great mural decorations and canvases of leftist artists Rivera, Orozco, and Rufino Tamayo reveal a strong style and rhetorical ability. In Europe, artists of the left or of leftist tendencies, inspired by strong political feeling, have created great masterpieces of painting. Picasso's *Guernica* (PL. 278), the greatest example of all, is a commemoration of the destruction of that Basque city by Nazi aircraft; his *Massacre in Korea* is a protest against American intervention in the Orient. In Italy the partisan struggle under the German occupation produced works of great expressiveness, such as the sketchbooks of Guttuso (PL. 278) and Birolli. Readaptations of 19th-century events also appear, such as the campaigns of Garibaldi, understood as an expression of popular patriotism. Everywhere in the 20th century realism is concerned with both documentation and history. And the history that is most spontaneously described is that of everyday life, especially of the lower classes of society, toward whom contemporary culture is turning with a sense of responsibility and participation. In this context may be mentioned the French movement known as the "Peintres Temoins de Leur Temps," or Henry Moore's sketches of evacuees in the London underground, or even the images — allusive yet all the more moving — of Jean Fautrier's *otages* (hostages).

In the 20th century the true and proper subject of historical painting has been transferred, by and large, from painting to drawing and from there to photographic reporting, in which the historical subject forms one of the most moving categories. None of the normal qualities — such as expression of feeling, dramatic reconstruction of events, or compositional emphasis — has been lost in this transfer. And the possibility of more immediate contact with reality — the very coincidence of the happening and its photographic registration — has rendered such testimony more directly and peremptorily human, not deprived of its own particular style even in its state of rapid meta-

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morphosis. As inspiration and apology for such photographic work, the statement by Renato Birolli (1952), justifying his drawings of the war of liberation, is particularly relevant: "I drew lest true drama be distilled into generic legend and lest men be deceived by symbolic phrases or fall victim to the frightful abstraction of numbers."

Eugenio BATTISTI

THE EAST. *Islam.* A consciousness of historical events became apparent in Moslem art only in the early 13th century. The first preserved document dating from that period is a large pottery plate from Persia, painted in polychrome (Washington, D.C., Freer Gall. of Art), which shows a sizable army of horsemen and auxiliary troops attacking a well-defended mountain fortress. Although the names of the main figures of the besieging army are given, it has not yet been possible to identify the illustrated event, which probably took place in the 12th or early 13th century. While the plate is unique, it nevertheless presupposes the existence of a more extensive body of historical painting, most probably on the walls of castles and possibly also in manuscripts; in any case, it seems unlikely that this type of representation was involved for pottery, for which it was not too suitable, as the plate indicates.

Historical paintings were more widely used from the early 14th century on, and numerous examples still exist. At that time the Mongol ruler of Iran, Sultan Öljeitü (Uljeitu) Khudābanda (reigned 1304–16), charged his minister Rashīd al-Dīn (ca. 1247–1318) with the writing of a Mongol history, which was then enlarged to deal with the history of other nations — even such distant ones as India and China. The work, *Jāmi' at-Tavārīkh* ("Universal History"), is remarkable for its insistence on firsthand sources, or at least native information, and for the unbiased universality of its historical approach. This objective, world-wide interest is also reflected in the many illustrations of the three preserved contemporaneous sections of the history, dated 1307, 1314, and 1318 (now preserved in Edinburgh, X, PL. 90; London, Royal Asiatic Soc.; Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Mus.), all of which were executed by command of the author. Although past events in the history, such as the lives of Jewish or Moslem religious figures or accounts of early Persian and Abbasside dynastic history, lack historical veracity, the subjects are vividly reexperienced in their *mise en scène*, particularly in costume, furniture, and architecture. With regard to more recent events, the scenes have — besides their artistic value — great documentary significance for the clues they give to the various aspects of the material civilization of the period, even though the artists were not yet able to depict architectural exteriors and interiors in more than rudimentary fashion. The subjects are rendered in a linear style with delicate coloring — a style derived from the Far East — and are composed as long, narrow bands in which the figures are arranged in rows, usually touching the lower and upper framing lines. The style is realistic, full of movement, and often expressive of violent sentiments.

The Mongol period (13th–14th cent.) also saw the first rendering of what approaches a historical portrait. Previously there had been statues and paintings of caliphs or princes in the 8th-century art of the Ommiads in Syria, while 10th-century Abbasside medals showed the caliphs in various courtly actions; these were, however, only formal representations of a symbolic nature, without claim to historical veracity. In the early Mongol period the attitude was different. A two-page frontispiece miniature in a manuscript of the "History of the World Conquerer" (*Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā* by Juvaynī; 1290, Paris, Bib. Nat., Sup. per. 205) is a scene in which a scribe, apparently the author himself, is taking dictation from a Mongol lord, either the Amīr Arghūn, governor of the western lands (Juvaynī was his secretary), or possibly King Hūlāgū himself. Though the miniature is not too well preserved, the two racial types, the different aspects of their faces (one with a beard and the other without), and the two totally different sets of clothes indicate that the anonymous painter endeavored to create historical portraits, of which the main figure, the historian Juvaynī, had died less than eight years before.

The remainder of the 14th century was almost exclusively interested in legendary accounts (e.g., the *Shāh-nāma*; X, PL. 88) or, somewhat later, in romantic stories. But the vast conquests of Tīmūr Lenk (Tamerlane; d. 1405) stimulated a new interest in historiography and historical representation. The main historical work of the early Timurid period (1400–40) is a manuscript of the "Book of Victories" (*Ẓafar-nāma* of ca. 1436; now cut up and in various collections) by 'Alī Yazdī, which shows the military exploits of the great conqueror in the style of the period as practiced in Shiraz; the manuscript attempts, however, to depict the sultan characteristically during the various episodes in his life. Several other manuscripts of the older histories of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvaynī were also illustrated during the Timurid era, with the described episodes closely following the iconography and major aspects of the Mongol prototypes but in a pronounced Timurid style. (An early example of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Universal History," possibly early 15th cent., is in Calcutta, Lib. of the Asiatic Soc.) The same approach was followed in the works of the court historian Bāfiẓ-i-Abrū, which were illuminated about 1425 in Herat by order of Timur's son Shāhrukh. The Timurid period also witnessed the wider use of a new type of historical portrait, which showed the ruler with his wives and retainers in a formal but apparently accurate rendition, especially reliable in such details as clothing and carpets. A typical and very fine group portrait of Shāhrukh's son, the astronomer-king Ulugh-Beg (d. 1449), with his court is now in Washington, D.C. (Freer Gall. of Art). The Timurid historical manuscripts contain relatively schematic versions of the conventionalized court portrait of Mongol rulers of the 13th and 14th centuries, in which the painters apparently followed the now lost Mongol prototypes. Unfortunately, none of the period's historical wall paintings, of which literary records give us some inkling, remain.

At the end of the Timurid period the artistically finest version of the *Ẓafar-nāma* was executed for the sultan Hosain Baiqarā in a manuscript written in 1467 in Herat but illuminated a few decades later, most probably by Persia's greatest miniaturist, Bihzād (q.v.). Though probably lacking historical accuracy in details — something for which the art of the period did not strive — the manuscript's six 2-page miniatures are the most vivid and realistic rendering of the major events in Tīmūr's life during war and peace. These are the first miniatures in which the artist succeeded in showing masses of people in the most varied activities, usually during military campaigns, all properly placed in a landscape or urban setting. The manuscript (now owned by Johns Hopkins University, and exhibited at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) has been highly treasured by former owners, among whom were several Moghul emperors of India.

At the end of the 15th century another version of the historical portrait — that of the individual figure — was created. Examples are miniatures and drawings of Sultan Ḥosain Baiqarā, his vizier, and the outstanding literary or artistic luminaries of the period; some of these are traditionally attributed to Bihzād, although without much justification. The artists tried to render the characteristic features, build, and stance of the portrayed person, his way of dressing, or possibly his favorite activity. In conformity with the attitude of the time, however, there was no attempt to indicate the more fleeting aspects of an emotional or psychological nature.

The 16th and early 17th centuries marked the great period of historical painting in the Islamic world. Iran, owing to its poetic and decorative predilections, developed this type of painting, but to a lesser degree than did the Ottoman Turks or Moghul Indians. However, there exists in the Gulistan Museum in Teheran a fine copy of a *Ẓafar-nāma* dated 1529; allegedly the work of Bihzād, it was illustrated in Tabrīz, the Safavid capital, by artists from Tabriz and Shiraz; it renders the earlier events in a Safavid manner and with Safavid (or contemporaneous European) fashions. More important from a historical point of view is a manuscript of the *Kholāṣat at-Tavārīkh* by Qāẓī Aḥmad of the province of Qum, dating from the last quarter of the 16th century and now preserved in Berlin (Deutsche Staatsbib., No. 202202). In this manu-

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script the events of the recent past are rendered with the deliberate intent of historical accuracy. A more unusual example is the portrayal by one Yūsuf of the reception of a German diplomat by ʿAbbās I the Great, which took place in Ardabīl (Ardebil) in 1609. The work decorates the cover of a small painted and lacquered chest, now in the Islamic department of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unfortunately, none of the historical wall paintings of the Safavid period (1500–1736) has escaped destruction.

The interest in historical scenes continued in Iran until modern times and was especially active under the Qājār shahs in the 19th century, from which time a great number of signed historical portraits have survived. Either single figures or group portraits, they are small miniatures painted on paper with water colors or large oil paintings rendered on canvas for use as wall decorations. The quality of these paintings is not yet fully grasped in the West, although they often display remarkable psychological insight, especially those of the middle and third quarter of the 19th century; the earlier paintings have great decorative qualities. All show a successful blend of Persian and European (Russian) elements.

Much more realistic than the Persian scenes are those in the great historical manuscripts written for the Ottoman sultans of Istanbul, especially the manuscripts made for Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520–66) and Murād III (1574–95). These are the so-called *Hüner-nāmas* (Turkish) or *Shāhānshāh-nāmas* (Persian), which reproduce realistically but with a certain formalism the lives and military campaigns of the great sultans; stress is placed on details in battles, sieges, the capture of towns, the fording of rivers, and other scenes of action and military display. When the military power of the Ottomans began to wane in the late 16th century and during the century following, the *Sūr-nāmas* became popular; these manuscripts show civic festivities over which the sultan presided with paternalistic interest. The *Sūr-nāmas* are particularly valuable for the depiction of parades of the various craftsmen and guilds with their insignia and displays. The last great manuscript of this type was the early-18th-century *Sūr-nāma-i Vehbī*, which shows the festivities tendered by Sultan Ahmet III (1703–30) on the occasion of the circumcision of one of his sons. Later Turkish versions of historical events show a strong European influence. Nearly all the great Turkish historical manuscripts are still preserved in Istanbul, either in the Topkapi Saray Museum or in the University Library.

In the period of the third Moghul emperor of India, Akbar the Great (1556–1605), illuminated historical manuscripts were produced that illustrated the history of the Emperor's ancestors, beginning with Genghis Khan (Chingīz Khān; d. 1227). Of particular importance are the manuscripts devoted to the lives of Bābur (Bāber; 1526–30) and of Akbar himself, in which every possible episode is vividly and realistically represented (II, PLS. 223, 224; VI, PL. 78). The painters of this period had a particular liking for mass scenes and action pictures, especially for battles and hunts, but they were also able to depict the smallest detail. Under Akbar's son Jahāngīr (1605–27), taste in historical portraits ran either to large court scenes (especially of receptions; PL. 273) or to individual portraits of the Emperor, members of his family, and his many courtiers. The portraits depict each individual and every detail of his physiognomy with minute care, although each person is presented in a formal manner according to court protocol. There were also, at this time, many fine scenes from the official and intimate life of the Emperor, especially of hunting exploits, parades, festivals, and hours passed in the harem. This style continued under his son, Shah Jahān (1628–58; VIII, PL. 168; X, PL. 118), but under Jahān's son and successor, Aurangzēb (1658–1707), historical subjects (PL. 273) and portraiture declined: the figures turned rather stiff and lifeless, even more so as the 18th century progressed. The art of portraiture was fostered, however, until the end of the dynasty (1857) and was also widely practiced at the many smaller courts of sultans, maharajas, or rajas throughout India.

Richard ETTINGHAUSEN

*India.* While it is certain that historical representation existed in India, there are practically no extant secular monuments more than a few centuries old. In the better-preserved religious monuments, historical subjects can only rarely be traced with certainty. Literary hints are scanty. A historical sense in India had been poorly developed in any case. Politics normally was not a national affair but rather a game of kings and nobles. As such it was required to conform to certain ideals of divine election, nobility, courage, efficiency, and majesty. But since the royal power was absolute, there developed an utterly Machiavellian power politics behind a mask of hypocrisy and idealization. Official history was rewritten until at last it fitted into a dull standard pattern in which the ruler was always perfect, his wives paragons of beauty, his love affairs no less important than wars and diplomacy, his ministers faithful, his people happy, his enemies cowards and criminals, and so forth. Religious history underwent a similar transformation. The lives of the Buddha, Mahāvīra, and the Saiva and Vaishnava saints soon lost all relation to historical fact and degenerated into miracle stories and myth. Their representation in art conformed to this pattern. What really happened was never described. The glorious ruler was portrayed surrounded by the much smaller figures of his wives, sons, ministers, generals, war elephants, soldiers, and retreating or fleeing enemies. Buildings were occasionally depicted in order to indicate the event, which might be an audience to foreign ambassadors, a procession, the dedication of a temple, a pilgrimage, a battle, a duel with an enemy ruler, or the capture of the enemy's capital. If the prince was killed in battle, nymphs were shown carrying him to heaven.

It is often difficult to decide whether a historical or mythological scene is represented when inscriptions do not offer us the necessary clues. Thus while some scholars have interpreted the frescoes at Ajanta (q.v.) as the reception by Pulakeśin II (ca. 610–42; Chalukya dynasty) of an embassy of Khosrau II of Persia or of some Turkish ruler of central Asia, others have suggested that they represent merely the yaksha Kubera.

On the walls of a number of Indian temples — e.g., at Martand and Avantipur in Kashmir, Konarak in Orissa, Belur in Mysore (all, 8th–13th cent.) — there are pictures of the dedicating rulers approaching the sanctuary or holding court with their queens and nobles. At Konarak, King Narasiṃha II is shown on a swing in his harem, and in an assembly of scholars. On the murals of the Bṛhīśadvara Temple at Tanjore the procession of the emperor Rājarāja I the Great (985–ca. 1016) is depicted on the occasion of the consecration of the huge sanctuary. Other scenes (at Avantipur, Konarak, Bhuvaneshwar, etc.) show the influential high priests of these temples in procession, teaching, and guiding the kings. Still other scenes appear on the *narathara*, a frieze of scenes depicting human life on the socles of all medieval Indian temples. Many of these scenes seem conventional, while others depict episodes from the great national epics, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*; still others show real events — jousts between knights in heavy armor on horses armed as heavily as their riders, and processions leading horses (imported from foreign countries) or strange animals similar to giraffes and camels.

The walls of the throne platform erected at Vijayanagar (Hampi) by Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509–29), when the last Hindu empire of the south was at the zenith of its glory, show such scenes as bowing Moslem ambassadors, tribute caravans, captive Moslems forced to play as clowns, Moslem women brought into the harem, ballets danced by thousands of girls before the Emperor, and the ruler conferring with his ministers, dedicating temples, and so forth. The most important relief friezes of this type are in the Shore Temple at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram; 7th cent.) and in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl at Kanchi (Conjeeveram). These friezes show a complete pictorial history of the Pallava dynasty — its origin, the wars with the Chalukyas of Badami, the civil wars bringing Nandivarman II (731–95; Pallava king) to the throne. Whereas the friezes in the Shore Temple have been hopelessly damaged by the sea, those at Kanchi bear inscriptions which, although incomplete, leave no doubt about the subject; however, both are most conventional in their representation.

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Similar scenes occur also on many *vīrakkals* (memorial stones for southern Indian nobles) and *pāliyās* (memorial stones for Rajputs of northern India) dating from the 10th century, occasionally even from the 8th to the early 19th century. On the *vīrakkals*, death in battle, the assumption to heaven, and the veneration of God by the deceased are always represented. On the *pāliyās* such scenes are only occasionally represented; instead, the deceased is shown on horseback in the company of his wives who have burnt themselves alive on his pyre.

In Indonesia royal portraits in the guise of gods (Śiva identified with Buddha) and goddesses (Pārvatī identified with Prajñāpāramitā) were common, but strictly historical scenes have not yet been discovered. In the art of Cambodia, however, there are very careful and reliable representations of the court, the armies, and the wars of the Khmer kings. The best among these are in the Bayon at Angkor Thom (early 13th cent.), at Banteay Chmar (built by Jayavarman VII, 1181–1218), and Angkor Wat (built by Sūryavarman II, 1113–ca. 1150; PL. 255; III, PL. 300).

The conquering Moslems brought to India an interest in history and historical personalities. Scenes of contemporary court life appear in the reliefs of the palace of Ibrāhīm and Mas'ūd III at Ghazni (11th cent.) and in the murals of Lashkari Bazaar. In the Delhi palaces there once were portraits of the sultans and scenes of court life, but they were destroyed by Fīrūz Shah III (Tughlaq king, 1351–88). Echoes of similar scenes can be found in the Jain illustrations to the *Kālakācāryakathā*, describing a Scythian invasion in the 1st century B.C.

In Moghul and Deccan painting, historical representations were very common (see above under *Islam*).

In the late 17th and 18th centuries the Moghul painters brought this interest in accuracy to the Rajput courts (PL. 255). But here portraits became utterly stylized and court scenes were, with few exceptions, limited to certain conventional subjects (audiences, processions, the ruler in the temple or with his ladies). Other events were indicated merely symbolically (e.g., a "bathing lady" generally commemorated the birth of a prince because following the birth the rani was required to undergo a ceremonial bath). The Moghul representational technique was, however, applied to the illustration of ancient epics and semihistorical romances such as the *Padmāvat Hamīr-Hāth* and *Prithvīrāj Rāsau*. In its last stage Moghul painting served to illustrate early British life in India, but this function was quickly superseded by professional European painters working in India, such as Zoffany.

Hermann Goetz

*China*. In ancient China, art and history were linked together in the bronze ritual vessels which date from the beginning of the Bronze Age; these vessels are associated with historical events in the Shang period, especially the late Shang (ca. 1300 B.C.), when An-yang was the capital. The brief inscriptions on the cups, vases, tripods, pails, and other utensils intended for ceremonial offering indicated a wish to commemorate events of importance. The events themselves are not depicted; ornament was of a symbolical nature — generally zoomorphic abstractions suggesting clan totems, animals used in seasonal sacrifice, or some other aspect of magical significance. The very shapes and powerful decorative designs are part of the mystery and majesty in the ritual. Man was rarely depicted in the theme, although man and his place in the universe, subject to nature's whims and change of fortune, may have been at the heart of the matter.

When the Chou conquerers swept into the Yellow River country shortly before 1000 B.C., they continued to use ritual vessels in the Shang style. Their own dynamism, however, seems to be reflected in some very exuberant bronzes which differ from earlier types. As writing became more common, long inscriptions indicated the full story of victory, honors received, marriage alliances, and other events of importance to the nation or the family. About 500 B.C. the feudal lords fought among themselves, and there was unrest throughout the land. China experienced a flowering of literature and philosophic thought. The written word emerged triumphant even in the visual arts, and the awesome majesty of ancient symbols yielded to grace and elegance or to an impoverished monotony of design accompanied by verbal descriptions.

By the 3d century B.C., a pictorial narrative method replaced abstractions and stylized animals on the ritual vessels. Men were shown in combat, in the hunt, or participating in ceremonial observance. Simple linear contours, low-relief stamped areas, or fine inlay were used on the bronze cups, bowls, and vases. Clan wars and barbarian invasions were the themes; the equestrian archer in flying gallop replaced the cumbersome chariot in history and in art. It was in this same century that China was dominated by one man who conquered the Warring States and created an empire, the Ch'in prince who proclaimed himself Shih Huang-ti (emperor) in 221 B.C. He brought unity and standardization to his realm, but he was hated as a tyrant, a burner of books, and a usurper of the mandate of heaven. He appears in the art of later periods as a symbol of the uneasy strong man who has broken with the past and lives in fear of assassination. His dynasty was overthrown in 206 B.C. by a general who made a dramatic march through the mountains to the Ch'in citadel, where he gained a victory that resulted in the establishment of the Han dynasty. This marked a turning point in Chinese history; a great new era was ushered in, which lasted for some four hundred years.

We know that in the Han period palaces and tombs were decorated with murals in which some historical events were depicted. There are also records of portraits of rulers and individuals. The purpose of these works was not so much to recall a particular incident or person but rather to inspire the viewer to right action by reminding him of the significance of the occurrence or the worthiness of the paragons of virtue. Realism was not nearly so important as the morality involved, and behind the art form was a didactic aim that excused a painter or sculptor from obtaining a mere likeness. Painting became a major art at about this time, when ink, silk, and the writing brush, as well as heavier pigment on plastered walls, could be used as vehicles for Chinese philosophic thought.

There still exist some excellent pieces of memorial sculpture associated with the burial of military heroes and distinguished civil officials. These include the guardians of the tomb of Ho Ch'ü-p'ing at Hsing-p'ing in Shensi, the slabs in the offering chambers of Hsiao-t'ang-shan and Wu Liang-tz'ŭ in eastern China, the numerous Han tombs of western China, and the guard posts at the Shên tomb and related pillars in Szechwan province. The men so honored do not appear as individuals, nor are their exploits included in the historical sequences. Favorite subjects are the great sovereigns of the past, the evil ways of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, the defeat of barbarians, the rewards of victory (symbolized by an audience with the emperor), and the paragons of loyalty, wisdom, and unselfishness (historical or mythical personalities). These are shown among symbols of planets, winds, and clouds, personifications of forces of nature, and fairy deities who represent the cosmos and a spirit world of eternal youth that served to give proper emphasis to man's small triumphs or sorrows on this earthly plane. Confucianism and Taoism both were honored, and a sense of historical perspective was already established.

A painting called "the Thirteen Emperors," attributed to Yen Li-Pên (7th cent. of our era; PL. 256), recalls the glory of the Han period and the subsequent fall from glory when barbarians took all of northern China in the period of the Six Dynasties (A.D. 220–589). The change of regime is reflected in a series of delicate colored portraits on silk, which are viewed by unrolling the hand scroll from right to left. The emperors occupy a few inches each of the silk, and a label discreetly identifies each one. Native or foreign, they are drawn as majestic personages in bulky robes, with only the most subtle suggestion of temperament in their faces. They exist in time and space, without landscape or architectural setting. The same painter is credited with another hand scroll associated with history, *A Foreign Envoy Arriving with Tribute*, showing western Asians bringing elephant tusks, weapons, bird cages, and other offerings. The subject of foreigners bringing gifts (always labeled as "tribute" by the condescending Chinese) became stand-

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ard throughout the centuries. It had a natural origin in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906), when foreigners flocked to China from all parts of Asia and established residence in ports and inland cities. Chou Fang, an artist of the late 8th-early 9th century, painted an Arabian groom in his *Exotic Gift from a Tributary State*, suggesting the thousands of horses sent from central Asia by petty kings and Turkish khans to the Son of Heaven. As late as the 18th century, the emperor receiving foreign envoys was recorded by Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), the Italian Jesuit painter-in-residence at the court of the Ch'ing-dynasty sovereign of Manchu birth — the great Ch'ien-lung emperor. European realism may be noted in the actual portraits of the ruler and his central Asian tribesmen, in faces modeled in light and shade, and in the details of pavilion and throne set in an exotic garden.

History and romance are represented by several scrolls inspired by the life of the T'ang emperor Ming-huang of the 8th century. His love affair with the fabulous Yang-Kuei-fei, which finally caused revolt and ruin, has been celebrated in literature and painting. There are numerous versions of the ruler amusing himself or being entertained by the beautiful concubine, and even of his flight to the west when rebels threatened his capital. In these the mood is gentle and poetic, the figures refined and elegant, usually touched with melancholy, for they are not individual likenesses; rather they are symbols of human love.

Another romantic ideal was personified by the Lady Wen-chi, a noted poet of the Han period. She had been abducted by a barbarian chieftain, who took her to live a nomadic life in Mongolia. She became his wife and bore two sons before the news arrived that she had been ransomed by the Chinese emperor and must either return to attend her aged father or be the cause of war. The poignancy of her dilemma is suggested in the narrative scroll: we are shown the ruffians stealing her from the family mansion, the long trek to the desert, her life in camp, where the round-topped tent and a few caldrons represent home and hearth, her nostalgia for the graces of her former life as she gazes across the sandy waste, her tearful farewell as she agrees to be escorted by the dashing imperial guard rather than neglect her father or cause a war, and her return to the city and her filial duties. There is poignancy but not devastating emotion, for the painter shows the narrative as seen from a distant height, and even the act of weeping is hidden behind hands lifted to shield the faces. This is a part of Chinese etiquette, which forbids the intrusion of personal feeling and demands reserve, dignity, and consideration of others even in times of crisis.

A similar breadth of vision and emphasis on the significance of the whole rather than the particular is seen in a Sung dynasty (960–1129) hand scroll showing the Han emperor entering the Ch'in capital (PL. 257). The marching army is suggested by banners moving above trees in a mountainous landscape. The men are too small to be thought of as individuals. Lost in solemn pageantry are the sweat and agony of battle; bloodshed was never appropriate in Chinese painting. The dominance of the scholar in the Sung period and the lack of prestige of the military man in Chinese society resulted in a taste for harmony, restraint, and subtlety. Landscapes and album pieces were more popular than the episodes of history, and a tendency for the painter to withdraw to a secluded retreat and to ignore unpleasant events set a fashion that lasted for centuries. When the Mongols became overlords in the 13th century, the change was apparent primarily in the imperial portraits and in an increase in the number of hunting scenes and illustrations of fine horses. Royal portraits of the Ming period (1368–1644) indicate that a native dynasty was ruling again. Most of the outstanding painting was done by cultivated gentlemen or professionals who revived classical themes of the T'ang and Sung eras.

With the establishment of Manchu power in the Ch'ing period (1644–1912), official portraits again reflected a change in physiognomy, and there were engravings made of the conquests of the Ch'ien-lung emperor. European influence was introduced by Christian missionaries, but there was no general preoccupation with historical themes such as existed in Europe at that time. China continued to hold aloof from foreign entanglements. In the 20th century, however, with a radical departure from its former isolation, Chinese art has responded to the different phases of adjustment to the industrial revolution and to the upheaval in political and social organization. Western realism has brought new subjects and new techniques. The worker is the hero. Faces are no longer devoid of emotion, and delicate detachment is replaced by strong propaganda appeal; refinement is no longer a fashion.

*Japan.* Early Japanese art was much influenced by China from the time Buddhism was introduced into Japan, during the 6th century of our era. An indigenous robustness survived, however, and began to emerge in the Heian period (A.D. 784–1185). The art form that served best as a vehicle for historical events was painting. This became evident in the late Heian and early Kamakura eras (1185–1392).

Sometimes the life of an actual person such as Prince Genji was illustrated in the narrative scrolls in a romantic vein, as in the *Genji Monogatari*, based on the novel written by the Lady Murasaki, a learned noblewoman of Kyoto, the capital. The new Japanese script is as exquisite as the pictorial representations of the details of palace life, architecture, gardens, costumes, and musical instruments. In the views of palace rooms there is a simplification and clarity that is but one step removed from 20th-century abstraction. Rare boldness of form is created by stiff brocaded robes seen as triangular patterns of greens, lavender, blue, and yellow. Faces are almost devoid of expression, and action is secondary to the esthetic vision. A new style, the Yamato-e (q.v.), had developed. Several picture scrolls are of this courtly type, including the *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*, the diary of Lady Murasaki.

An interest in people of all classes and a freedom of expression that included caricature and satire may be seen in another late Heian work, the *Ban Dainagon Ekotoba*, attributed to Tokiwa Mitsunaga. Three scrolls (ca. 1 ft. × 27 ft., 1 in.; Tokyo, Tadahiro Sakai Coll.; VIII, PL. 287) are required to portray the story of a court intrigue of the 9th century which centered around the burning of a palace gate, for which blame was cast upon an innocent courtier. The full drama of crowds rushing to see the billowing smoke and flame, the terror of courtiers trapped in the palace, the stunned family of the accused, the village gossip, the petty quarrels of commoners, and retribution visited upon the evil plotter are spread before us as the scrolls are unrolled. The figures represent individuals reacting violently, but they are handled as members of crowds — masses of line and color as in a flowing giant ribbon controlled by the artist. A similar theme of court intrigue is depicted in *Kitano Tenjin Engi* — nine rolls of text and narrative based on the life of Sugawara-no-Michizane (d. 903). From his birth through palmy days as tutor to the heir apparent, banishment due to a plot by a jealous rival, death in exile, the wandering of his spirit in the realms of the dead, and miracles associated with his spirit, the whole cycle is spread before us.

Equally popular were the lives of travelers in China and Japan. These include "Kibi's Adventures as Ambassador to China"; the story of two Korean priests who introduced the Kegon sect of Buddhism in Japan (*Kegon Engi*, 6 rolls); the life of the poet-priest Saigyō (1118–90); the pilgrimages of the priest Ippen (*Ippen-Shōnin-Eden*, 12 rolls by Eni of the Kamakura period; VIII, PL. 298); the pictorial biography of the priest Hōnen Shōnin of the Jōdō sect (48 rolls produced by different painters); and the career of the priest Shinran (1173–1262), founder of the Shinshu sect. Some of these works are notable for landscape as well as lively figure painting; they express nobility, humor, and pathos.

The clan wars, so vital a part of Japanese history, receive worthy expression in the narrative scrolls, which were developed as a perfect medium for historical painting. The attempted invasion of Japan by the Mongols inspired some fine examples of scroll work, but it was the civil wars that brought forth work of the finest quality. Of these, the three scrolls of the *Heiji Monogatari* are most highly regarded. One, depicting the burning of the Sanjō Palace (PL. 258), is about 16 in. long and

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shows rushing crowds, cavalry and carts in turmoil, the wooden palace in flames, courtiers and women being trampled underfoot or beheaded, and the Emperor stealing away with a loyal guard, fearing ambush ahead. Japanese realism allowed details of brutality, bloodshed, and treachery as stark as life itself; such details were isolated, not lost in landscape.

In the Momoyama period (1568–1615) the artistic tastes of military leaders gave rise to a grander portrayal of history on *namban* screens. The clan wars were still popular, with golden clouds separating the space between the depiction of individual battles and feats of arms. City festivals, urban life, and the coming of foreigners to Japan were spread upon the panels; large-nosed Portuguese and Dutch were shown arriving in southern ports such as Nagasaki. When woodblock prints came into their own as an art appealing to the merchants and farmers who began to prosper in the Tokugawa period (1615–1867), the Europeans of the ports were regarded as curiosities. The old Samurai taste may be seen in the sets of prints devoted to the 47 *ronin* (Samurai outlaw warriors), and the New World is represented by the entry of Americans into Japan depicted in late-19th-century prints.

With the introduction of Western conventions of perspective and modeling, some of the southern Japanese artists were stimulated to experiment in new techniques and media. In the 20th century this trend has gained in momentum. Large murals of historical themes adorn public buildings, and monumental sculpture graces the city parks. Japanese artists have taken their place in the forefront of international artistic developments in the mid-20th century, both in realistic and abstract forms. A few painters carry on the old Yamato-e tradition, rich in historical association and formal beauty. They are patronized by courtiers, scholars, and collectors of antiques. In the theater and cinema the old deeds of glory survive, usually presented in the feudal style of Heian and Kamakura days, which charms the audiences. Historical subjects have proved to be a rich legacy for modern Japan.

Jane Gaston MAHLER

PRE-COLUMBIAN CULTURES. A commemorative art has come down to us from Pre-Columbian America in sculpture, painting, and codices. The events represented, however, almost never rise to the level of historical documents in the strict sense — that is, free from all symbolism, sacred subject matter, and reference to a timeless rather than to a temporal world. Extant reliefs, wall paintings, and vase paintings of the classic Mayan period, representing captive prisoners, acts of submission, religious and sacrificial ceremonies, and priests and secular leaders, would be true commemorative representations if their historical character were clearer and more definite. But the theocratic structure of the little city-states of the Maya, their unwarlike nature, and the consequent absence of "imperialistic" purpose did not constitute the most suitable ground for the development of a great commemorative art. Mayan work concentrated on the figure of a prince and his victorious troops and was predominantly sacred.

In the Mayan postclassical period, after the Toltecs (led by Quetzalcoatl) had overthrown the Maya and installed themselves as conquerors in northern Yucatán, there was a radical transformation in artistic expression, determined by completely different political and religious conceptions. The principal theme treated was the warrior, rather than the priest or deity. The warrior was necessary for the state's life and continued existence; this existence also depended upon the benevolence of gods who were satisfied by the blood offerings that only the warrior could procure by the capture of prisoners destined for sacrifice. Like the priest, the warrior acted as intermediary with the divinity. Thus there have been found frequent representations of battles, sacrifices, and executions that seem dictated by specific commemorative purposes.

A mural painted in the entrance hall of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá shows the capture of a Mayan city by Toltec soldiers, their bodies painted black, the color of death. Below this, to the left, are seen Mayan prisoners being



led away, their hands tied and their naked bodies tattooed with black and white stripes to indicate that they are meant for sacrifice. Another fresco, also at Chichén Itzá, in the Temple of the Jaguars (or Tigers), represents a battle between the Mayas and the Toltecs inside a Mayan village. The Toltecs are recognizable by the plumed serpents, symbols of Quetzalcoatl, which accompany them.

Although the Aztec civilization was fertile ground for the development of a commemorative art — having an authoritarian state, a perfect military organization, and expansionistic tendencies — the Aztecs did not leave commemorative works that were historical documents in the strict sense. All events were treated in a manner that was eminently symbolic. An example of a work of commemorative character is the relief representing two figures in an act of self-sacrifice — definitely commemorative because of the dates and the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the names of the two figures. The work concerns the consecration of the great temple of Tenochtitlan in 1487, built by the two kings Tizoc and Ahuitzotl.

In the Stone of Tizoc (PL. 259), located in front of the stairs of the temple of Tenochtitlán, the great military enterprises of the first seven Aztec kings are celebrated. The kings are represented symbolically rather than realistically through the tribal god Uitzilopochtli, who is shown holding an enemy prisoner by the hair. (Uitzilopochtli could also stand for the god protector of the vanquished people.) The Aztecs did not represent their victories to exalt and increase the glory of their military leaders but to symbolize through victories the strength and increasing power of their tribal gods.

Other Pre-Columbian documents of commemorative character are the Mixtec codices from the state of Oaxaca. Among the eight extant, the Codex Vindobensis, the Codex Nuttall in London, and the Bodleian and Selden codices, Oxford, are famous. Initially regarded as works of religious character they were afterwards recognized as precious historical documents, which is indicated by their very name, *tonindeye* ("story of the race"). The codices illustrate the undertakings of the greatest Mixtec military leaders (among whom the figure of the hero "8 Deer" is outstanding; PL. 259), the history of their dynasties, the most important events, the feasts, and so forth. Common to all these is an enormous number of symbolic elements drawn from religion and myth, which, however, do not prejudice the great historical value of these works. In every pictograph the events or chief personages represented are marked by definite dates. The oldest date, A.D. 692, is found in the Bodleian Codex and marks the beginning of the Mixtec dynasty.

In contrast, no Mayan or Aztec codex furnishes historical information. Astronomical treatises, texts recording divination, lists of the gods who presided over the calendar, and so forth, have been found. Certainly there must also have been some codices of historical content; unfortunately none has reached us.

Italo SIGNORINI

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Illustrations: PLS. 251–278.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY.** In theory, art criticism (see CRITICISM) and art history are inseparable, since the art historian has to work on the basis of his critical judgment and the critic on that of his historically determined experience. In practice, however, it is possible to distinguish those writers who, from ancient times onward, have expressed in their writings on art a clear conception of its history. Thus the history of the historiography of art can be considered in terms of the development of theories of history — that is, as a continuous succession of ideal constructions, even when these have not been worked out in detail.

SUMMARY. Historiography of art in Western tradition (col. 507): *Antiquity; The Middle Ages; The early and the High Renaissance; The 17th century in Italy; Post-Renaissance historiography outside Italy; The 18th century; Winckelmann and the renewal of art history; Idealistic and romantic historiography; Relations between historiography and modern art; From romanticism to Positivism; The history of styles and of architecture; Pure form and the historiography of art; Art history as the history of civilization; The 20th century: general directions and methodological problems; Exploratory works; The connoisseurs; From the study of sources to the history of criticism; Formalism; Cultural interpretations of artistic form; The history of art as a history of the spirit and of culture.* Historiography of art in the East (col. 534): *Islam; China; Japan.* Representative art historians (col. 537): *Antiquity; The Middle Ages; 14th–16th century; 17th–18th century; The late 18th century to the present.*

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ART IN WESTERN TRADITION. *Antiquity.* The historical sense characteristic of Greek thought as a whole shows itself clearly in Greek art criticism. The concepts of art as technique and imitation and of the beautiful as an absolute, objective value gave rise to the view of the history of art as a progress or, alternatively, a decadence. The further definition of different genres of imitation — idealistic, realistic, caricatural, fantastic — and the establishment of standards of proportion, harmony, decorum, expression of emotions, and so forth provided the foundation for an interpretation of the development of the arts in which every artist had his particular place.



In the instructional treatises of the 3d century B.C., written mostly by artists and craftsmen, this historical orientation, stimulated by the awareness of the great age of Greek culture, which had recently been succeeded by Hellenistic civilization, is evident. Earlier treatises, such as that of Polykleitos (q.v.), had been purely technical or abstract. There now appeared more comprehensive works such as the treatise on painting and sculpture (known only through Pliny the Elder's description) of Xenocrates of Athens, a sculptor. Basing his critical judgments on recorded concepts — in particular those of symmetry, proportion, skill in imitation, and incisiveness of form — Xenocrates could construct a history of art in terms of the history of formal problems and their successive solutions as embodied in the works of sculptors and painters. These works constituted a particularly clear-cut illustration of progress, passing from the phase of pure outline drawing to monochrome, to bichrome, to a number of colors, and finally to a tonal harmony of colors, arriving at perfection with Apelles (q.v.).

In Pliny's text it is difficult to distinguish the ideas of Xenocrates from those of his contemporary Antigonus of Carystus, who seems to have proceeded along the same lines in dealing with specifically historiographical problems — for example, the relations between the various artists and schools and the question of authenticity. The work of Douris of Samos (2d half of 4th cent. B.C.) had a different historiographic orientation. It was a collection of biographies of artists, including both historically established and apocryphal material. Many of the anecdotes associated with such figures as Apelles and Zeuxis (q.v.) help to illuminate contemporaneous critical criteria.

The theory of an artistic evolution was reaffirmed in the work of Apollodorus of Athens, which chronicled the stages of progress to the perfection of Phidias (q.v.) and Polykleitos and of decadence in the 3d century B.C., then of the renascence of about 150 B.C. represented by Athenian classicism. The *Mirabilia* of Pasiteles, a Campanian artist (1st half of 1st cent. B.C.), helped to diffuse in Rome knowledge of the art and artistic theories of the Greeks. Cornelius Nepos (1st cent. B.C.), in his 16 books of biographies of illustrious men, included a section on the lives of famous painters.

The only historiographic work actually preserved from ancient times, however, is Pliny's. And Pliny is a compiler, not an expert on art; moreover, notes on art form only a part of the *Naturalis historia*. Pliny's application of the term "history" to what is essentially a work of classification and description, covering natural phenomena as well as human accomplishments, indicates that classical thought tended to regard objective reality as the proper concern of history, excluding the ideational causes, which are subject to the interpretation of the historian.

In dealing with marble, bronze, and minerals employed as colors, Pliny elucidates the various arts or techniques of working these materials by giving a series of biographies of craftsmen. The *Naturalis historia* is a true encyclopedia, seeking to define the connection between nature and human civilization, raw material and workmanship. In this it served as a model for analogous works of the 16th and 17th centuries. Following his sources (Terence, Varro, Xenocrates, Antigonus, Douris), Pliny exalts the artists of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., giving little attention to Hellenistic art and taking Lysippos (q.v.) as the starting point of decadence. This view of Greek art fostered the thesis of a legendary golden age, which was to be fundamental in later art theory, from the Renaissance to neoclassicism.

Another antique literary genre which is of great importance as a prototype is the guidebook. In this field Pasiteles and Mucianus are known to us through Pliny, while fragments exist of the works of Diodorus of Athens and Polemon; only the work of Pausanias (2d cent. of our era) has come down to us intact. Although its interest is documentary and topographical rather than critical, it testifies to the existence of a popular literature for travelers that set a precedent for the innumerable guidebooks and itineraries of medieval and later times.

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The Roman contribution to historiography is closely linked with the emergence of collectors and connoisseurs. In the writings of Cicero and Quintilian there is apparent — though not systematically expressed — a revaluation of the art produced prior to the 5th century B.C., along with indications that the myth of the unmatched perfection of Apelles and Lysippos was losing its power.

The description of works of art became a fashionable genre in Roman Imperial times, supplying such writers as Lucian with a pretext for literary virtuosity. Three notable examples are Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines*, descriptions of 64 paintings in a villa in Naples; an imitation of this work by his grandson, Philostratus the Younger; and Callistratus' *Descriptions* of 13 statues. Art figures in the epigrams of the Palatine Anthology.

It is interesting that in Philostratus the Elder art already appears as symbol, the visible representation of the supernatural, and imagination tends to replace imitation. Further, Lucian, Pliny, Vitruvius (q.v.), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus emphasize the growing importance of color, to which they attribute the decline of painting. Plutarch alone champions color over drawing. All this foreshadows medieval culture.

*The Middle Ages.* Repudiating the basic concepts on which antique historiography had been founded (e.g., the concepts of the imitation of nature and of proportion) and disregarding the contribution of the individual artist, medieval thought made a historiography of art impossible. The writing of lives of artists became meaningless when the work of art ceased to be valued for its own sake and the artist was rated merely as a member of an artisan's guild. The honor of being remembered by posterity was accorded — if at all — to the person who commissioned a work (*operarius*) rather than to the one who executed it (*artifex*). Only saints and popes were considered worthy of biographies — and the occasional artists who were also saints, such as St. Eligius, patron of goldsmiths, and St. Bernward of Hildesheim.

It is evident from the writings of Cassiodorus that Theodoric the Great's artistic policies were determined by a consciousness of history: a faith in the classic past and in its continuity. A similar point of view and definite archaeological interests are documented for Charlemagne and the emperor Frederick II. But only in the Greco-Byzantine east were antique traditions and an interest in the work of art as form preserved to any extent. And even here the work of art was considered and described in and for itself, as a thing detached from its creator; it was appreciated above all for the beauty and preciousness of the material, whose value was enhanced by fine workmanship.

Topographical literature, which, as has been indicated, had several precedents in antiquity, continued to flourish in the Byzantine Empire; it is represented in the writings of Procopius of Caesarea, Nicetas Choniates, and Codinus. The description of works of art also continued as a separate literary genre, exemplified by the homily of St. Asterius, Bishop of Amasia (end of 4th cent.), the descriptions of Paulinus of Nola, and other works.

The Latin west tended to prize technique still less, exalting rather the preciousness of the material and the allegorical or symbolic value of the image. It produced a literature of instruction that included, besides recipe books, treatises on optics and perspective (see TREATISES), but was completely unconcerned with formal criticism of a historical character.

Despite the decline of general culture, the early Middle Ages was marked by a notable concentration on the amassing of information: archives, chronicles, and inventories multiplied. The *Liber Pontificalis Romanus*, beginning with the portion bearing the name of Anastasius bibliothecarius (8th cent.), is a chronicle of papal Rome and was the model for analogous works compiled (9th cent.) in Naples by John the Deacon of S. Gennaro and in Ravenna by Agnellus. In these chronicles, works of art are regarded merely as documents of the history of Christianity; a similar viewpoint accounts for the numerous inventories of church treasuries. Local histories, the annals of monasteries, and the records of cathedrals and churches tend to consist largely of lists of treasures and archival documents.

Guidebook literature in the West was focused on the two great Christian pilgrimage centers, the Holy Land and Rome. The itineraries, or guides for pilgrims, combine with their primary religious interest a marked taste for the marvelous and for curiosities. The narrative of the pilgrimage of St. Arculf (French bishop, 8th cent.) written by the Scottish abbot St. Adamnan does illustrate buildings with schematic plans. But descriptions by Petrus Malleus (11th cent.) and John the Deacon of Rome (12th cent.) of the Vatican and Lateran basilicas reveal only a scholastic, antiquarian, and topographical interest in these monuments.

The break between Greco-Roman and medieval civilization and the typical historical attitude of the latter toward the former are manifest in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a popular work written about the middle of the 12th century. The author attempts to explain the antique monuments and their traditional appellations, but he attributes to the past the allegorical mentality and the taste for precious materials characteristic of his own time. He praises the treasures of gold and silver of ancient Rome, and translates everything into the realm of fable and magic. A characteristic instance is his account of the origins of the marble horses on the Quirinal — "why they were made nude and the men also were made nude, what they signify, and why a woman surrounded by serpents sits in front of the horses with a basin before her." He explains that in the reign of Tiberius there came to Rome two young philosophers, Praxiteles and Phidias, who were naked because for them everything was unveiled. Indeed they were able to divine the intention of the Emperor to reward them, and they asked not for money but for a monument. The statues are then allegorized as prophets and the woman as a symbol of the Church.

One cannot expect a historiography in the modern sense — still less a historiography of art — in an epoch that repudiated antiquity because of its paganism and reduced history to the status of a chronicle, holding in low esteem all human and earthly activity, in particular the "mechanical arts." Nevertheless, in constructing its history of the Church and of Christian truth, the Middle Ages took an important step forward: it set up an ideal as the proper object of history, and on the basis of that ideal affirmed the superiority of one epoch — its own — over another — antiquity.

The Renaissance inherited this capacity for evaluating history on the basis of ideal factors, though it reversed the judgment as to the relative merits of the Middle Ages and antiquity. Further, with the reappearance of interest in human individuality and the elevation of the visual arts to the status of liberal arts, the Renaissance was in possession of the elements necessary to a historiography of art in the full sense of the term. Its harbingers were Dante's praise of Cimabue and Giotto (qq.v.), Petrarch's of Simone Martini (q.v.), and the anecdotes about painters that began to appear in Florentine fiction.

*The early and the High Renaissance.* From Petrarch to Vasari (q.v.), writers on art are agreed that as Dante resurrected poetry, so Cimabue and, above all, Giotto, resurrected painting, initiating a new epoch in the art. The judgment was a critical one, based on contrasting valuations of Giotto's style (considered naturalistic and intellectual) and the Byzantine style (considered abstract and, because of its emphasis on color, as making its appeal through the senses). But it was at the same time a historical judgment, in that it presented for the first time the concept of the Middle Ages as a period of decline and barbarism intervening between antique civilization and the modern civilization that represented the antique's renascence — whence the concept of the Renaissance.

The new historiography, developing in a period of general enthusiasm for classicism, was naturally modeled on that of antiquity. The Humanistic concept of history that evolved in the Quattrocento was that history itself was an art, having as its aims commemoration — for the Humanists of the Quattrocento were possessed of an unconquerable desire to perpetuate human achievements for posterity — and usefulness (*delectando docere*). To fulfill these ends, history was to draw upon the resources of rhetoric and, unlike the arid medieval chronicle, to clothe itself

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in beautiful literary forms. It might even resort to fictions such as the citation of false epigraphs or of imaginary discourses and anecdotes, since the historian should strive to present men not as they are but as they ought to be.

It was typical of Humanistic historiography in general to explain events in terms of the actions of individuals, so that history became essentially the story of personages, on the antique model of *viri illustres*. Thus the form that the history of art tended to take in the Renaissance was that of *Lives*.

At the head of a long line of authors of artists' lives is Filippo Villani, who in 1381–82 wrote the *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*, including among the illustrious men of his city certain painters. He felt obliged to justify the novel procedure of dealing with artists alongside men of learning, for the visual arts were at that time still classed as mechanical arts and the Humanistic idea of the nobility of art was very new, a concept to be defended and propagandized. Villani invoked the authority of antique precedent for his innovation: as Pliny and other ancient writers had treated of artists of their time, such as Zeuxis, Polykleitos, and Apelles, so he intended to treat of Cimabue, of Giotto, and of Giotto's pupils Stefano, Taddeo, and Maso. His attempt to define the particular personality and qualities of each is noteworthy.

Exceptional among 15th-century writers is Lorenzo Ghiberti (q.v.), the first to depart from the strictly biographical approach and attempt an exposition of the general development of art from antiquity to his own time. He bases his discussion of antique art on Vitruvius and Pliny, and, in the second book of his *Commentarii*, speaks of the best painters of the 14th century and of two sculptors; since one of the two is himself, he thus becomes the first artist to furnish us with an autobiography. Ghiberti introduces the concept of a second, smaller-scale decline in art: he sees in Giotto a perfection which could only be followed by a falling off. He also deals with the painters of Rome and of Siena — including Simone Martini and the Lorenzettis (qq.v.) — from the stylistic rather than the anecdotal point of view, that is, he considers their works rather than their lives primary. He too includes an apologia for the visual arts, and he takes from Vitruvius a program for the encyclopedic education of the artist.

Following the example of Villani, various 15th-century writers incorporated the lives of painters, sculptors, and architects into local histories and other kinds of works, some of which included catalogues divided into classifications such as heroes, physicians, poets. Cristoforo Landino included in his commentary on Dante (Florence, 1481) a summary of the history of Florentine art which is in essence a catalogue of its most illustrious artists. Ugolino Verino's *De illustratione urbis Florentiae* (1512) likewise contains a catalogue of artists. The chapters on painters and sculptors in Bartolommeo Facio's *De viris illustribus* are of great importance, especially for the information they supply on Flemish and north Italian painters. (Facio worked at the court of Naples.) In Urbino Raphael's father, the painter Giovanni Santi (d. 1494), wrote a rhymed chronicle of the achievements of Duke Federigo da Montefeltro (*Cronaca rimata delle imprese del duca Federigo d'Urbino*), including a eulogy of painting, with a rather comprehensive enumeration and characterization of the famous artists of the time.

The Quattrocento produced the first monographs on individual artists, all infused with a spirit of enthusiastic partisanship. Foremost among these works is the *Life* of Leon Battista Alberti (q.v.), which has been taken to be an autobiography. Also of great importance is a monograph on Brunelleschi (q.v.) ascribed to the mathematician and architect Antonio di Tuccio Manetti.

Except for Ghiberti's *Commentarii*, however, the Quattrocento produced little of importance in the area of historiography, despite the enormous importance of art theorists such as Alberti, Piero della Francesca, and Leonardo (qq.v.; see also TREATISES). Its orientation was, in fact, theoretical rather than historical. Classical antiquity was the object of scholarly researches and literary interpretations by the new philological school (Lorenzo Valla, Flavio Biondo, Carlo Sigonio, etc.), who published texts and sifted sources. But precisely because the antique was accepted *en bloc* as an inexhaustible reservoir of knowledge, it was considered as a source and not yet as a possible object of history. On antique art Pliny had written, and all accounts of the artists of antiquity were based on his text, which was translated into Italian in 1473 by Cristoforo Landino.

The monuments of antique art aroused a new interest and were extensively collected. Among the first to make a point of observing them at first hand was Cyriacus of Ancona, a merchant, who, during the first half of the Quattrocento, traveled in Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, and Asia Minor, copying inscriptions and taking notes. Tommaso Fazzello of Sciacca (1490–1570) explored Sicily. Among the first archaeologists were Poggio Bracciolini (*De varietate fortunae urbis Romae*), Flavio Biondo (*Roma instaurata, 1446*), who initiated the study of Roman topography, and the writer known as Prospettivo Milanese (*Antiquarie prospettiche romane*). This literature was further enriched in the 16th century by the contributions of Lucio Mauro, Jean Jacques Boissard, Bonaventura Cavalieri, Ulisse Aldrovandi, and Konrad Peutinger, pioneer in epigraphy, and Hubert Goltzius, in numismatics.

The Middle Ages, on the other hand, were neglected, and remained so until the Counter Reformation occasioned the first studies of Christian archaeology, in the works of Onofrio Panvinio, Ciacconio (Alfonso Chacón), and Antonio Bosio. Postmedieval times were still too close to be viewed with the detachment necessary for historical perspective.

In the 16th century Vasari's *Lives* had three precursors. The so-titled *Libro di Antonio Billi* is a book of notes on artists ranging from Cimabue to Leonardo and Michelangelo (q.v.), perhaps compiled by various hands; it is an important source for the Quattrocento, and was used by later writers, including Vasari. The author known as the Anonimo Magliabechiano left a manuscript which could be considered analogous to a first draft of Vasari's *Lives*; he cites Vasari, and may have left his work unfinished because of the appearance of the *Lives*, in 1550. Finally, there is Giovanni Battista Gelli, who left 20 biographies of artists in an uncompleted manuscript that was not published till 1896.

But Vasari's *Lives*, which follows a traditional scheme, stands alone as the first real and autonomous history of art, by virtue not only of its monumental scope but also of its organization — the integration of the individual biographies into a whole. This development is clearer in the edition of 1550 than in that of 1568; in this second edition numerous additions and corrections somewhat obscure the architectonics of the work. On the other hand, the second edition contains engraved portraits of the artists, which, like the text, testify to Vasari's efforts to render the personages as living beings.

A similar project was contemplated by Paolo Giovio in connection with the portrait gallery at his villa near Como. This was a vast iconographic collection for which he planned an explanatory text on the model of the *Imagines* of Varro. In his writing, however, Giovio got only as far as the classes of physicians and warriors; of his projected writings on artists we have only the three separate eulogies of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael. He also dealt, more briefly, with some contemporary artists in *De viribus illustribus*, written before 1524.

In relation to the structure of the *Lives* it should be noted that Humanistic historiography in general was dominated by the idea of human life as a cycle. Thus Vasari takes from organic nature the concept of a life cycle: the arts, "like human bodies, have their birth, their growing up, their growing old, and their dying." He divides the period from Cimabue to Michelangelo into three ages, corresponding to the infancy, the youth, and the maturity of art. (He sees Cimabue as representing its "rebirth" — the analogy that gave rise to the idea of and the term for the Renaissance.) These three phases are progressively more highly evolved ascending toward an ideal and perfect manner — for Vasari, that of Michelangelo.

If art is, as Vasari believes, the imitation of nature, it is evident that one can speak of progress in art, equating this progress with an increasing proficiency in imitation. Vasari's concept of manner (*maniera*), which corresponds to the modern concept of style, presupposes the existence of numerous modes

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of imitation and reflects his conviction that although style is personal, its perfection can be measured by objective standards.

Vasari gives some evidence of regarding his own time as a decline from the heights represented by Michelangelo's achievements; the modern cycle would thus conclude as the ancient one had. This theory of progress and decadence in art was to have a long life. Vasari's work also crystallized the concept of the Middle Ages as an intermediate period — an age of barbarism between two civilized ages — and helped to diffuse the pejorative connotations of the term "Gothic," which it gradually shed as it came to be applied to a particular style.

As a historian, Vasari makes use of the existent literature on art, of chronicles, of the letters of artists, and of oral tradition. He does not yet make use of documents, as did the art historians of the 17th century. He relies greatly on his own observation of works of art. To increase its scope he traveled extensively in Italy; his descriptions are not always correct in every detail, however, since he had to depend on his memory and his notes and sketches. Aside from the factual errors and inexactitudes arising from the difficulties of gathering such an enormous body of material at first hand and from the inadequacies of the sources, written and oral, there is at times observable in the *Lives* a novelistic or anecdotal element that corresponds to the previously mentioned Humanistic concept of history as an art — an art that aims at rendering its protagonists both alive and exemplary, even resorting to fiction to achieve this end. Finally, we owe to Vasari the distinction between major arts (architecture, sculpture, and painting) and minor arts that was to dominate the historiography of art through the 19th century.

Raffaello Borghini can be considered a successor to Vasari, since the third and fourth books of his *Il Riposo* (1584) are given over to biographies of artists. (The first and second books are largely theoretical.) They are especially valuable for the information they supply on artists too young to be included in Vasari's *Lives* and on north Italian and Venetian artists. Several biographies of individual artists were produced, among them Ascanio Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*, published while the artist was still alive, the *Autobiography* of Benvenuto Cellini (q.v.), and the autobiographical *Memoriale* of Baccio Bandinelli.

In the 16th century regional historiography spread beyond Tuscany. Padua and Venice are represented by Marcantonio Michiel's notes (published in 1800 in the Abate Morelli's *Notizie d'opera di disegno*), which were intended to serve as the groundwork for a series of *Lives* of "modern" painters and sculptors. Pietro Summonte, in a letter to Michiel of 1524, gives an account of the history of art in Naples. Alessandro Lamo in his *Discorso* (1584) gives biographical notices of the Cremonese painters. A comparable spirit of local pride manifests itself in the guidebooks. The first to appear was Francesco Albertini's *Memoriale di molte statue e picture... de Florentia*, published in 1510; it was followed by Pietro Lamo's concise and accurate *Graticola di Bologna*, written about 1560, the voluminous *Venetia città nobilissima* ... (1581) of Francesco Sansovino and Francesco Bocchi's exemplary guide to the artistic monuments of Florence, *Le bellezze della città Fiorenza*. . . . Occupying a position midway between strictly topographical literature and historiography are Bernardinus Scardeonius's *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*. . . (1560), important for its extensive treatment of Paduan artists, and Paolo Morigia's *Nobilità di Milano* (1595).

*The 17th century in Italy.* A new universality of scope was taken on by Italian historiography of art in the 17th century. It was based in Rome, and Rome at this time was an artistic center drawing artists and lovers of art from all parts of Europe. In the course of the 17th century art criticism and historiography passed out of the hands of artists into those of connoisseurs.

These developments are already reflected in the first important historical work of the new century, the *Considerazioni sulla pittura* of the papal physician Giulio Mancini. This work, compiled about 1620, and known to other 17th-century historiographers, was not published. The first part is theoretical; the second contains a series of biographies of artists either omitted by Vasari or postdating him. Here are the first biographies of Caravaggio and the Carraccis (qq.v.), as well as much information on Italian and foreign artists working in Rome. Among Mancini's other unpublished manuscripts is the *Ragguaglio delle pitture. . . in Siena*, dealing with the art of his native Siena, and the *Viaggio per Roma*. The latter is an attempt at a true catalogue of the paintings and painters of Rome; it marks the transition from the traditional pilgrims' guide to the work specifically concerned with the art of Rome, and initiates the tradition continued in the 18th-century guides of the Abate Titi and Giuseppe Vasi.

Mancini's aim is primarily to instruct the connoisseur and collector of painting. He therefore concerns himself with problems new to the literature of art, such as distinguishing originals from copies and forgeries, locating works of art in their proper school and time, restoring, and appraising. He follows Vasari (of whose writings he is generally critical) in maintaining the concept of a cyclical evolution in art — birth, infancy, maturity, old age — but his attempt to establish criteria foı a historical development is new. Mancini recognizes individual diversities in the various periods, schools, and artists, explaining them with reference to the evolution of fashion, of religion, and of political history. While the artist is identified with his period, he is also accorded an individual identity within that period. Mancini here foreshadows the modern distinction between individual style and collective style, or taste. He does not mechanically make the artist a factor of the historical situation; for him, the number of artists active at a given moment depends on the will of God, and an artist of a less-than-perfect era can be superior to many an artist of the era of perfection (which Mancini, like all his contemporaries, identifies with the High Renaissance). His interest in Early Christian art and in the art of the 13th and 14th centuries is remarkable for his time; it was probably this interest that impelled him to rescue artistic individuality from a too rigorous theory of artistic progress.

Further, Mancini attempts to distinguish the various manners or schools — Roman, Lombard, Bolognese, Transalpine — and is the first to single out the "modern" schools of Caravaggio, the Cavalier d'Arpino, and the Carraccis. This determination to define the style or manner of each century, each school, each artist, leads him to establish a parallel between the individuality of the artist, and that of the writer, thus anticipating André Félibien des Avaux.

The rich theoretical content of the writings of Mancini was to reappear, further developed, in the work of Bellori; both men contrast strongly in this respect with the other chroniclers of the Roman baroque, especially with Giovanni Baglione, whose *Lives* appeared in 1642. Baglione's compilation lacks historical system, its structure being based simply on chronological division by successive pontificates. But Baglione's value as a source is enormous. As a painter he was in a position to gather information at first hand, and he deals with a great number of artists, including many from outside Italy. He attempts to reconstruct a biography of each and to give a list of works in chronological order. This tradition was continued by Giovanni Battista Passeri, whose *Lives* reflects the artistic world of mid-17th-century Rome in a most lively manner, retailing sayings and anecdotes — not all to be relied upon. The last of the chroniclers in this vein was Lione Pascoli; his *Lives*, published between 1730 and 1736, is valuable chiefly for the information it contains on the masters of the late Roman baroque.

The *Lives* of Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1672) has a greater significance. Bellori was a littérateur who loved painting, an archaeologist, a numismatist; he was also the librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden. The *Lives* is prefaced by Bellori's famous discourse (1664): *L'idea del pittore, dello scultore, e dell'architetto scelta dalle bellezze naturali, superiore alla natura* (*The idea of the painter, the sculptor, and the architect selected from natural beauties* [*is*] *superior to nature*). This concept of the "idea" of the beautiful is central to Bellori's thought: it is understood in an Aristotelian sense, as an a posteriori result of a selection of the most beautiful parts of nature, not as an a priori requisite of artistic creation. Thus the "Idea," although it originates in nature, surpasses natural beauty by virtue of its selectiveness and becomes the proper model for art. Art, then, becomes the teacher of nature, rather than its pupil. This ideal beauty — absolute and universally valid — embodied in the sculpture of



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antiquity was recaptured in modern times by Raphael (whom Bellori places in opposition to Vasari's ideal, Michelangelo) and by Annibale Carracci. Bellori makes explicit the notions of mannerism as a phase of decadence that succeeded the High Renaissance, and of a new Renaissance represented in the anti-mannerist reaction of Caravaggio and the Carraccis. But while Bellori sees in Caravaggio the naturalistic antithesis to mannerism, in Annibale Carracci and his Bolognese followers he sees the synthesis and the perfection of the "Idea." These premises were to continue to dominate art theory until the time of Winckelmann and neoclassicism.

In Bellori's *Lives* there is no attempt at a chronicle or a complete collection of biographies; rather, the work is a synthetic review of a second Renaissance, which, for Bellori, began with Annibale Carracci and culminated with Carracci's contemporary and friend Carlo Maratti. The synthetic intention expresses itself in Bellori's choice of the most significant biographies. The fact that Caravaggio and Rubens are selected to appear among the greatest of the century's exponents testifies to Bellori's comprehension of their historical importance. Naturally, the classicistic standards of judgment — invention, drawing, decorum — which Bellori endorsed made negative judgments of these painters inevitable, as they prompted the censure of "Il Bamboccio" (Pieter van Laer), of Bernini and Borromini (qq.v.), and of the sculpture of the time in general. It is interesting that, though Bellori considered the art of Augustan Rome an exemplar, he came, like Poussin (q.v.) and Duquesnoy, to prefer Greek art, anticipating Mengs (q.v.) and Winckelmann. Equally important for later thought is Bellori's emphasis on the Horatian theme *Ut pictura poesis* (As with painting, so with poetry), in accordance with which his interpretation of works of art tends to become a translation into words of their mythological and literary content. Bellori also popularized the theory of the deliberate eclecticism of the Carraccis.

Another apex of 17th-century historiography is the *Notizie de' professori del disegno* . . . of Filippo Baldinucci, a Florentine scholar who was the artistic adviser of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. The arrangement of the work is chronological; its scope is European rather than Italian. Baldinucci uses Van Mander (see below) as a source for northern European painters and makes notable judgments on painters of the 17th century up to Rembrandt. Also new in Italian historiography is Baldinucci's emphasis on the graphic arts, an outgrowth of the Florentine penchant for collecting prints and drawings. Among Baldinucci's other scholarly works was the first dictionary attempting to fix the terminology of art, the *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (1681).

Meanwhile regional historiography of art continued to develop throughout Italy. Predictably, this literature incorporates many dissenting opinions on Vasari in particular and Florentine and Roman art historians in general. But although these opinions are often generated by a spirit of local pride, they sometimes embody significant new developments in taste. For Siena, after Mancini, Azzolini-Ugurgieri (*Le pompe sanesi* . . ., 1649) is important; for Emilia, Francesco Scanelli of Forlì (*Il microcosmo della pittura*. . . , 1657), who tried to coordinate the development of the various schools of painting around their leading personalities. The most voluminous historian of Emilian painting was Carlo Cesare Malvasia, a Bolognese cleric, man of letters, and amateur painter. His works, the most important of which is the *Felsina pittrice* (1678), are notable particularly for their emphatic depreciation of Raphael and the "statuesque manner," a depreciation rooted in the Venetian and Correggesque taste of the Emilian school.

In 17th-century Venice the most important historiographers of art were Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini, both painters in the tradition of Palma il Giovane. Ridolfi's *Le maraviglie dell'arte* . . . (1648) is a compendium of biographies of Venetian artists, illustrated by engraved portraits and listing their works, with a profusion of anecdotal material. Boschini's *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (1660) is itself highly picturesque in its literary form — a verse dialogue in the Venetian dialect. Divided into eight "winds," it charts the reader's course through the sea of Venetian painting. In his guidebook to Venice, *Le ricche minere della pittura* (1664), Boschini gives a concise history of Venetian painting from the Bellinis (q.v.) to his own day.

Boschini reacts outspokenly against Vasari, Raphael, and classical sculpture, taking a stand in favor of a pictorial taste. ("Good drawing without color is a body without a spirit.") His analysis of color is complex and searching, individuating tone and the kind of drawing that is the result of the tonal vision; in this he is a precursor of De Piles. Boschini, unlike Bellori, sets no store by content, nor does he believe in a hierarchy of genres; rather, he is interested in the formal values and the pictorial means of the various artists. Thus he is able to appreciate such artists as Jacopo Bassano (q.v.) — considered by the classicists merely a deplorable example of naturalism — and among his contemporaries, Domenico Fetti (q.v.), Jan Liss, and Bernardo Strozzi, and to apprehend the links between non-Italian artists, such as Vélazquez (q.v.) and Rubens, and the art of Venice.

*Post-Renaissance historiography outside Italy*. The historiography of art in other European countries was stimulated by translations of Vasari's *Lives*, which presently found a northern counterpart in Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*. The first book of Van Mander's work, based on Pliny, gives the history of antique art; the second deals with the Italian painters, mainly through translations from Vasari, supplemented by personal notes on the painters the author had known during his sojourn in Italy (e.g., Caravaggio, the Zuccaris, the Cavalier d'Arpino); the third book deals with northern painters, including Germans, starting with Jan van Eyck and going through the 16th century. The three books that make up the last part of the work are theoretical: the author is concerned with symbolic representations and mythology — that is, with the body of literary knowledge then considered necessary to the painter. Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* is the first great enterprise of art historiography in the north; it is, as both its formal dependence on Italian models and its critical point of view testify, a product of the strongly Italianate cultural environment of north European mannerism.

From the same cultural environment not many years later came an equally impressive work on antique art, one that goes well beyond its Italian precedents — the posthumous *De pictura veterum* . . . of Franciscus Junius, a scholar of Heidelberg who lived for a time in Holland and then, after 1620, in England, where he was librarian to the Earl of Arundel, the foremost collector of antiquities of the day. Junius's work was planned as the first historical catalogue of antique art and artists and the most comprehensive collection of theoretical precepts taken from antique sources — all toward serving contemporary artists.

Interest in archaeology in Italy continued unabated during the 17th century, expanding to include Christian art of the late-antique period, as Mancini's writings and the *Roma sotterranea* (1632) of Antonio Bosio indicate. In 1651 Paolo Aringhi's *Roma sotterranea novissima* appeared, and in 1690 Giovanni Ciampini's work on mosaics. Collectors such as Cassiano del Pozzo and Vincenzo Giustiniani, who promoted the assembling of corpora of drawings from antique monuments and published catalogues of their own collections, further stimulated this interest. In 1667 Carlo Dati published a work on the painters of antiquity dedicated to Louis XIV of France.

The Humanistic and classicistic theories stemming from Italy and the faith in the perfection of the antique, implanted largely by Van Mander and Junius, tended, in the Flemish and Dutch writers of the 17th and 18th centuries, to become fixed in schemes that had little relation to the free and varied practice of the times. This rigidity is evident in the outlook of such historiographers as the Fleming Cornelis de Bie (*Het gulden Cabinet* . . . , 1661) and the Dutchman Arnold Houbraken (*De groote Schouburgh* . . . , 1718–21). The latter is an especially important source for the art of the Low Countries, despite the anecdotal rather than critical character of his work. Among Houbraken's successors are Jan van Gool (*De nieuwe Schouburg* . . . , 1750–51) and the unreliable Jacob Campo Weyerman, as well as the Frenchman Jean Baptiste Descamps, whose *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandois* . . . was published in Paris, 1753–64. Their academic approach — the tend-

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ency to look for errors in drawing and decorum — prevented Houbraken and his followers from adequately interpreting the artists with whom they dealt.

In Germany a first attempt at a history of German art appears in Matthias Quadt von Kinkelbach's travel guide *Teutscher Nation Heiligkeit* (1609). Books of this type, which were issued in every country of western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, contain much art historical material. In Germany descriptions of cities and art monuments were included in the work of Paul von Stetten. Particularly in England, where there was as yet no true historiography of art, this kind of literature increased, from John Evelyn's *Diary* (1645) to Jonathan Richardson the Elder's guide to Italy (1722). However, while England, and Spain as well, lagged behind, in Germany a fundamental work of art historiography was produced — Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* (1675–79). The first part of this monumental work comprises an introduction to the three major arts, drawing on (but not citing) Vasari, Serlio, Palladio, (qq.v.), and Van Mander. The second part contains biographies of the major artists from antiquity on, again using such sources as Vasari, Van Mander, Ridolfi, and De Bie, but supplementing them with much valuable material of Sandrart's own. (As a painter he had worked in most of the important artistic centers of Europe.) Especially important are his accounts of the artists with whom he worked in Rome and his information — gleaned at considerable pains from oral sources — on German artists from Schongauer to his own contemporaries. Notable also is the third part of the book, in which Sandrart describes the works of art seen by him in his visits to museums and private collections. This provides interesting indications of the taste of collectors of that time, such as the interest in Oriental art.

In the course of the 17th century France attained a position of first rank in the development of both the theory and the historiography of art. The French Academy, founded in 1648 by men inspired by the precepts of the champion of classicism Nicolas Poussin, became increasingly a center for theoretical discussion, tending to mechanize classicist theory and fit it into rigid schemes. André Félibien was a notable exponent of this trend.

Just when the Academy had entered its most authoritarian phase, under the dictatorship of Charles Lebrun (q.v.), the adherents of rigorous classicism were challenged by a group of academicians who professed an admiration for Rubens. This group was led by Roger de Piles, whose judgments on Venetian and Flemish art were the most advanced of the time. The dispute turned on the rival claims for supremacy of the rational element (canons, rules of perspective, and proportion) and the intuitive element (visual and painterly freedom). If the schematism then so much in vogue is reflected in De Piles's effort to establish an artistic hierarchy, or "balance of painters" (*Cours de peinture par principes*, 1708), there is also an entirely new emphasis on color and the concept of taste. This concept, which had been advanced by the Spaniard Gracián, translates the idea of physical taste (*goût du corps*) to the realm of the intellect (*goût de l'esprit*) to indicate an intuitive capacity to enjoy and appreciate the beautiful. De Piles uses the term "taste" where other writers on art used "manner"; he distinguishes between *goût naturel* (taste based on the study of nature), *goût artificiel* (taste acquired through study of the works of the masters), and *goût de nation* (Roman, German, Venetian, etc.). This new concept, with its subjective implications, cleared the way for the thesis of the pluralism of tastes and its essential subjectivity, which was eventually to triumph over the axiom of a single and absolute *grand goût* — that is, the classical.

Even more important for historiography was the so-called *querelle des anciens et des modernes*. Still generally held was the conviction that there had been, far back in the past, an age of perfection, now irretrievably lost: such was the authority of classic antiquity that this admitted of no discussion. The concept of absolute perfection precluded the idea of progress, and later civilizations could only represent either a decadence or a renascence, depending on their nearness to or distance from that absolute and unsurpassable ideal. Until this premise was invalidated, modern historiography could not emerge.

Francis Bacon, in England, was the first to advance the proposition of the superiority of modern times to the classic past: it is in fact the moderns who have the "wisdom of the ancients," because they are able to draw on a more extensive experience. This thesis, which converted the classic world into a primitive one, the age of wisdom into the childhood of man, opened the door to the romantic philosophers. It was taken up in France by Descartes and was applied to the field of the visual arts by Charles Perrault (*Parallèles des anciens et des modernes*, 1688). Perrault held that modern architecture surpassed that of antiquity and made a distinction between relative beauty, which could vary like fashion, and absolute beauty. This distinction, implying the relativity of taste and the possibility of its evolution, enabled theorists such as Jean Pierre de Crousaz and Jean Baptiste Dubos (*Réflexions critiques*, 1719) to maintain that all tastes were legitimate, at the very time when other new ideals of beauty — the graceful, the picturesque, the sublime — were in fact being formulated.

*The 18th century.* The 18th century ushered in the recognition of the autonomy of art — which was to lead to the rise of esthetics as a philosophic discipline — and a new concept of history as evolution. In the field of theory (see TREATISES), the concepts of genius, imagination, sentiment, and taste assume a new prominence that leads toward recognition of the essential subjectivity of artistic creation. This trend continues to be opposed by the classicist tradition, which reaffirms the objective nature of absolute beauty. Contrast and compromise between these two ways of seeing dominated this century, whose termination was to see the birth of the modern concept of art history. The new emphasis on subjectivity is reflected in the 18th-century reevaluation of the Middle Ages and in its affinity for exotic art (see EXOTICISM). Giovanni Battista Vico (*Principii d'una scienza nuova*, 1725) wrote that the great poets and great painters alike were born not in epochs of enlightenment but in epochs of barbarism; Diderot came to see "more fervor in barbarous peoples than in civilized, more fervor in the Hebrews than in the Greeks, more in the Greeks than in the Romans."

The discovery of beauty diverse from and contrary to the classic ideal, together with the thesis of the relativity of taste, was to lead to the history of esthetics or of taste and its changes. Moreover the new concepts of *esprit des nations* and *esprit du temps* enter into historiography; thus historians seek in an architecture of the past the expression of the people who created it, their customs and their way of life. Another factor that stimulated the feeling for nonclassic beauty was the acceptance of the rococo, interpreted through the concepts of grace, the picturesque, and the sublime. Among the first writers in France to express this taste for the rococo was Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville (*Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, 1745–52), who, while following the outlines of traditional historiography, accepted all schools and all artists as valid, rejecting the hierarchy of genres and emphatically approving Flemish and Dutch art, the landscape and the portrait. Similar tendencies are observable in the *Vies des premiers peintres du roi* (1752) of François Bernard Lépicié and in the varied activities of the Comte de Caylus, a collector and archaeologist who wrote impartially on Egyptian, Etruscan, Roman, and Gallic antiquities and on contemporaneous artists such as Edme Bouchardon, Pierre Mignard, and Antoine Watteau (q.v.). Charles Nicolas Cochin's *Voyage d'Italie*... (1758) was the expression of Venetian-influenced rococo taste. Classics of this time were the *Abecedario*... of the great connoisseur and collector Pierre Jean Mariette and the *Cabinet de singularités d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et gravure*... of Florent Le Comte (1699–1700); Pierre Monier had published in 1698 an attempt at a general synthesis of the history of art (*Histoire des arts qui ont rapport au dessin*...).

The new interest in the national antiquities already evinced in the works of Félibien and Caylus culminated in Bernard de Montfaucon's *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise* (1729–33), in 5 volumes, and his great publication of antique objects of all kinds in 10 volumes (1719), a true monument of 18th-century erudition.

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The rise of the middle class in France favored the criticism of the *Salons*, which became established as annual exhibitions in 1737. This new form of writing about art was a departure from the traditional treatises and lives of artists. La Font de Saint-Yenne wrote the first reviews of the *Salons*, but it was Diderot who established this typically modern and bourgeois type of art criticism. He admires Chardin (q.v.) and the painters of humble subjects, even if he is not wholly free of the classicistic patterns of thought still in this century so deeply rooted.

In England the influence of Roger de Piles is evident in the writings of Jonathan Richardson the Elder, the author of *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France, etc.* (1722) and of a theoretical treatise (1728) expounding the fundamentals of the science of connoisseurship. His connoisseur's taste serves as an antidote to classicist theory, enabling him to respond to every kind of art. Richardson admires Rubens and Rembrandt (qq.v.), and terms their anti-classical "sins" splendid. Another historiographer of the first rank was Horace Walpole (q.v.), whose works include a *Catalogue of Engravers* . . . (1763) and *Anecdotes of Painting in England* . . . (1762–71), a series of biographies of English painters. Walpole clearly shows a taste for both the classic and the Gothic.

The Gothic revival movement (see NEO-GOTHIC STYLES) has its literary counterpart in Browne Willis's survey of the English cathedrals (1727–30) and in Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture, Improved, by Rules and Proportions* (1747); other works by Langley deal with classic architecture and the garden. Important also is James Bentham's *The History of Gothic and Saxon Architecture in England* (1798). The review *Archaeology*, founded in 1770, gave special attention to the study of the national monuments. A different direction was taken by Sir William Chambers, an architect of standing, who wrote *Designs of Chinese Buildings etc.* . . . (1753) and *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) to encourage the adoption of Oriental models.

The principal 18th-century Spanish work on art is Antonio Palomino de Castro's *El museo pictórico* . . . (1715–24), a comprehensive exposition of the history, esthetics, and techniques of painting as practiced in Spain. A comparable work in the field of topographical literature is Antonio Ponz's *Viaje en España* (1772); it exemplifies the rise of interest in national antiquities. Even in Italy, always less favorable to the Gothic, there appeared books on medieval art; Giovanni Lami's history of Italian painting and sculpture in the period 1000–1300, published in 1757, is such a work. Among scholarly productions — lexicons, catalogues, corpora, compilations — there should be mentioned Giovanni Gaetano Bottari's collection of letters on art (1754–73), the *Abecedario* . . . of Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi (1704), and the *Enciclopedia metodica* . . . of Pietro Zani (1794).

Four other pioneer works claim a place in this enumeration. In Switzerland, Johann Caspar Füessli (or Füssli), a friend of Winckelmann and Mengs, wrote a history of Swiss painters (1755–56). In Germany Johann Rudolf Füessli compiled the first German-language dictionary of artists (1763); it was followed by Georg Kaspar Nagler's *Künstlerlexicon*. The German archaeologist Johann Friedrich Christ produced the first lexicon of monograms (1747).

Regional historiography underwent a notable expansion in the 18th century, especially in Italy, where almost every center of any account had its art historian or historians. In the profusion of names three stand out because of the paucity of previous art-historical literature for the cities represented: for Naples, Bernardo de Dominici (1720); for Genoa, Carlo Giuseppe Ratti (1766, 1780); for Verona, Bartolomeo dal Pozzo.

*Winckelmann and the renewal of art history.* The discipline of art history in the modern sense had its origin in the neoclassic period, in the sphere of archaeology, whose enormous literary production tended to be antiquarian and erudite rather than stylistic in its interests. Running counter to this tendency, Johann Joachim Winckelmann was impelled by the prevailing anonymity of ancient art to write not a history of artists, in the Italian tradition, but a history of the beautiful — that is, of form. In his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764), interest is focused on the monument itself, which for him becomes the object of history, and is interpreted on the basis not only of content but also of form. Works of art are considered as the expression of the organic development of style from one era to another, and the aim of historiography becomes the investigation of the formal evolution of art.

Winckelmann pronounced Greek art the only great art of antiquity, thus stating an a priori preference (expressed previously by Bellori and Poussin), based at least partly on legend, inasmuch as the Greek originals he praised were known almost entirely through Roman copies. Since the beautiful is one, eternal, and immutable, it follows that every evolution of art is either an advance or a decline in reference to that fixed point. The historical scheme proposed by Winckelmann has four divisions: an archaic period covering Greek art up to Phidias — the modern equivalent being the art of the Renaissance to Raphael; a period of the sublime, taking in Phidias and his contemporaries — the modern art of Raphael and Michelangelo; a period of the beautiful, from Praxiteles to Lysippos and Apelles — modern art from Correggio to Guido Reni; a period of imitation leading to the death of art — modern art from the Carraccis to Carlo Maratti. Obviously the evolution of modern art was similar or parallel to that of ancient art, in accordance with the old cyclical conception of history.

It was a contemporary of Winckelmann's, Gotthold Lessing, who coined the new term to designate the fine arts: *die bildenden Künste* (the visual arts). The phrase signalizes the reaction against *Ut pictura poesis* in favor of purely formal values.

A leading place must be given to the *Storia pittorica d'Italia* . . . (1792) of Luigi Lanzi, which only superficially follows the Italian tradition of a historiography based on lives of individual artists. Lanzi was truly an innovator in that while he preserved, even enhanced, the sense of the artist's individuality, he replaced empirical biography by stylistic biography, external facts and anecdotes by internal facts relating to the formation and evolution of the artist's style. Furthermore, the personality is not treated separately but is incorporated into a general development dealing with the schools and with taste.

While Winckelmann inaugurated the tendency to abstract historical constructions that was to remain typical of German art history, Lanzi retained the connoisseur's approach of an empirical evaluation of works and artists. Thus the structure of Lanzi's history is not determined by abstract schemes but by the living fabric of formal and cultural interrelationships among artists and schools. Each artist is given his place in this fabric on the basis of his observed relation to the general development, rather than on the basis of traditional systems of valuation. Hence, for example, Lanzi's exaltation of the heads of schools, of the great masters who seem to determine the direction art will take in their place and time. Lanzi's empirical reconciliation of stylistic realities with categories dictated by time and place constitutes a model for methods of classification still in use.

A different approach, closer to Winckelmann's, was taken in the first large-scale treatment of medieval art, Seroux d'Agincourt's history covering the 4th to the 16th century. This author arrives at a history of art by way of the study of individual works, considered as expressions of the artistic language. A successor to this volume is Leopoldo Cicognara's *Storia della scultura* . . . *in Italia fino al secolo di Canova* . . . , but this work exalts Renaissance sculpture as compared with that of the medieval and baroque periods, in accordance with neoclassic taste. More traditional is the *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste* . . . (1798–1808) of Johann Dominik Fiorillo, a native of Hamburg; a complete exposition of the history of art in the civilized countries of Europe, this presents a huge mass of material based chiefly on earlier literature rather than on the direct experience of objects.

*Idealistic and romantic historiography.* The 18th century had developed the concepts of taste, of *esprit des nations*, and of *esprit du temps* in an attempt to supersede the pragmatic approach and to reconstruct a universal order. But there was still lacking a synthesis of the various specialized histories and the concepts of a total organic development. Romanticism marked a great advance in this direction, for historiography in general

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and for the historiography of art in particular, because its aim was to understand history as a totality, that is, as the history of ideal values. It aspired to create an organic synthesis of the individual histories, to seek out the relations existing between the various spheres of knowledge.

The influence of idealism was decisive in this impulse toward synthesis. The emergence of esthetics, which viewed art as an autonomous activity of the spirit, naturally led to a concept of the history of art as a history of artistic activity, which is inseparable from the development of the spirit in its totality. According to J. G. Herder, who adopted Rousseau's idea of humanity, history is the working out of a divine plan of which art is but one aspect. Herder also put forward the thesis of the indestructibility of the spiritual qualities of a race. According to A. W. von Schlegel, individual genius is the expression of the collective genius of humanity. According to Hegel, art is not an imitation of nature but of the ideal — a revolutionary principle. Nevertheless, although the 18th century was sensitive to pluralism in taste, idealism was fettered by its adherence to the neoclassical movement, with its concept of a single, perfect, and therefore immutable ideal for art.

Friedrich von Schlegel revealed an anticlassical temper when he saw in Jan van Eyck the Germanic knightly ideal, rediscovered the Italian painters of the Quattrocento — Perugino, Giovanni Bellini — and censured the Carraccis. The art historians who most clearly reflect this idealistic point of view are Heinrich Gustav von Hotho, author of a history of German and Flemish painting (1842–43), which tended to emphasize the ideal of various artistic periods more than individual personalities, and Carl Schnaase (1798–1875), who wrote a general history of art accenting the religious, spiritual, and sociological aspects of various epochs from antiquity on, both in the Occident and in the Orient.

Already evident in these writers is the other fundamental element of romantic historiography, a sentimental predilection for the nonclassic past. This involved a reevaluation of medieval and pre-Renaissance art — a reevaluation that paralleled the Gothic revival and the pre-Raphaelite, Purist, and Nazarene movements. From this context springs the work of Alexis François Rio (*De l'art chrétien*, orig. ed., 1836 ff.), which in dealing with primitive Christian art exalts imagination and sentiment, in the belief that the recognition of these is an indispensable prerequisite to the formal comprehension of the art. A somewhat later work, Lord Alexander Lindsay's *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847), initiated John Ruskin into the study of Italian art.

Ruskin's voluminous writings form an imposing literary monument of English romanticism. He aims at a historical and spiritual reevocation of the work of art, repudiating rules, technical skill, the concept of "good drawing." To form and the rational he opposes sentiment and love; he appreciates the most intuitive and sensory visual elements, such as color and effects of light and shade. Particularly sensitive to the religious quality of Gothic art, Ruskin in general looked for moral values in art, but he did not confuse these with the didactic element. Another English idealist was Walter Pater, whose essays on Botticelli, Luca della Robbia, Leonardo, and Giorgione (collected in *The Renaissance*, 1873, 1888), translate works of art into literary or poetic equivalents, subtly capturing the intimate essence of the work and the artist.

In Italy, Pietro Selvatico was an exponent of this trend. In his *Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno* (1852–56) he echoes Rio (and Rumohr, Kugler, and Coindet), maintaining that the goal of art is "the manifestation of moral forces and ideas of the mind, of great movements of the soul and the character."

*Relations between historiography and modern art.* France's contribution was outstandingly important in establishing a connection between historiography and modern art. As the 19th century progressed, the distance widened between art and life. Working in a new middle-class society, artists found themselves increasingly in conflict with public and official taste. They tended to be isolated still more as a result of the new industrial production of artistic objects. This situation gave rise to the principle of "art for art's sake" and the deliberate self-isolation of the artist.

Further, historiography lost touch with the artists of the time; contrary to all previous historiographical tradition, historians occupied themselves only with the art of the past. It was in France that the criticism of modern art developed, in the work of poets, novelists, journalists, and politicians rather than of professional art historians. Relations with contemporary art were in fact maintained chiefly by the critics of the *Salons*, the successors of Diderot.

The field was at first divided between the neoclassicists, who championed Ingres, and the romantics, who championed Delacroix (q.v.); these factions carried on in a new context the old quarrel between the Poussinists and the Rubenists, between drawing and color. The romantic outlook and the critical principles developed to deal with the realism and naturalism of much mid-19th-century art proved conducive to new ways of seeing earlier art as well. Stendhal wrote a history of Italian painting (1817) that was rich in romantic psychological interpretations, yet he was capable of understanding Constable. A naturalistic point of view is reflected in the criticism of Théophile Gautier and of the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, who sought to arouse interest in rococo painting and Japanese art.

Eugène Fromentin, in *Les maîtres d'autrefois*, studied Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Hals, and Jacob van Ruisdael (qq.v.) from the point of view of his own taste, that of a realist; among moderns he praised Delacroix, Decamps, Corot, and Théodore Rousseau. Persuaded of the subjectivity of art, he rejected the hierarchy of genres and the traditional classicist prejudices. Théophile Thoré-Burger was drawn by the same predilection for modern realistic art — he wrote on the *Salons* 1832–68 — to the discovery of Vermeer, an artist till then entirely neglected, and to an admiration for Frans Hals (q.v.).

Finally, the criticism of the poets and litterateurs Charles Baudelaire, Emile Zola, Octave Mirabeau, Théodore Duret, Philippe Burty, and Louis Emile Edmond Duranty takes us into the realm of the controversy over impressionism. J. K. Huysmans in *L'art moderne* (1883) and *Certains* (1889) was among the first to appreciate the impressionists.

*From romanticism to Positivism.* Another fundamental aspect of romantic historiography was the fusion of scholarly erudition and historical interests. From the beginning of the 19th century, the documentary orientation became increasingly important — an orientation that favored the historian's confining himself to the verification of facts and eschewing philosophy and speculation.

In contrast to the 18th century, the 19th produced few treatises on esthetics. The most notable writings in this field were those of Hippolyte Taine, the leading exponent of Positivism. Beginning in 1865, he wrote a number of essays on art, of which the best-known is his *Philosophie de l'art* (1881). Taine considers the work of art to be closely related to a context that is not merely artistic but is composed of the characteristic elements (race, climate, customs, etc.) of the historical period and the place of its origin, in fact, to be the direct result of a total environment. Seeing the work of art as the direct resultant of environmental factors, and therefore limiting the effect of individual freedom, Taine falls into determinism and transforms the dynamic history of romantic idealism into mechanistic causality. Nevertheless his work was important for the stimulus it provided to concrete research into objective environmental factors, as well as for its restatement of the principle (to which he was not always faithful) of accepting all schools and tastes.

The tendency to classify works, to make use of a scientific method, to separate and systematize the various disciplines, was the fundamental movement of the 19th century; it had its origins largely in the climate of thought of Positivism, the philosophy that represents the triumph of empiricism. Several factors contributed to the diffusion of the factual attitude. In the first place, the establishment of public museums throughout Europe placed students in direct contact with their artistic inheritance, making possible the empirical classification of objects of the most disparate regions and eras. At the same time, scholarly societies were founded, and the scope of their activity

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expanded rapidly. In England the Society of Dilettanti had been in existence since 1734; in 1752 the Society of Antiquaries (at first concerned with English antiquities, later with classical antiquities) came into being. The Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France was founded in 1817. These societies (see INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS) and the ever more numerous historical and archaeological academies sponsored such enterprises as excavations, publications, and research.

In the early 19th century there appeared the first university chairs devoted exclusively to the history of art: in Göttingen, with J. D. Fiorillo as professor; in Berlin, with G. F. Waagen; in Vienna; and elsewhere. In the course of the century more chairs were endowed, and they became more specialized.

Further, reviews and periodicals were founded, providing a medium for the essays and articles that have become the predominant form of modern scholarship. Here, too, England was in the forefront: the periodical *Archaeology* began publication in 1770. The year 1828 marked the origin of the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (later the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome), which published a *Bollettino* and *Annali*. In 1837 appeared the Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς of Athens, in 1843 the *Archäologische Zeitung* of Berlin, in 1844 the *Annales archéologiques* (concerned especially with medieval archaeology) of Adolphe Napoléon Didron. Thereafter came many others — the *Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale*, the *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* of the Germanisches National-Museum in Nürnberg, and *Kunstblatt*, to name a few. To sum up, the 19th century witnessed the gradual creation of that vast and complex structure of learning within and through which scholars work today.

The appearance of histories so comprehensive as to require publication in installments — vast syntheses reflecting the romantic ambition to achieve a "universal history" — likewise indicates a new desire to adhere to facts and to organize them scientifically. This gave rise to the attitude that confers on art history the status of a scholarly discipline — an attitude already evident in F. A. Wolf's manual *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft* (1807) and K. O. Müller's *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst* (1830). Müller is the first author to use the term "archaeology" in the sense of the science of antique monuments, and to make a systematic classification of his material: theory, sources, history of research, topography of monuments, architecture, sculpture, painting, iconography. The manual of Franz Kugler (1842) groups works according to their formal characteristics, establishing the division of art into the primitive, classical, medieval, and modern categories still used in many areas. Other notable manuals are those of Wilhelm Lübke (*Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, 1860) and Anton Springer (*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 1875).

On the other hand, the method of dealing with separate problems in essays or articles was also evolving. The first to organize his studies in this form was Karl Friedrich von Rumohr; in *Italienische Forschungen* (1827–31), he investigated early sources and corrected some of Vasari's errors. After this, Germany took the lead in the production of works of this kind. In 1839 appeared the first volume of Johann David Passavant's monograph on Raphael, a work of systematic research culminating in a catalogue raisonné. Rumohr and Passavant represent the beginnings of what might be called systematic connoisseurship. The tradition was continued by Gustav Friedrich Waagen, director, from 1823, of the Berlin Museum and author of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*; the number of collections that he visited was enormous, and his direct experience of works of art exceptional.

Perhaps the greatest of the 19th-century connoisseur-art historians was Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1820–97). Unaided by the modern tool of photography, Cavalcaselle, together with his collaborator J. A. Crowe, traveled through Europe taking written and graphic notes to serve as the basis for his monumental histories of Flemish painting (1857), Italian painting (1864), and north Italian painting (1871), as well as the still useful monographs on Titian and Raphael. (All these works were written in collaboration with J. A. Crowe.) Paralleling Cavalcaselle's interest in the Renaissance and the Italian primitives is that of Jakob Burckhardt, embodied in his *Cicerone* and *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. In the latter, as the title indicates, works of art serve merely as the point of departure for a broad study of Renaissance culture as a whole; it is not a work of connoisseurship. Wilhelm von Bode, one of the most active scholars of the later 19th century, owed much to the influence of Cavalcaselle.

A figure of the utmost significance in the development of connoisseurship was Giovanni Morelli (1816–91), who wrote under the pseudonym Ivan Lermolieff-Schwarze. Coming to the study of art from the field of the natural sciences, Morelli sought to establish objective criteria and a scientific method for identifying autograph works of artists and distinguishing them from those of other artists and from copies or forgeries. He returned to the old notion of "manner," in the sense of an individual artistic handwriting discernible in such minor configurations as the form of an ear, of a hand, of drapery, and he devoted himself to the attribution of paintings on the basis of these characteristic elements. Starting with works whose authenticity could not be doubted, he established order among the attributions in many galleries (Munich, Dresden, Berlin, and the Borghese and Doria Pamphili galleries in Rome). Morelli was himself a collector, and his methods (expounded in *Princip und Methode*) were of particular relevance in a period of rapid expansion of the art market.

The achievements of Morelli exercised a noteworthy influence on Franz Wickhoff, Bernard Berenson, and Adolfo Venturi, and also on archaeologists such as Adolf Furtwängler. In his *Meisterwerke* . . . (1893), a treatment of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, Furtwängler attempted to reconstruct the artistic personalities of the masters by matching the comments in antique sources with the preserved monuments and by making stylistic comparisons. J. Overbeck, K. Friederichs, H. von Brunn, and others had sought to establish relations between sources and monuments, studying the latter in the copies, and giving more attention to iconography than to quality or style. Furtwängler's great advance was that he tried, as it were, to see the original through the copy. In this he was followed by Kalkmann, Lange, Della Seta, Lippold, and others.

Positivism was favorable, too, to the development of auxiliary research in the field of art history, particularly the critical examination of sources. Search was made for the reliable written source as well as for the authentic work of art. After E. Müller's *Geschichte der Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten* (1834–37) came, in 1850, Otto Jahn's fundamental study on Pliny; in 1868 appeared Overbeck's *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*. For archaeologists the study of written sources became standard.

The greatest contribution to the study of written sources was made by the Vienna school. Under the editorship of its founder, R. von Eitelberger, appeared, in 1871, the first of the *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, a series including such important works as H. Janitschek's *Leone Battista Alberti's kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften* (1877) and W. Kallab's *Vasaristudien*. Julius von Schlosser, whose monumental work on the literature of art will be discussed below, was a product of the Vienna school.

Under Franz Wickhoff the collecting of documents, the study of miniatures and drawings, and auxiliary studies such as paleography and diplomatics flourished at the University of Vienna. Wickhoff's greatest contribution to the history of art was probably his *Die Wiener Genesis* (1895; Eng. trans., *Roman Art*, 1900), which for the first time treated Roman art as an entity distinct from Greek art having its own character and originality.

The study of sources and documents was impressively represented in Italy by Gaetano Milanesi, who published what is still the definitive edition of Vasari's *Lives* and was responsible for bringing to light much archival material, particularly on Sienese art. The list of those who were active in archival research includes, among others, Bertolotti, Campori, Scotti-Bertinelli, and Karl Frey, who in 1892 published the Anonimo Magliabechiano and the *Libro di Antonio Billi*.

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Another developing field of research was iconography. The period of antiquity was investigated by Ennio Quirino Visconti, whose studies were followed by the fundamental works of Overbeck and Alexander Conze. Medieval iconographic studies grew out of the description of the typological windows of the Cathedral of Bourges by Cahier and Martin (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, 1847–56) and the works of Didron (e.g., *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, grecque et latine*, 1845).

As archaeological excavations and restorations progressed (see ARCHAEOLOGY: RESEARCH AND DISCOVERIES), the collection and classification of material essential to the construction of the history of art continued. The latter process is exemplified by the first great lexicons — among them the Pauly-Wissowa classical encyclopedia and F. X. Kraus's encyclopedic works on Christian antiquities — and by the first modern corpora.

*The history of styles and of architecture.* As has been said, the formation and reorganization of public museums in the 19th century strongly influenced the course of scholarship, posing the problem of the classification of objects and affording students direct access to a large body of works of art. The Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie was opened in Vienna in 1864; in London the collections of what was to become the Victoria and Albert Museum had been accumulating since 1852. Lesser collections of "minor," or "applied," arts were multiplying throughout Europe (see MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS). In Vienna, through the efforts of Eitelberger, continuous contact was maintained between the University and the Museum, and methods of attribution and identification and the history of techniques were taught. But because of the customary anonymity in the "minor arts" and the traditional prejudice against them, this field was especially vulnerable to the Positivist tendency to treat art objects according to a method not unlike that of the natural sciences, and the art historian tended to be transformed into a classifier of specimens. Gottfried Semper, author of *Der Stil in den technischen Künsten* (1860–63) locates the origin of the essential forms — the types and symbols of art — in technique. In his view, the artistic form of a work depends exclusively on its material, on the instruments used to work the material, and on the object's utilitarian end. This mechanistic and materialistic view of causation gave rise to the abstract history of styles that was for some time rampant, especially in the fields of architecture and of the applied arts (e.g., furniture). This phase did, however, produce some useful general works, such as those of C. J. Labarte, E. Molinier, L. Magne, and, for antiquity, H. Blümner.

From the 18th century on, the historiography of architecture, still undeveloped as compared with the theoretical literature in the field, undertook to illustrate the sources of the contemporary eclecticism, that is, of the various styles. A pioneering work was the *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* . . . of Johann Fischer von Erlach (see FISCHER VON ERLACH), which covered Oriental as well as Western architecture. Francesco Milizia, author of the *Dizionario degli architetti*, was a major exponent of the neoclassical taste, while in France Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (q.v.), in his monumental *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, contributed to the rehabilitation of the Middle Ages and the national tradition. Selvatico (see above) propounded a typical eclectic theory: the architect should avail himself of the styles that flourished in past civilizations and, according to the function of the building, construct basilicas in the Gothic style, houses in the Renaissance style, cafés in the Moorish style, and so on.

These 19th-century historical essays are in general based on a superficial typological characterization. A typical example is Auguste Choisy's erudite and engineering-oriented *Histoire de l'Architecture* (1899), which treats the architecture of all civilizations, from prehistoric to modern (including the Oriental), according to the materials used, the methods of construction, the structure, and the type of building. The author attempts also to determine for each civilization the typical proportions, the use of optical illusion, the influence of the social structure on the building types, but he does all this through schematized description that amounts to classification. Thus he constructs a history without artists and without esthetic ideals, in which one never understands the reasons why a building has artistic validity or the relation of its style to the history of art in general. Many other general texts bearing titles such as *History and Philosophy of Styles* or *How to Recognize Styles* could be cited; this genre was especially in vogue at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

*Pure form and the historiography of art.* The concept of art as pure form (or pure visibility) was a reaction to the emphasis on content that had dominated the historiography of art for centuries. Since the Renaissance the work of art had been viewed in terms both of the subject represented — content — and of a complex of visual elements (lines, volumes, colors) — form. But according to the prevailing concept, based on the theme *Ut pictura poesis*, the work was a sort of wordless poem and was valued more for its literary content than for its formal qualities. In the latter half of the 19th century, however, esthetic theory and the antisentimental, antinaturalistic trend which produced and was fed by impressionism brought into focus the need to consider form apart from its connection with the natural world.

Robert Zimmermann, a follower of Herbart — who had propounded an anti-idealist philosophy stressing the importance of the separateness of the arts, of the purity of each branch of art — published his *Aesthetik* in 1858–65. He differentiated between the arts by classifying them in three groups: art whose mode of representation is material or tactile (*Zusammenfassend*), art whose mode of representation depends upon perception (color and chiaroscuro), and art that represents thought (poetry). The painter Hans von Marées led Konrad Fiedler and Adolf von Hildebrandt in the direction of formalism. Another impulse in this direction was provided by the psychological theory of *Einfühlung* (empathy) advanced by Robert Vischer in 1875. Vischer held that sentiment expresses itself in psychological symbols, assuming external forms (or colors) by a process of analogy: for instance, a vertical line elevates the spirit, a horizontal line broadens it, a broken line is more affecting than a straight. (The theory was not new; it had been propounded in the late 16th century by Lomazzo.) Hence arose the late-19th- and early-20th-century propensity for analyzing the formal elements of a work of art in order to grasp their value as symbols of the artist's feelings.

But it was Konrad Fiedler who really created the theory of pure form. Rejecting the concepts of Beauty and of Art, accepting the existence only of particular arts, he founded a science of art based on visual or formal laws — laws created by genius.

The Vienna school adhered to this position, beginning with Wickhoff (who, although he held himself aloof from problems of esthetics, used the terms "plastic," "pictorial," "illusionistic," "expressionistic") and continuing with Alois Riegl, a pupil of Zimmermann and hence educated in formalism. Riegl, recognizing the importance of the creative personality, took a position opposed both to romantic historiography and to Positivism. He assailed the old theories that contrasted ages of perfection with ages of decadence and fought the distinction between arts as major or minor. After the publication, in 1893, of *Stilfragen*, a history of the genesis of ornament from ancient Egyptian to Islamic art, he concerned himself with the early Middle Ages and with the baroque — the very eras that were commonly considered decadent. To the materialistic causation of Semper he counterposed an idealistic principle. Forms are transformed, but what is the force that actuates the process? It is artistic volition (*Kunstwollen*) — whether individual, of a period, or of a people (*Volksgeist*) — a force that works through psychological processes based on the physiology of the senses: haptic (tactile) to optical, objective to subjective. The work of art is always both a representation and a stylization, and what matters is to recognize the coherence or incoherence of the artistic vision. Thus Riegl studied decorative types and their development but insisted on the spiritual and creative force that determines them (for him the creative force struggles against nature, a position contrary to that of Semper); he related the types to the cultural character of the time. Dealing with epochs and arts in which anonymity prevailed, Riegl composed,

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rather than a history of artists, a history of problems — without, however, allowing it to become an abstract history of styles.

Some noteworthy formulations on physical space and artistic space, the value of time and rhythm in art, and the continuity between tactile and optical vision were enunciated by August Schmarsow, a student of architecture and follower of Vischer. But it was Heinrich Wölfflin who integrated cultural history, psychology, and formal analysis into a historiographic system. His method, which was destined to exert great influence, finds its fullest expression in *Renaissance und Barock*, 1888; *Die klassische Kunst* (*Classic Art*), 1899; and *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (*Principles of Art History*), 1915. In the last-named work, Wölfflin analyzes the evolution from one way of seeing, that of the Renaissance, to an opposite way, that of the baroque. He enumerates five aspects of the evolution: (1) from the linear to the painterly; (2) from vision on a plane to vision in depth; (3) from closed form to open form; (4) from multiplicity to unity; (5) from clearness to unclearness. Such schemes are useful in characterizing the historical evolution of form in individual and general styles and are, in fact, in current use. They represent a major historiographical outgrowth of the theory of pure form.

*Art history as the history of civilization.* There has existed since the Renaissance a school of historians whose primary interest has been in a synthesis, a total vision of historical periods, the relations between art, religion, and society. This school naturally tends to slight the personalities of individual artists, or at best to use them as cultural documents.

The documentary approach was important also in the works of 19th-century cultural historians. Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, for example, demonstrates in masterly fashion how a historical period can be studied as an integral whole, without a formalized methodology. Like Gregorovius, Burckhardt sets forth the sources and the facts rather than his own ideas, allowing the historical image of the period to form itself in the reader's mind. Eugène Müntz, similarly, gathered together objective material for his reconstructions (1888–95) of the ambients of the great patrons and of the various courts, studying cultural tradition (history, religion, customs), style, and techniques — in sum, the culture and taste of an era and an environment, the soil in which works of art are rooted. Henry Thode sought the origins of Italian Renaissance art in the new mysticism of St. Francis (*Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, 1885); in the opposition between Christian content and pagan form in Michelangelo's art he discerned the end of the Renaissance (*Michelangelo und das Ende der Renaissance*, 1902–12).

Some art monographs of this period can also be considered essays in the history of culture — Grimm's on Michelangelo and Raphael and Justi's on Velázquez, to cite only two.

This movement in historiography culminated in the works of Max Dvořák (1874–1921) of the Vienna school, who interpreted the history of art as a history of the spirit (*Geistesgeschichte*). Dvořák fused the history of abstract form with the history of culture. He sought in forms and in artistic idioms *per se* the key to the doctrines, ideas, and systems of an era. Shunning determinism, he demonstrated the parallels between historical phenomena, but he avoided making one depend on another. Each individual work of art constitutes its own final end, expressing a concept which is not a theoretical program but entirely one with the work. Art for the 5th-century Greek was the objectivization of the perfection of nature, while for medieval man it was a testimony to the eternal verities. Giotto's creative process is different from that of Masaccio. Only by studying the orientations of thought and feeling can one understand how they affect artists' work, and how artists expound new ideas in their art. Finally, Dvořák places the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the baroque era on the same plane, and he studies the evolution of artistic forms through these centuries in relation to the evolution of the human spirit.

*The 20th century: General directions and methodological problems.* The historiography of art in the 20th century pursues, in general, the paths laid down in the 19th, even if these have to a large degree become intercommunicating and have turned in new directions. The chief innovations of 20th-century art history consist in a reaction against 19th-century pragmatism and an increased awareness of contemporary art. The experience of the present has, in fact, become once again the norm by which the past is judged — a reversal of the position whose greatest spokesman was Winckelmann. This new view has reestablished the principle that the art of the past is not an immutable reality: not only does the past condition the present but our view of the past is a function of present reality; there does not exist a truly objective historical reality — only our subjective vision and interpretation of history.

The closer contact between historiography and modern art (evidenced by the fact that many contemporary art historians are students of both historical and modern art) and the intervention of artists in the theoretical problems of the visual arts have led to the rediscovery of whole new civilizations, artistically speaking. Artistic values have been recognized, for instance, in prehistoric and archaic art, in folk art and primitive art, in Oriental art. Indeed, current historiography seems to be moving beyond limitations of taste toward a truly universal synthesis of artistic phenomena.

This movement has been paralleled by an international expansion of the study of art history. In the United States the start of art historical studies was signalized by the appearance in 1912 of Allan Marquand's monograph on the Della Robbias; in 1913 the first American art historical periodical, *The Art Bulletin*, made its appearance.

Another characteristic of 20th-century historiography is the widespread acceptance of the importance of individual personality in the arts. Even in the art of civilizations where anonymity is the rule, the work of art is recognized as the product and symbol of an individual creative personality. There is in general a new awareness of the role of personal expression in art.

To this awareness the publication, in 1902, of the *Estetica* of Benedetto Croce greatly contributed. Croce opposed the equating of the history of art with the history of pure form, or of "objective" styles, or of content, or of culture, or of technique. He sought to base criticism on a philosophical concept of the essence of art, distinguishing this conceptually from logic, from ethics, and from practice. According to Croce, only artists have objective existence. Style does not; it is a subjective function of the artist's originality. Subject, form, technique, and idea are parts of a work of art. Without the study of the parts (history), one cannot understand the value of the work (art), nor can one study the parts without a judgment of the value of the work, which permits selection from the abundance of historical material. Hence Croce's insistence on a synthesis of art history and esthetic criticism. One should not explain Giotto by the Trecento, but the Trecento by Giotto: the artist should function as the protagonist of his time and his environment. Just as there is no such thing as progress in art, so there is no continuity between the art of Giotto and that of Masaccio, or even of one of Giotto's pupils, because each artist sets himself his own problems and only he can solve them. The history of art thus resolves itself into the history of individual styles, that is, into monographs or the sum of monographs — and 20th-century historiography of art is indeed characterized by an enormous number of monographic studies.

Croce's emphasis on the necessity for basing esthetic judgment on historical and critical study of the artistic personality rather than on abstract schemes had far-reaching effects. In the field of archaeology, Emanuel Löwy had already undertaken the study of works of art in the context of their iconographical precedents with a view to singling out the individual note, and archaeologists such as Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (*Storicità dell'arte classica*, 1950) now made personality and the autograph work primary objects of historical research.

Croce's esthetic posed the problem of the nature of development or progression in art history, for the thesis of a formal and cultural development is essential to historiography. Julius von Schlosser, the spokesman for Crocean ideas in the German-

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speaking countries, tried to find the answer in distinguishing the individual style of an artist from the artistic idiom of his time, an idiom analogous to a spoken language: "a common language, conditioned by time, place, and custom, which is in constant evolution." This idiom is capable of development and of phases of progress and decadence. Lionello Venturi tended to identify this "language" with "taste."

Other estheticians of the later 19th and the 20th century (e.g., William Morris, Ernst Cassirer, John Dewey) formulated theories that underlined the empirical, phenomenological, historically determined nature of artistic values (and, for that matter, of esthetic theories). This encouraged art historians to use a multiplicity of interpretative approaches to the work of art, to view it from every possible angle. The important thing is that visual and historical schemes have in general been deduced from the works themselves, with full awareness of their historical relativity, instead of being imposed on them as independent and universally valid criteria for judgment.

*Exploratory works.* As has been said, antinaturalistic trends in 20th-century art tended to extend contemporary historiography's scope to areas which had not previously been included in the field of art.

In medieval studies, research has tended to widen the field even more: it will suffice to cite the writings of Emile Bertaux and Arthur Haseloff on southern Italy, the works of Arthur Kingsley Porter (e.g., *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, which revolutionized ideas on the chronology and diffusion of Romanesque sculpture), Adolph Goldschmidt's fundamental publications on medieval ivories and on Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures, numerous monographs by Georg and Hanns Swarzenski, Pietro Toesca's work on Lombard Gothic miniatures, and Mario Salmi's on the Tuscan Romanesque. Scholars who have worked on Early Christian archaeology include Giovanni Battista de Rossi, Mariano Armellini, Louis Duchesne, Josef Wilpert, Orazio Marucchi, Ejnar Dyggve, Carlo Cecchelli, and Richard Krautheimer.

Byzantine art in particular can be considered a recent rediscovery, since in the 18th and 19th centuries the appreciation of medieval art had been confined almost entirely to Gothic architecture. Among Byzantinists, N. P. Kondakov, Josef Strzygowsky, Oskar Wulff, O. M. Dalton, Charles Diehl, Gabriel Millet, André Grabar, Victor Lasareff, Georgios Sotiriou, and Kurt Weitzmann should be mentioned. Research was extended eastward with Strzygowsky's studies on Armenia and Georgia.

This widening of horizons, which has profoundly changed medieval studies, is due in no small measure to the taste for the primitive and the distinction between art and beauty which were expressed at the beginning of the 20th century in the art of the Fauves and the cubists.

Riegl's vindication of the esthetic qualities of the Geometric style was followed by archaeology's discovery, with Emanuel Löwy, that the formal schemes of archaic art are due not to the technical incapacity of the artist but to his antinaturalistic orientation. Thus historiography rediscovered prehistoric art (Abbé Henri Breuil, V. Gordon Childe), Oriental art (Edouard Chavannes, Paul Pelliot, Osvald Sirén), and primitive art. Ethnographic collections, such as those in London (Br. Mus.) and in Dresden, originated as scientific collections designed for anthropological study. Their esthetic value was first recognized by artists and poets — Pablo Picasso (q.v.), Guillaume Apollinaire, André Derain; then historians such as Leo Frobenius (1910), Herbert Kühn (*Die Kunst der Primitiven*, 1923), and Hugo Obermaier (with Kühn, *Bushman Art*, 1930) imposed art historical criteria on ethnological studies, superseding the Darwinian position of late-19th-century writers such as Alfred Haddon (*Evolution in Art*), who saw primitive art as culturally and artistically inferior.

Studies in mannerism and the baroque have likewise developed as a concomitant of the awareness of contemporary art; the general widening of horizons has also affected studies in areas traditionally considered superior, such as classical Greek and Renaissance art. Suffice it to mention the new interpretations that have been placed on the work of Renaissance artists such as Paolo Uccello and Piero della Francesca: in their art contemporary criticism has found elements pertaining to surrealism and cubism that seem to anticipate modern art.

*The connoisseurs.* The pioneer art historians mentioned above are of course connoisseurs, but the term in its narrower sense is applied to those scholars who confine their activities to the attribution and identification of works of art and to the defining of the *œuvres* of artists.

Among the 20th-century connoisseurs who have followed the tradition of Cavalcaselle and Morelli is Adolfo Venturi, who began as an archival researcher but came to integrate documentary research with stylistic analysis. Venturi conceived the first comprehensive history of Italian art (including painting, sculpture, and architecture) from the 13th century on. This work (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, 1901–40) in 11 volumes is a series of monographs on individual artists. It displays Venturi's characteristic faculty for rendering a work of art in a poetic prose capable of conveying its spirit. In France there appeared, beginning in 1906, the 17 fascicles of André Michel's *Histoire de l'art*, composed of monographs by various authors; a decidedly uneven work, this has been largely superseded. More vital and more valid is the series of books, again by various authors, comprising the *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*. Raimond van Marle's 19-volume *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, useful, like Venturi's *Storia*, for the quantity of material it assembles, is not on the same level as interpretation; on the other hand, Pietro Toesca's *Il Medioevo* adds to a vast knowledge of the material a balanced and acute critical judgment. For Dutch art C. Hofstede de Groots, *Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the . . . Dutch Painters . . .*, published beginning in 1907, is fundamental; for Flemish art through Bruegel there is Max J. Friedländer's still more searching *Die altniederländische Malerei* (1924–37), in 14 volumes.

Many connoisseurs — among them Friedländer, whose autobiographical volume *On Art and Connoisseurship* appeared in 1942 — emerged from among the so-called "museum men." Others included Friedländer's predecessor as director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), who commanded an extraordinary range of knowledge, F. W. Volbach, and Adolph Goldschmidt.

Among 20th-century connoisseurs, Richard Offner is outstanding in the field of Tuscan Trecento painting, Hermann Voss for mannerism and the baroque in Italy, Lionello Venturi for French 19th-century art, Detlev von Hadeln and Hans Tietze for Venetian painting. The method of the connoisseur was commonly influenced by the theory of pure form, which concentrates the viewer's attention on style; this influence is especially evident in the writings of Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), who, though opposed to the study of the abstract development of forms or styles, remained a formalist and a pragmatist; he held that the work of art serves as a tonic for our vital energies. He distinguished between decorative values (line, form, color) and illustrative values (treatment of subject), considering the former the true province of art; he also clung to the theory of progress and decadence in art. Attribution, in which he was faithful to Morelli's method, was at the core of his work, but it was enriched by the experience of the stylistic analysis which the spokesmen of pure form had introduced into historiography. Berenson dedicated his life to reconstructing artistic personalities. Both the theory of pure form and the esthetics of Croce have influenced Roberto Longhi; his position is that attribution — in so far as it is based on style — and critical judgment are identical.

The connoisseurs have been responsible for numerous catalogues raisonnés (Berenson's "lists" are perhaps the most famous) and the creation of hypothetical masters or anonymous artistic personalities: Adriaen Isenbrant is an example; others include the Amico di Sandro (a reconstruction of Berenson's, which he later repudiated) and Max Friedländer's Master of 1418. Needless to say, the artistic personality can be affirmed even where no empirical or biographical data exist.

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That the activities of connoisseurs are not unrelated to the development of the art market has become common knowledge.

*From the study of sources to the history of criticism.* Archival research has continued in the 20th century; Oskar Pollak, J. A. F. Orbaan, Ferdinand Noack, Giovanni Poggi, Peleo Bacci, and Igino Benvenuto Supino are representative. But the archivist, who limits his activity to the discovery and publication of documents, is more and more being supplemented by the historian who does documentary research as a direct source for his conclusions: besides researchers who offer raw material to the historian there are now many historians who undertake archival research for methodological reasons.

The study and publication of sources has also continued, centering in Vienna, which produced the *Vasaristudien* of Kallab. Among other such publications should be mentioned the exemplary critical edition of Passeri's *Lives* by Jacob Hess and Luigi Salerno's edition of the writings of Mancini, with critical apparatus and notes. The publication of sources and documents has been extended to the field of recent art: Lionello Venturi's *Les archives de l'impressionisme* . . . (1939) is an example.

Among the final glories of the Vienna school is the imposing *La letteratura artistica* of Julius von Schlosser. Here the study of sources is transformed into a history of criticism and of the historiography of art. This new branch of studies is illuminating for the history of art in that it reconstructs the artistic aims and critical viewpoints of the past, indispensable to the comprehension of the works of art. In 1936 Lionello Venturi made a notable contribution with his *History of Art Criticism.*

Also fundamental to modern historiography is the history of taste, that is, of the unwritten criticism and esthetics implicit in the works of art themselves, in collecting and patronage, in art's functioning in society. Works such as Sir Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic Revival: An Essay on the History of Taste* (1928), Christopher Hussey's *The Picturesque* (1927), Lionello Venturi's *Il gusto dei primitivi* make use not only of written sources but of the works of art under discussion and of evidence from other areas to trace the history of important trends in taste.

*Formalism.* Leaving aside the connoisseurs, whose analysis of form was directed to other ends, one may speak of formalism in connection with those historians who formulated theories based on the conception of pure form.

When scholars, in dealing with contemporary or primitive art, ceased to consider form in terms of more or less perfect renderings of the forms of nature, they looked for new norms and new motives to explain its development. Emanuel Löwy (1857–1938), who studied at the University of Vienna under the aegis of Wickhoff and Riegl, developed a formalist theory according to which art has its origins in magic. In his view the visual arts are marked by certain constants which can be expressed as psycho-physical "laws" — for instance, the law of frontality in sculpture and the law of the principal views in drawing. These remain valid so long as the creative process of the primitive artist involves memory images and not imitation. Löwy traces the evolution of Greek archaic art toward spatiality and naturalness up to Lysippos, emphasizing the importance of the technique for the structure of the image and the role of iconographical types as the germs of new forms. Despite its Positivistic elements, Löwy's theory is marked by a striving for an organic conception of formal development independent of the old theory of technical progress in imitation. Among his followers were H. Schäfer and Alessandro della Seta. The orientation of the latter is indicated by the titles of his books: *La genesi dello scorcio nell'arte greca* (*The Genesis of Foreshortening in Greek Art*), 1906, and *Religione e arte figurata* (*Religion and the Visual Arts*), 1912. But Della Seta explains the development from archaic to classic in terms of an increasing knowledge of anatomy, thus falling back on the old formula that equated artistic progress with technical progress. Also working in the tradition of Löwy was Herbert Kühn, a student of prehistoric art (*Kunst und Kultur der Vorzeit Europas*, 1929).

Clive Bell's theory of significant form was like that of Roger Fry, whose work attests to the influence of postimpressionist painting on historiography. Fry, who wrote on Cézanne, Gauguin, and Van Gogh, put a high value on the relations of abstract forms, unconnected with subject matter or the expression of cultural content; in other words, he postulated objective formal values. Like Berenson, he attributed to art in general the desire to render volumes; in this he reflected cubist ideas.

Henri Focillon, the author of important monographs on western Romanesque and Gothic architecture and on Piranesi, is another exponent of formalism. In *La vie des formes* (1934) he argues against subjective, literary, and psychological interpretations, attacking the myths of the creative imagination and of sentiment promulgated by Croce and his followers. He studies style, identifying the artist with his technique, but with full awareness of the essential principles of modern esthetics and with full respect for the individual artistic personality. Like Focillon, modern critics have gone beyond the 19th-century history of styles but have continued to investigate form from a historical point of view, seeking its significance in relations and parallels with other arts, with ideas, with technical knowledge, and with social conditions.

Other historians who have worked with concepts of form include Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, who has investigated the formal structure of Etruscan and Egyptian art, and Walter Friedlaender, who has written notable essays in the history of style, contrasting mannerism with the baroque. Schmarsow, Focillon, Geoffrey Scott (*The Architecture of Humanism*, 1914), A. E. Brinckmann (*Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Romanischen Ländern*, 1915), Hans Sedlmayr, all gave architecture new formal definitions based on concepts of space, time, and dynamic vision. Architects themselves — Le Corbusier and Wright, for instance — have by their writings contributed to the formulation of this new way of seeing architecture, in which the traditional technical analysis based on engineering is replaced by a consideration of the expressive form of the building. Sedlmayr, a student of medieval architecture and of Borromini, has pressed his research into "structure" and the architectonic systems that constitute the link between individual works, so far as to fall into racial determinism and arid schematism. Siegfried Giedion is the author of a book (1922) on Roman late baroque and classicism that applies Wölfflin's method, characterizing the two periods by an analysis of the antithetical character of their formal ideals. In *Space, Time, and Architecture* (1941), Giedion investigated the relation between architectural form and that of other arts and human activities, attempting to discover the reasons for its historical development. In Italy, C. L. Ragghianti, G. C. Argan, Roberto Pane, and Bruno Zevi are the exponents of this renewal of the historiography of architecture.

*Cultural interpretations of artistic form.* Formalism deepened the perception of the visual language and established that the expressive value of art resides essentially in that language. But as Riegl and Dvořák, among others, had demonstrated, the subject of a work of art also has its importance. In fact an image almost always contains a subject, an idea, an emblem, whether the artist is carrying out perspective or formal theories, is illustrating and expressing concepts of which he is knowingly the spokesman, or is operating without any such intention. Architecture is founded on laws and modular elements, and a structure is often designed in accord with symbolic ideas or esthetic theories. This "content" is almost always a determinant of the visual form and can be detached from it only arbitrarily.

In the 19th century the content of works of art had been the object of the auxiliary science of iconography. In the 20th century too this science has had its illustrious practitioners — Emile Mâle, N. P. Kondakov, Hugo Kehrer, and others. But the traditional discipline has undergone a change. It has become interpretative, transforming itself into iconology, that is, the study of the symbolic and cultural content (political, literary, religious, philosophical, social) of the work, whether intentional or not.

The great center for this type of research has been and is the Warburg Institute, founded by Aby Warburg in Hamburg

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and transferred to London during the 1930s. Conceived as a center for the study of *humanitas*, or of humanism in the broadest sense of the term, it has tended particularly to foster research on the survival of classical elements in medieval and later cultures, in art, science, religion, and social life. Among the major iconologists are Erwin Panofsky (*Studies in Iconology*, 1939) and Fritz Saxl (see ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY).

Proportional interpretations of form — that is, extrapolations from the work of art of the modules or theories followed by the artist — have been put forward, especially in the field of architecture, by Panofsky, A. Thiersch, M. Ghyka, H. Sedlmayr, W. Ueberwasser, R. Wittkower, and E. Iversen. Not only have the proportional systems of Renaissance and post-Renaissance art, for which written evidence exists, been analyzed; those of the Middle Ages and other civilizations, which can only be deduced from the works of art themselves, have also been studied.

Symbolic interpretations of works of art have been offered by various scholars. In the field of architecture, the works of E. B. Smith (*The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas*, 1950; *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, 1956) should be cited. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, a student of Focillon and the author of *Le moyen âge fantastique* (1955), has studied symbology, astrology, astronomy, and anamorphic images, as expressed in art.

*The history of art as a history of the spirit and of culture.* While the formalists, starting from form, do not go outside the sphere of formal influences or problems in trying to arrive at the determinants of its evolution, the iconologists, taking form as their starting point, explain its significance through its content and its connections with other aspects of the culture. But there is another category of scholars who are more directly in the tradition inaugurated by Dvořák: they study the civilization as a whole in order to understand the forms which are expressions of that civilization. Indeed criticism does not seem able to do without those general concepts which define civilizations historically — Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, mannerist, baroque, and the rest.

It is, of course, an oversimplification to group art historians in the categories outlined above. At best, such categories can only be relative, and many scholars have followed more than one path: some, for instance, have studied general phenomena in order to comprehend individual works but at the same time have studied artistic individuality against the background of social and cultural history.

Among Dvořák's closest followers have been Dagobert Frey and Otto Benesch (*The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe: Its Relation to the Contemporary Spiritual and Intellectual Movements*, 1945). In R. Hedicke's writings Dvořák's ideas have been given a new methodological formulation (*Methodenlehre der Kunstgeschichte*, 1924). Similar in orientation is Erwin Rosenthal (*Giotto in der mittelalterlichen Geistesentwicklung*, 1924), who studied Giotto in relation to the poetry, the sculpture, the scholastic philosophy of his time and defined the creative process of his art as moving from the abstract to the concrete, in contrast to the process of the Renaissance artists, who moved from nature toward abstract stylization (idealization). Werner Weisbach must also be cited for his *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation* (1921) and for works on mannerism and on the Middle Ages. Georg Weise's book *Die Geistige Welt der Gothik* (1939) is another work that tries to establish parallels between art, literature, religion, and other expressions of the human spirit. Weise confronts the early Gothic with scholasticism and the feudal society as aspects of immanence and rationalism, and follows their development through the epic phase to the late, "courtly" one. In the process he distinguishes the spirit of Gothic civilization from that of the Renaissance, the beginnings of which some historians (Thode, P. Sabatier) had pushed back as far as the 13th century.

Many other studies follow this trend. Prominent among these are Roger Hinks's and Walter Friedlaender's interpretations of Caravaggio in relation to the taste and the religious movements of his time, and Giulio Carlo Argan's book on Fra Angelico, which considers the style of the artist in the context of St. Thomas Aquinas's philosophy.

Also deriving from Dvořák's position is the sociological approach to art. Architecture, with its close connection to social function, had been viewed from this angle as early as the end of the 18th century; in contemporary times, Lewis Mumford, A. Lurçat, and many other scholars have considered the social factor as being of the greatest importance. But for the visual arts in general, one may cite Arnold Hauser, a pupil of Dvořák who came under the influence of historical materialism (*A Social History of Art*, 1951), and Friedrich Antal (*Florentine Painting and Its Social Background*, 1947), also influenced by Dvořák, and often, but inexactly, called a Marxist. Undoubtedly connections with economic, political, and social history can help to explain the coexistence of diverse styles in the same civilization — Giotto and Simone Martini in the Tuscan Trecento, Gentile da Fabriano and Masaccio in early Quattrocento Florence, Caravaggio and the Carraccis in 17th-century Rome. Especially in the case of the visual arts, the prevalent extra-artistic function of the work of art (decoration is also a practical end) and the existence of donors, patrons, and collectors clearly establish a close relation between art and society. This area of study, to which Pierre Francastel has contributed conspicuously (*Peinture et société*, 1951), is naturally cultivated in Russia and other socialist countries.

Luigi SALERNO

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ART IN THE EAST. The history of art has had a much more limited development in Asia than in the West. The artist, usually regarded as a craftsman or laborer, was for the most part ranked low in the social scale, and this mitigated against his being made the subject of biographical writing (see HANDICRAFTS). As for the treatises (q.v.), even in a civilization so highly developed as that of India they give no more than the merest suggestion of the historical attitude.

*Islam.* The factors that make art criticism and art history virtually nonexistent in Islamic literature have been set forth in the article on criticism (q.v.; see also ESTHETICS). They are, in brief, the general unawareness of a common esthetic foundation for the visual arts, or for the arts in general, the low esteem in which the artist is held socially, the concentration of theoretical interest on poetry and music, to the exclusion of the visual arts.

To these influences, which did not prevent the flowering of a splendid art, can be attributed the fact that the reflection of this art in history and criticism was, until relatively recent times, occasional and fragmentary. Artistic activity began to be a subject for history and scholarship in Islamic society only in the 15th century, and then in a Persian (later Turkish and Indian) rather than an Arab environment. The earliest manifestation was a biographical interest in artists: writers began to give essential dates, details of professional training, and lists of works; the great calligraphers of the Abbasside age (Ibn-Muqla, Ibn-al-Bawwāb) are the first artists for whom, as such, biographical data are supplied. Later, interest spread from the realm of calligraphy — an art very highly regarded in the Islamic Middle Ages — to miniature painting and other decorative techniques. The brilliant efflorescence of these arts under the Timurids and Safavids of Persia, the Osmanlis of Turkey, and the Moghuls of India is recorded in accounts of such great creative personalities as the Persians Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād and Riẓā-i-'Abbāsī (qq.v.), who are mentioned even in the general histories, and the great Ottoman architect Sinan (q.v.), for whom we have two lists of monuments compiled by his contemporary Muṣṭafā Sā'ī and perhaps stemming from the master himself (*Tedkeret ul-Bunyan*, *Tedkeret ul-Ebniye*). Another valuable source for the painters and miniaturists of the 15th and 16th centuries is the *Menāqib-i Hünerveran* of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (1587). These and analogous writings are compilations of biographical material and circumstantial data, precious for the information they contain but almost wholly devoid of critical evaluation. Indeed criticism, except as embodied in rare bits of instruction, is not found until, under the influence of Western art historiography, it makes its appearance in modern times.

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Contemporary historians of Islamic art, such as 'Alī Bey Bahgat, Muhammed Ramasanoglu, and Zaki M. Ḥasan, are entirely European-trained.

Francesco GABRIELI

*China.* Accounts of the ancient Chinese painters, with dates, are included in the biographical sections of the dynastic histories; for example, a biography of the painter Ku K'ai-chih (q.v.) appears in the 92d *chüan* (chapter) of the *Chin-shu* (Eng. trans., "History of the Chin Dynasty," in *Chinese Dynastic Histories*, II, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Calif., 1953), compiled in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906). But the beginnings of a true historiography of art were made when, in the 6th century, Yao Ts'ui wrote a brief work entitled *Hsü-hau-p'in* (Eng. trans., *On the Classification of Paintings*, W. Acker, 1954), giving information and critical notes both on earlier and contemporaneous painters.

The first great historian of Chinese art, so ranked by ancient and modern Chinese alike, was Chang Yen-yüan (9th cent.), author of a general history of Chinese painting from antiquity to his own time, the *Li-tai ming-hau chi* (Eng. trans., *A Record of the Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*, W. Acker, 1954). This work in 10 volumes, completed in 847, gained him in addition to the esteem of his contemporaries, a high position in the state; it is still one of the principal sources for the study of Chinese painting of the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. Also of great interest is a work of the Sung dynasty (960–1279), Chu Ching-hsüan's *T'ang-ch'ao ming-hua lu* (Eng. trans., *Memoirs of the Famous Painters of the T'ang Dynasty*, W. Acker, 1954), dating from about 1000. Chu classified the painters of the T'ang period in 10 categories in order of merit, according to canons established by the historian Pan Ku (1st cent.) on the basis of certain sayings of Confucius. His work is thus not merely a chronicle; it is a real history of art, even if his criteria for classification are not those of modern historians.

The *Li-tai ming-hua chi* of Chang Yen-yüan was supplemented for the period 841–1074 by Kuo Jo-hsü, in the *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* (Eng. trans., *Description of Pictures Seen and Heard Of*, W. Acker, 1954). This work is important not only for the information it contains but also because Kuo Jo-hsü makes the first comparison between classic and modern art, affirming the superiority of his contemporaries, the Sung landscape painters, over the painters of the past. The work of Chang Yen-yüan and of Kuo Jo-hsü was continued by T'eng Ch'un, a contemporary of Emperor Hui-tsung (12th cent.), in his 10-volume *Hua chi* ("Continuation of Painting"), which goes up to the year 1167. Fundamental for a knowledge of southern Sung and Yüan art (to 1365, when the book was published) is the *T'u-hui pao-chien* of Hsia Wên-yen. The author, using the biographical approach, the method always favored by Chinese historiographers, traces the careers of more than 1,500 painters, from the beginnings of Chinese painting to his own day.

During the Ming (1368–1644) and Ch'ing (1644–1912) dynasties, historiography underwent a notable development: historical writings of many different kinds were produced, from the general history of painting, of which the *Shu-hau-shih* of Ch'ên Chi-ju (mid-17th cent.) is an example, to the biographical dictionary, exemplified by the *Hua-shih hui-chan* of Peng Yu-ts'an (mid-19th cent.). The Sung-chiang school of painters (Ming dynasty, 16th cent.) was treated separately in the work of Wang Chih-teng, who in 1563 published the *Wu-chün tan-ch'ing-chin*, comprising biographies of a number of Suchow painters. But the works for these two periods are, for the Ming, the *Wu-sheng-shih shih* ("History of Poetry without Words") of Chang Shao-shu (1st half of 17th cent.) and, for the Ch'ing, the *Kuo-ch'ao-hua cheng-lu* ("Annals of Painting under the Present Dynasty") of Chang Kêng, published about 1740. The latter was brought up to the year 1860 in the *Mo-lin chin-hua* of Chiang Pao-ling.

Because the biographical method was traditionally favored in Chinese art historiography, works based on criteria of esthetic analysis and criticism are lacking. However, art historical works are commonly subdivided to correspond to the various genres of painting, which are sharply differentiated in Chinese esthetics, and there are numerous individual histories of particular genres, such as landscape (*shan-shui*), flowers and birds (*hua-niao*), men and animals (*jên-wu*).



Only since the fall of the empire have works been written in accordance with modern historiographical criteria. Since 1949 such works — for example, the *Chung-kuo mei-shu shih* ("History of Chinese Art") of Hu Man (1954) — have been definitely Marxist in tone. Among modern works, the *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* of Teng Shih (1910–35), an extensive collection of theoretical and historical essays and treatises on the fine arts, is of first-rate importance despite a certain lack of system and the absence of indexes; also basic is the *Chung-kuo hua-chia jên-ming ta-tzŭ-tien* ("Biographical Dictionary of Famous Chinese Painters") of Sun Ta-kung (1934).

The historiography of Chinese art (q.v.), as has been seen, concerned itself esclusively with painting, including calligraphy. Chinese literature contains no treatise on sculpture or on any of the other arts, since the Chinese considered these as crafts. There exist descriptions of cities and monuments, but such are written with a historical and antiquarian rather than an art historical intention; a typical work of this kind is Chu Yi-tsun's *Jih-hsia chiu-wên*, dealing with the city of Peking and its monuments, published at the end of the 17th century.

Piero CORRADINI

*Japan.* Since Japanese culture derived most of its artistic elements from Chinese culture, which spread in Japan after the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th century of our era, the early historical writings refer to Chinese works, or Chinese works copied by Japanese artists. This remained the case until the late Muromachi period (see JAPANESE ART). In 1511 the master of the tea ceremony Sō-ami published a work entitled *Kundaikan Sayuchōki* ("Account of the Treasures of the Lord"), a collection of notes on the artistic treasures belonging to the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa; in Sō-ami's notes there appear for the first time historical and technical data on Japanese works, along with accounts of Chinese objects. The work *Go shoku ki* ("History of Decoration"), published in 1660, is ascribed to the same author. Based on notes written 1521–28, it comprises observations on the interior decoration of dwellings, with particular reference to that of the shogun.

In the Tokugawa period (1615–1867), after these first notes by the masters of the tea ceremony (*chajin*), more detailed accounts appear in the collections of miscellaneous notes on literary and artistic subjects belonging to the genre *zui-hitsu* ("secondary writings"), which became popular in Japan during this time. Along with these fragmentary writings there appeared the first biography of Japanese painters, written by Shigeyoshi Ikkei (1599–1662), a pupil of Kanō Mitsunobu, under the title *Tanesi jakuboku shu* ("A Collection of Pictures"). Here the biographical data are supplemented by discussions of the styles of the artists and analyses of their works from a critical and historical point of view. Another biographical treatment of painters, also from the Tokugawa period, is the work of the painter Kanō Yoshinobu (Ikkei; 1630–1716) of the Kanō school (q.v.); it is called the *Honcho-gashi* ("Biography of Painters").

Ukiyo-e print making, initiated toward the end of the 17th century by Hishikawa Moronobu (1618–94), made a valid contribution to the biographies of artists with the printing of related criticism of the works of Harunobu (1725–70) and of Utamaro, Hokusai, and Hiroshige, among others. Near the end of the Tokugawa period, Asaoka Sakisada (1800–56) published his *Koga-hikō* ("Observations on Ancient Paintings"), a famous biographical work covering the Japanese painters of the period, which has supplied the groundwork for more recent biography.

After the Meiji restoration of 1868, the Japanese writers came under the influence of Western historiographical trends; since then a number of works have been produced which treat historically the styles and currents in Japanese art, and analyze critically the works of art pertaining to them.

Antonio PRIORI

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**HITTITE ART.** The civilization which we call Hittite is a relatively well defined and extremely important phenomenon of the history of the ancient Near East. It developed in the course of the 2d millennium and first centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. in central and southeast Anatolia and northern Syria. In these territories arose a type of art fundamentally linked with that of other centers of western Asia (see ASIA, WEST: ANCIENT ART) but not without its own original, indigenous elements.



SUMMARY. Introduction (col. 560). The origins (col. 560): *Architecture; Seals; Minor Arts*. The Old Kingdom (col. 560): *Architecture; Seals; Sculpture*. The Hittite empire (col. 564): *Architecture; Seals; Sculpture; Minor Arts; Conclusion*. The Late Hittite period (col. 572): *Architecture; Sculpture*.

INTRODUCTION. In contrast with Egypt and to a certain extent with Mesopotamia, Hittite civilization and art were not the product of a single ethnic group, nor did that civilization have a continuous political history. However, from the 2d millennium B.C. it can be identified with the Hittite state and with the Indo-European language group that dominated that state.

Literary sources, and especially the numerous cuneiform documents of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. which have been found in the ancient archives of the imperial capital Hattushash (mod. Bogazköy), show that the Hittite empire included peoples of diverse origins and languages. Each group probably had a role in the foundation and development of what is now called Hittite art. Of major importance was the non-Indo-European pre-Hittite population of the interior of Anatolia, the so-called "Hattians," who were later assimilated into the Hittite empire. The Hurrians, an ethnic group from upper Mesopotamia whose lands overlapped Hittite territory, first exerted linguistic and cultural influence on the Hittites in the 16th century, an influence which grew in the 14th and 13th centuries. No less important an influence on the art of Anatolia in the 2d millennium was that of the ancient civilization of Syria. It is impossible to ascribe this Syrian influence to a single ethnic group, since Syria itself in that period comprised a complex amalgam of diverse peoples, of which the Luwians, who were settled in northwest Syria and in parts of southern Anatolia, were the most important.

In summary, Hittite art had its origins partly in upper Mesopotamia (see MESOPOTAMIA; SYRO-PALESTINIAN ART) and Syria, and partly in pre-Hittite Anatolia (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). Stimuli from these civilizations flowed to the center of the Hittite world during the 2d millennium B.C., where they were creatively absorbed and developed into an individual style. It is proper to term this style "Hittite" since it was developed in Hittite territory and is connected with the courts of the Hittite kings, with Hittite religious centers, and with the population governed by the Hittite rulers.

The sculptors and architects who planned and executed the great Hittite building complexes remain anonymous; the names of the builders are not recorded in accounts reporting the commissioning of temples and palaces by the Great Kings. Sometimes the Great Kings called in foreign artists as well as native Anatolians, as when Hattusilis III (1275–1250 B.C.) specifically asked for and received sculptors from the Babylonian king: "But, my brother please [send me] a sculptor. [As soon as] he has finished the statues I will send him (back), and he will be with you (again). [Have I not] sent (back) [the previous] sculptor, and is he not (again) with Kadashman-Turgu? Have I not kept my word(?) [My brother] do not deny me [this sculptor]" (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*, I, no. 10). However, no monument has yet been found which can be identified on the basis of style as the work of a Babylonian artist.

Knowledge of Hittite art is limited by the fact that only certain types of works have been preserved: monumental sculpture, rock-cut and stone reliefs, seals, and examples of minor arts. The insignificant traces of wall painting remaining suggest that an essential part of Hittite art has been lost. Not one piece of the textile art referred to in literary sources has been preserved. The descriptions of works given in inventories never discuss style, which was beyond the scope of archivists, but they are a valuable supplement to the relatively few original Hittite monuments. For example, cuneiform texts describe the forms and attributes of deities whose statues stood in the temples of the state religion (C. G. von Brandenstein, "Hethitische Götter nach Bilderbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten," *Mit. der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XLVI, 2, 1943).

THE ORIGINS. The earliest works which can be called Hittite belong to the 20th–16th centuries B.C. and contain

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Principal archaeological sites with Hittite monuments.

elements which were to develop more fully in the later periods. During these early centuries the Indo-European Hittites in central Anatolia consolidated their position, gained dominion over the pre-Hittite population, and finally, in the course of the 18th and 17th centuries B.C., formed the first Hittite kingdom. At this time the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia began to exert an influence which was to last throughout the 2d millennium. In the 19th century Assyrian commercial colonies, sanctioned by the trade agreements with local royal courts, flourished in the eastern part of central Anatolia. The Assyrians introduced to Anatolia not only their way of life but also their religion, along with its cult objects and ceremonies. A more developed and mature civilization was brought to the culturally undeveloped region: the Hattian population of Anatolia was introduced to the art of writing, to a highly developed glyptic art, and to a more refined way of life. That they were already developing an art of their own is proved by the many rich tombs discovered since 1930 in northern Cappadocia and the south Pontus, primarily at Alaca Hüyük, and also at the related sites of Mahmatlar, Horoztepe, and Karapınar. These tombs date from the last century of the 3d millennium B.C. and are remarkable for their highly developed metalwork—utensils as well as small sculptures for ritual use.

The texts indicate that while upper Mesopotamia was exerting a cultural influence on pre-Hittite central Anatolia through the Assyrian trade colonies, the interior region was being occupied by peoples believed to have been the Indo-European Hittites. The extent of their contribution to the art and architecture of the period is still not clear, but the Hittites must have played some part in the development of the area in which they lived. Since many elements of later Hittite art are based on the early period, discussion of Hittite art may start with the beginning of the 2d millennium. The most important excavations of 20th- to 18th-century sites are those of Alişar (Alishar), Bogazköy (PL. 279), and Kültepe (anc. Kanesh), a cultural center which was also the nucleus of the area in which the Assyrian commercial settlements were located.

*Architecture.* No examples of monumental architecture of the early period have yet been discovered, but on the subject of domestic architecture the following observations may be made. There are no houses with real courtyards like those in Mesopotamia: that is, the courtyard is not an integral part of the building but is added in front or in back. The individual houses are frequently built side by side, but each forms a single structural unit. Houses generally have one story, but it appears from reconstructions that a few dwellings in Kültepe were two-storied (T. and N. Özgüç, 1953, pl. XX). The grouping of houses shows a definite regularity; in fact, a true axial system is the basis of the arrangement at Bogazköy, where the houses of square or trapezoid plan, are surrounded on all four sides by paved alleys which separate each dwelling from its neighbors (K. Bittel, *Mit. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XCI, 1958, fig. 13). A regular sewer system, which could function only with the agreement of the entire community, goes through these lanes. The houses contain rooms which are clearly defined as to purpose: living quarters, storage rooms, and offices. Foundations were built of unworked stones, the walls of sun-dried bricks; wood was used for ceilings and roofs and sometimes to provide a framework within the walls. These house plans, so different from those of Mesopotamia, may be part of a central Anatolian tradition which had its beginning as early as the end of the 3d millennium B.C. In any case, the earliest domestic Hittite architecture established forms which were to live on into later periods.

*Seals.* Two kinds of seals were used in the early period: the cylinder and the stamp. The cylinder seal, Mesopotamian

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in origin, was alien to Anatolia, and although it predominated in the 19th century, it was almost entirely replaced in the 18th and 17th centuries by the favored stamp seal, which had forerunners in Anatolia as early as the 3d millennium. The designs on cylinder seals have motifs originating in the 3d dynasty of Ur, the 1st Babylonian dynasty, and Syria. Pieces of native workmanship show that the more advanced seal art was accepted by the local population.

The principles of design of Anatolian stamp seals were established in the early period and continued to operate throughout the 2d millennium, sometimes in pure form, sometimes with modifications. Among the decorative motifs are plaitwork and spirals; among the figural are hares, bulls, sphinxes, and eagles. A frequent subject is a predatory bird killing a hare. It is significant that one motif found in the early period reappears in later Hittite glyptic and monumental sculpture, namely the double-headed eagle with outstretched wings. At Kültepe, the lion-headed eagle, part of the repertory of the early period but originally a Babylonian motif, also appears. The human figure is not represented on stamp seals, but on cylinder seals it is the major motif. The divinity standing on an animal is a common theme which recurs frequently in later Hittite art.

*Minor Arts.* The ceramic objects of the early period recall in part the central Anatolian pottery of the late 3d millennium, but they are of such excellent quality and so distinct stylistically that they constitute, in effect, a new, original type, which prevailed until the end of the Hittite empire (1200 B.C.). Ceramic objects of the Hittite empire were mainly monochrome; the painted geometric decoration of the early period was disappearing (T. and N. Özgüç, 1953, pl. XLIII ff.). Beak-spouted pitchers (PL. 290), the most common, and kantharoi first appeared in Anatolia at the end of the early period; their sharp-edged contours and their highly polished red, brown, or dark coating strongly suggest dependence on hitherto undiscovered vessels. Made on the potter's wheel, these vessels sometimes have walls of almost the thinness of an eggshell, and although the same type continued to be made during the following centuries, this austere pottery was never equaled. From the same period there are also ceramic examples of less severe shape and decoration and richer in imagination: double and triple vessels, pitchers with animal-head spouts, vases with grape-cluster handles, cups with birds seated on the rim, vessels in the shape of a boat paddled by a boatman, and vessels in the form of painted snail shells (op. cit., pl. XLII).

Zoomorphic vessels which approach real sculpture appeared for the first time in Anatolia in the early period and continued to be popular in later centuries. There are hollow lions and bulls with funnel-shaped openings on their backs; their bodies are often stylized while their heads are strongly naturalistic. Most of these zoomorphic vessels are painted, but the decoration has no direct relationship to the anatomy of the animal, although occasionally the joints are articulated and the fur on the shoulders is marked by curved lines. There are also rhytons made of clay, among them an outstanding example from Kültepe with a ram's head. This type of ware may have been derived from metal models which are now lost (op. cit., pls. XXXVIII–XL).

Small objects of metal, bone, and ivory are rare; the only pieces considered here are those which have an iconographic or stylistic importance for Hittite art of later centuries, such as lead figures cast in stone molds, representing male and female divinities. Details of these figures, particularly the male, are found again in the art of the Old Kingdom: the short kilt worn above the knees and held by a broad belt around the hips, the low, pointed cap, the broad beard reaching to the chest, the shaved upper lip, and the curved sword that is held over the shoulder (*Mit. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, LXXVII, 1939, p. 25, fig. 26; T. and N. Özgüç, 1953, pl. XL). This weapon did not originate in Anatolia but was taken over from the regions to the south; it first appeared in central Anatolia during this period and later it became the attribute of numerous Hittite divinities.

During the early period, then, varied ethnic and cultural forces contributed to the development of Hittite art. The future discovery of monumental sculpture might help to clarify the progress of this development.

THE OLD KINGDOM (ca. 1650–1450 B.C.). During the 17th century B.C. a dynasty whose power extended over a large part of central Asia Minor was founded at Kussara, a city of central Anatolia whose exact location has not yet been discovered but which seems to have been located in the same area as Kültepe. This proximity would explain the close connection between the art and architecture of the Old Kingdom and that of the early period. Hattusilis I resided in Kussara as well as in Hattus (mod. Bogazköy), which was renamed Hattushash in the Old Kingdom. Hattusilis' successor, Mursilis I, made Hattushash the official capital of the kingdom, and his successor, Hantilis, provided it with fortifications. The territory of the kingdom was probably not restricted to the interior of Anatolia, and Labarnas (early 17th cent.), the founder of the kingdom, even reached the "Upper and Lower Seas" on his military campaigns — that is, probably, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Hattusilis I undertook a campaign against the Hurrians to the southeast, crossing the Euphrates River and laying siege to the city of Halap (mod. Aleppo) in northern Syria before he was forced back. The annals of these wars contain information significant to art history — Hattusilis transported cult statues from conquered Hurrian cities to be placed in the temples of Hattushash as testimony to the total subjection of the foreign nation; these statues may have inspired local Hittite artists.

Mursilis I conquered Aleppo and, in a daring campaign, marched down the Euphrates River to capture Babylon, thus bringing the first Babylonian dynasty to an end. Although the Hittites did not succeed in occupying distant Babylon permanently, their victory brought them into direct contact with the old civilizations of northern Syrian and Mesopotamia, which may have had an impact on Hittite cultural development.

The period of formation of the first great Hittite kingdom was characterized by military campaigns and conquests and by profound transformations of internal social structure. The seeming lack of vitality in the arts of the Old Kingdom may be due to the failure of archaeological investigation to unearth evidence, for artistic production can scarcely have been lacking.

*Architecture.* The only monumental architecture surviving from this period is the scattered fragments at Bogazköy, where the early structures were destroyed by later construction on the same sites. Although not one building has remained intact, advances over the building technique of the early period of Hittite architecture are visible: strong foundations and socles of worked stone support sun-dried brick walls; buildings and rooms are rectangular; mats were used for floor coverings. Domestic architecture is in the traditions of the early period (*Mit. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XCI, 1957, p. 14 ff.).

Military architecture is better represented in the ruins. In Bogazköy the royal fortress and the neighboring lower city were ringed by walls, a system which remained characteristic of Hittite fortifications in successive periods. The fortifications themselves are massive interior and exterior foundation walls connected by cross walls at regular intervals, forming rectangular spaces which were packed with rubble. This massive base, about 30 ft. thick, carried an upper wall built of sun-dried bricks. Rectangular towers projected from the wall at slightly irregular intervals, enabling the defenders to protect the sides of the wall effectively. Underground passages of corbel-vaulted construction connected the fortified city with the outside; in normal times these tunnels were used by pedestrians, in times of siege, as exit routes. The earliest example of this type of tunnel, at Alişar, may date back to the early period, but the height of development was reached only during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. (see below); these tunnels remained a standard feature of fortifications until the fall of the Hittite empire.

*Seals.* In comparison to the large number of seals from the early period only a small amount of material from the Old Kingdom survives, a fact which may again reflect merely the

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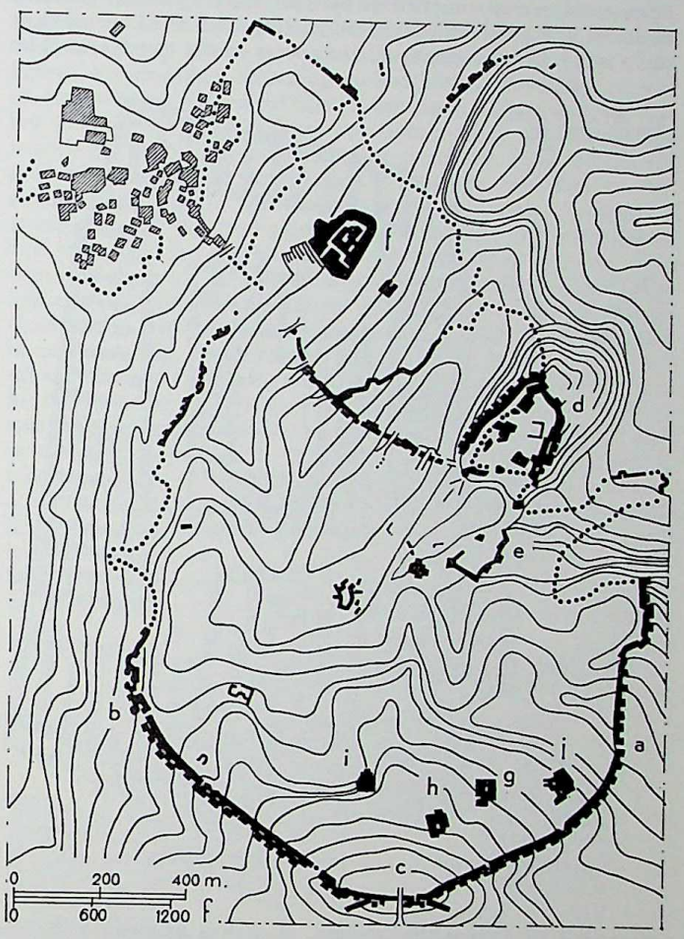
retarded state of research. The few stamp seals which can be attributed to this period depend on the form and iconography of pieces of the early period and actually reveal a decrease in technical competence. A few very unusual pieces, probably of the late phase of this period, combine elements of the stamp and the cylinder seal: they have handles on top and designs on the bottom, like stamp seals, and the curved sides have continuous motifs, like cylinder seals. The best example of this kind, the so-called "Tyszkiewicz cylinder," bears a few motifs native to Anatolian art of the time but also others which are undoubtedly foreign (H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pl. XLIII, *o*). The combination of motifs on the Tyszkiewicz cylinder suggests that it belongs to a group originating in south or southeast Anatolia, that is, in the Luwian territory. Although the compositions which decorate these seals are divided into individual isolated images, there is a clear tendency toward stronger, more dynamic movement, which is rarely found in central Anatolian art.

*Sculpture.* At present only one example of the monumental sculpture of this period is known, a limestone orthostat, which was incorporated into a building of the 15th century at Bogazköy. The fragment is a flat relief with remnants of paint and represents a battle between gods, which must be based on an unknown Hittite myth: one god, with the typical Hittite pointed hat and shoes with turned-up toes, falls headlong from the sky, while three other deities, who are depicted standing on the earth, attack him with sword and lance (*Mit. der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, LXXXVI, 1952, pp. 26–27, fig. 9a–b). Although the care taken to avoid any overlapping creates some awkwardness, the relief is remarkable for its dynamic action, a quality never attempted or achieved in the succeeding period, possibly because of powerful thematic limitations which are discussed below. An isolated discovery from Dövlek near Tokat, a bronze statuette of a standing deity (PL. 290), may belong to the latter part of the Old Kingdom period [N. Ozgüç, Dövlek köyünden (Şarkişla ilcesi) getiliren Eti heykelciği (A Hittite Statuette Found in Dövlek, District of Şarkişla), *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, V, Ankara, 1949, pp. 45–52]. Granted the uncertain dating, the Dövlek statuette represents the fully developed iconographic type of the Hittite male divinity: the tunic, the high conical hat, long hair ending in hornlike points, the body softly modeled without angularity, the bulging calves, bulging eyes, and protruding ears; in short, the characteristics which were foreshadowed in the lead figures of the early period.

Vases with relief decoration, found only occasionally in sites of the early period and of the empire, play a particularly important role in the Old Kingdom. None of the pieces from Alişar, Kirşehir, Elbistan, or Bogazköy is intact, but at Bitik, a short distance west of Ankara, were found the remains of a large vase, which was reconstructed from fragments (PL. 283; T. Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase," *Anatolia*, II, 1957, pp. 57–78). The vase had four handles and a large mouth; its neck, shoulder, and body are decorated with three continuous bands of relief which show vestiges of red, white, and dark-brown paint; the individual zones are separated by strips of latticework. In the upper zone a god seated in a tabernacle removes the veil of a goddess seated opposite him (ritual wedding); in the middle zone priests with litui on their shoulders lead a procession of gift givers carrying vessels and apparently approaching the sacred precinct depicted in the upper zone; the third zone, is missing except for a few fragments of two male figures who probably formed part of a ceremonial battle. The manner in which the figures are lined up in rows and arranged in zones, and the details of their appearance, anticipate later Hittite art. The Bitik vase also illustrates the strongly religious character of Hittite reliefs during the Old Kingdom. Finally, the relief vases, mainly because of their polychromy, suggest the existence of contemporary wall paintings or even colored stucco reliefs in temples and palaces.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.). In the early 15th century the Hittite Old Kingdom was brought to the brink of disaster by internal upheavals and ensuing attacks from the outside; all territory but central Anatolia was lost. The early rulers of the dynasty which then came to power had first to assert their rule over the heart of the Hittite territory; the dynasty controlled the empire for nearly two and a half centuries. The Great King Suppiluliumas (1375–1335 B.C.) so strengthened the country by an intelligent internal and external policy that it was fully recognized by Egypt and Babylonia, the other great powers of the time. He annexed the state of Kizzuwatna in the Taurus Mountains, first by treaty and then by outright conquest; he defeated the kingdom of Mitanni in upper Mesopotamia and made it a vassal state; and he




Bogazköy (anc. Hattushash), archaeological plan. Principal monuments of the ancient city: (*a*) Royal Gate; (*b*) Lion Gate; (*c*) South Gate, postern and fortifications; (*d*) Citadel (Büyükkale); (*e*) southern citadel; (*f*) Temple I; (*g*) Temple II; (*h*) Temple III; (*i*) Temple IV; (*j*) Palace or Temple V (?). The buildings of the modern village are shaded.

exploited Egypt's weakened condition by occupying vast areas of northern and central Syria, making them dependent on the Hittite empire. The territory conquered by Suppiluliumas, except for the region east of the Euphrates River, remained under Hittite dominion until 1200 B.C. The vast territories of this empire included peoples of various origins and cultures who produced works of art that differed in character. Nevertheless, from these disparate sources an art which can be called truly Hittite developed at the courts of the Great Kings and their vassals. Its various sources are difficult to analyze, but the Hittites undoubtedly contributed its strongest and most productive element. It is worth remembering that Achaemenian and Roman art also drew strength from varied sources spread over a broad area, but the over-all concepts of Achaemenian and Roman art retain their validity.

*Architecture.* Temples, palaces, and impressive fortresses of the period of the Hittite empire have been preserved intact

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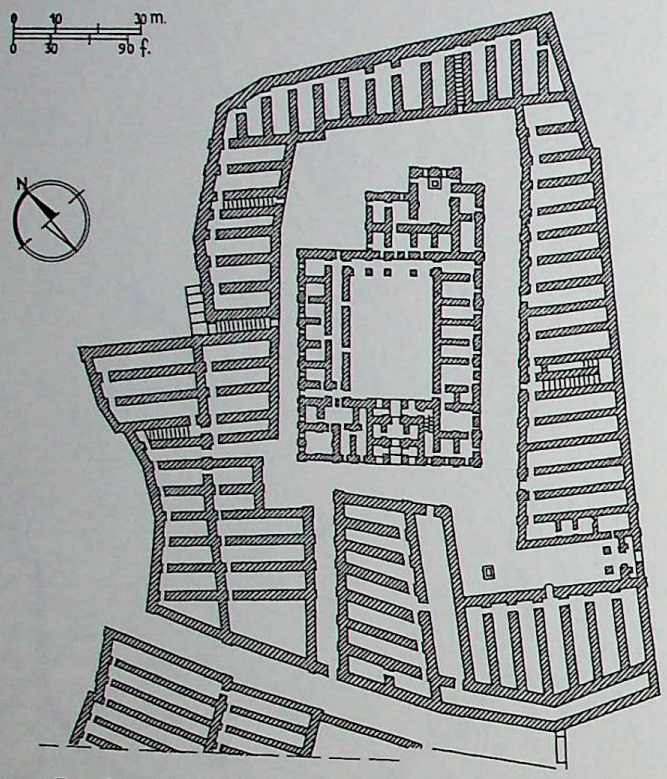
or excavated. The Hittite capital at Bogazköy (PL. 279; FIG. 566) and the ruins of Alaca Hüyük, some 20 miles north of the capital, are the richest sites. There are five temples at Bogazköy and one at Alaca Hüyük; all adhere to the same architectural scheme, varying only in details. Even at sites where special conditions prevail, Hittite architecture does not depart far from the normal temple type: at the rock shrine of Yazılıkaya (PL. 279) the cult chambers were constructed in front of a natural gallery which served as an adytum (innermost sanctuary), to form a plan which conforms in all features, including courtyard and propylon, to the temple buildings at Bogazköy.

The plan of the Hittite temple is a square or rectangular open courtyard surrounded on all four sides by rooms grouped in suites along corridors communicating with the courtyard — there is no direct access from the rooms to the courtyard. The




Bogazköy, Temple I, plan (*after Frankfort, 1954, fig. 47*).

innermost sanctuary, the adytum, is always situated at the far end of the temple, in most cases shifted to one side of the main axis. All rooms, including the adytum, receive light through deep windows, so that the outside world is not closed off as in Babylonian temples, nor is the temple shrouded in mysterious darkness as in Egyptian. The positions of bases of the lost cult statues at Bogazköy show that the holy images in the adytum were brilliantly illuminated by light admitted through windows. The temple gates are not always on the main axis, but are sometimes on one of the long sides; in order to enter the inner sanctuary, it might be necessary to turn at a right angle to the entrance of the building. The temple gates, of one to three chambers, are not completely related to the rest of the complex but have their own structural logic, following the pattern of city gates. The various units of the temple had flat roofs of unequal heights.

Two of the temples in Bogazköy differ in some details from the normal type. Temple I, the largest in the city (FIG. 567), is separated by a paved street from a mass of surrounding auxiliary structures, serving non-religious functions, which were also part of the temenos, or sacred precinct, of the weather god of Hatti. The chambers of the surrounding complex were long rectangles disposed side by side in rows, including storerooms for ceremonial paraphernalia and a few archives, on the south side, which may also have served as a writing school for the priests. The temenos as a whole had two gates, of which the southern, the more important, is exactly like the gate of the temple, which has already been compared to the city gates. The second of the atypical temples, situated in the southern part of the upper city of Bogazköy, was probably dedicated to more than one deity since it contains two adyta. The two sanctuaries are not next to each other at one end of the courtyard, but are at right angles. Both were accessible from the courtyard through a pillared portico, a feature which can also be found in front of the sanctuaries of other temples. The second temple has an annex to the west which is connected with the rest of the structure only along its shorter side, although both were built at the same time. Possibly this wing was a palace combined with the temple, for the duties of the high priest in the state cult were performed by the head of the state, the Hittite Great King. The Hittite technique of construction in temples of the empire, as well as the ground plan and arrangement of units, contains elements which have no known precedents. The bases of the walls are built of rough stone faced with large blocks, carefully hewn by saw, weighing up to 30 tons. The walls were of sun-dried brick held together by an unusual type of wooden framework, consisting of interlocking, horizontal beams and vertical posts anchored in the masonry of the base. From actual remains or references in inscriptions we learn of single and double doors, bolts, and wooden gratings and frames on windows. Palaces are repeatedly mentioned in text sources of this period, but only one surviving example is known, Büyükkale, the palace complex of the Hittite Great King in Bogazköy, which was built over a long period of time and perhaps should not be considered typical. At Büyükkale individual buildings serving different purposes were grouped, in an order apparently determined by their relative significance, around a large rectangular courtyard which unified the ensemble. Although the complex as a whole cannot be compared to any buildings of neighboring civilizations because of its peculiar characteristics, the ground plans and spatial organization of the buildings are monumental adaptations of principles developed in earlier Hittite architecture. In a few cases the buildings open toward the courtyard through projecting pillared porticoes, and some buildings had several stories. The technique of construction is generally similar to that of the temples, with rubble foundations, masonry bases, and sun-dried brick walls.

The high level of city-wall construction in the 14th and 13th centuries is demonstrated at Bogazköy, Alaca Hüyük, and Alişar (PL. 280), whose strong walls rest on artificial embankments that afforded the defenders an elevated position from which to control the surrounding territory. The sally ports (postern gates), which had already appeared in the period of the Old Kingdom, are now a standard feature. In the fortifications of the empire there is a recognizable attempt, doubtless conscious, to find esthetically satisfying groupings of forms. For example, the south part of the wall of Bogazköy is built so that a symmetrical effect is achieved; although not required by the terrain, the course of the wall is changed twice, each time at nearly the same angle; the gate and a deeply recessed sally port form a clear axis perpendicular to the main direction of the wall, and two outside staircases to the left and right parallel this axis (Naumann, 1955, p. 237, fig. 280). In this way, purely functional aims are subordinated to a higher architectural principle which is not determined solely by the practical purpose of the individual parts of the structure. The major city gates (PL. 280; FIG. 569), which have one or two interior chambers and flanking towers, also reveal an artistic intention in the parabolic form of the portals constructed of massive, dressed stone blocks (Naumann, 1955, pp. 259, 260, figs. 310, 311). This military architecture is undoubtedly original with the Hittites and may even have influenced neighboring territories: a postern gate at Ras Shamra in northern Syria was probably inspired by similar gates of the Hittites, who ruled the city in the late 14th century.

*Seals.* With a few exceptions, the hemispheric or lens-shaped stamp seal was dominant during the period of the empire. Pictorial representations, mainly of single figures of gods, were common, but they were gradually replaced by hieroglyphs. Pictorial seals

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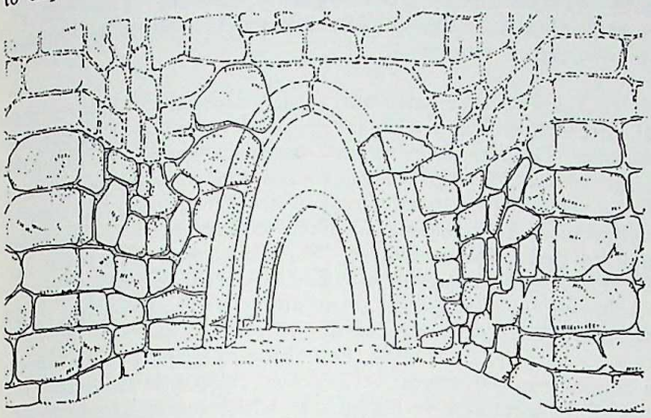
generally had motifs from monumental sculpture; on the state seal, the Great King appears as he does in monumental sculpture, accompanied and guided by his tutelary divinity. Figures on seals are often in reality part of hieroglyphic text and must, therefore, be read according to the rules for hieroglyphic script. This is also the case when the taste for symmetry led the artist to duplicate the inscriptions and thus the images too, as on



Bogazköy, reconstruction of the Royal Gate, outer side (*after Naumann, 1955, fig. 113*).

seals with confronted lions or bulls. The glyptic art of this period reached a very high level in composition as well as technique. The seal cutters were able to render all details, even on extremely minute seals. Their technical virtuosity is shown not only in clay and stone seals but also in those of bronze, iron, silver, and gold.

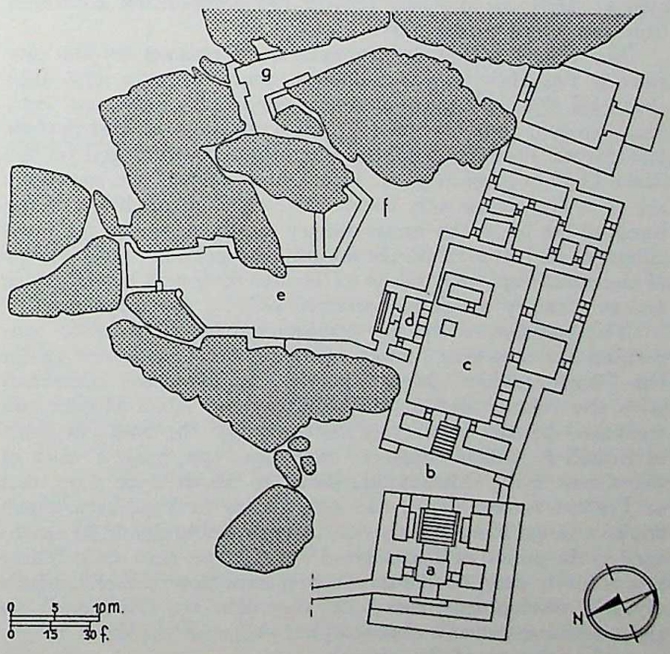
*Sculpture.* The sculpture of this period shows the Hittite style fully developed. Although earlier examples of Hittite sculpture exist, no real stylistic development has yet been demonstrated, and it is doubtful whether such a development will ever be demonstrated. Probably sculpture enjoyed under the empire a spontaneous creative outburst nurtured by the numerous possibilities which the empire offered and by the increased vitality of Hittite civilization as a whole during this period. The appearance of monumental sculpture, previously lacking, seems to be directly related to the Great King, his courts, and thus to the major religious centers.

Most of the extant sculpture is in relief, but a few freestanding monumental sculptures survive, among them a 12-ft. high statue from Fasillar (Bossert, 1942, figs. 565, 566, 568, 569). Further evidence that the Hittites carved freestanding sculpture is preserved in the bases found in temples of Bogazköy, which could only have supported cult statues. The text sources mention numerous statues of gods and goddess, but they fail to give their dimensions.

The importance of religion in the cultural structure of Hittite civilization is reflected in the predominance of religious themes in the monumental art of this period; there are hardly any representations of political or daily life. The most important works are large rock-cut reliefs; they are particularly characteristic of this period and are unknown earlier. The setting of these reliefs is upon sacred mountains and cliffs, and the holiness of the surroundings must have lent the reliefs an exceptional religious significance, in contrast to the rock-cut sculpture of Egypt and Assyria, which comprised chiefly monuments to the political and military feats of the rulers.

The greatest cycle of reliefs is preserved in the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (PL. 279; FIG. 570), close to the gates of the Hittite capital. There is a large main gallery with a procession of gods and goddesses and a small side gallery with single reliefs (PLS. 281, 282; Bossert, 1942, figs. 531–46). In the large procession the lines of gods and goddesses approach each other so that the chief male deity and his female counterpart meet face to face. The order of the divinities in both processions is clearly determined by their ranks in the Hittite pantheon.

The side gallery is probably the tomb of a Hittite Great King to whom the reliefs refer. The image of the ruler accompanied and guided by his tutelary divinity (Bossert, 1942, fig. 546) is similar to images on the state seals discussed above. The gods of the long procession in the main gallery are also iconographically identical to divine figures on seals; moreover, the procession is made up of individual figures merely lined up without being unified by overlapping action or gestures, exactly as they are represented on individual seals. The hypothesis that the stiff figures and static composition of these Hittite seals and rock-cut reliefs result from specific religious requirements is more satisfactory than the only alternative theory — that the ability to represent figures in motion, which the Hittites had begun to acquire in the Old Kingdom, actually declined during the empire and the succeeding periods. The figures are executed according to the law of frontality, which of course is not typical of Hittite art alone. The contours are not sharply disengaged from the background, but are softly rounded; the bodily forms have a relatively high degree of projection in which strong planar contrasts and accents are absent. The figures are characterized by symbols (weapons, attributes, and lions and panthers on which the divinities stand) and often by hieroglyphic inscriptions with their names. The names of the gods reveal a Hurrian origin, a sign of the strong influence of this ancient culture on Hatti, even at a sanctuary close to the Hittite capital; Hurrian myths provide the content of some reliefs, for example, the fabulous beings who hold up the sky, or the gods who stand on animals. But it would be erroneous to conclude either that Hittite art of the empire was strongly dependent on the hypothetical art of the Hurrians, or that all the work of Yazılıkaya dates from the 13th century, when the Hurrian influence on Hittite literature was greatest. Even in instances where there is an undeniable iconographic influence, the sculptural style is typically Hittite, a style characteristic of Anatolia and not of northern Mesopotamia, the homeland of the Hurrians. Since Hurrian influence on Hatti can be detected as early as the 16th century, it is not justifiable




Yazılıkaya, plan of the rock-cut sanctuary: (*a*) Propylon; (*b*) forecourt; (*c*) interior court; (*d*) colonnade; (*e*) main gallery; (*f*) entrance to side gallery; (*g*) side gallery.

to ascribe a late date to Yazılıkaya solely because this influence was strongest in the 13th century. The stratigraphy of the excavations proves that the rock sanctuary could not have been completed during a few short decades of the 13th century. Rock-cut reliefs of a more limited scope whose iconographic and stylistic patterns resemble those of Yazılıkaya, although they

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are not replicas either in details or as ensembles, are found at other sites. The meaning of these reliefs is determined by the significance of the site and their location in it: at Gavurkale [Gavur (Giaour) Kalesi] in Galatia there are two gods approaching a seated goddess (Bossert, 1942, figs. 491, 492); at Hanyeri in Cataonia there is a prince adoring weather and mountain deities (op. cit., fig. 564); at Fraktin, the Great King Hattusilis III and Queen Puduhepa offer libations to their tutelary divinities (op. cit., figs. 550–552); at Imamkulu in Cappadocia the weather god is riding in his chariot (op. cit., fig. 563); at Karabel and Manisa in Ionia, respectively, are a god with a bow and a frontally seated goddess (op. cit., figs. 491, 492). These reliefs are so similar in style and execution that they may be attributed to one school of artists.

In addition to the rock-cut reliefs, there are orthostats with relief decoration, in which there may be some influence from northern Syria. The relief orthostats at the city gate of Alaca Hüyük — the only ones that can be attributed to this period with certainty — are thoroughly Hittite in style and iconography (op. cit., figs. 500–519). Left of the entrance is represented a procession led by the Great King and Great Queen followed by priests, sacrifice bearers, and cult functionaries, all advancing toward the weather god in the form of a bull. The fragment on the right side depicts a procession nearing a seated goddess. The figures are lined up here according to the same principles as at Yazılıkaya, except that the scale of the individual figures is not hierarchical, and there are scenes with ritual jugglers and musicians which interrupt or reverse the forward movement of the procession. In contrast to the majority of orthostats with reliefs of the Late Hittite period (see below), the individual block does not represent an independent composition but forms part of a continuing cycle. The façade of Eflatun-Punar (the sanctuary of a spring?) in Pisidia (op. cit., figs. 526, 527) is constructed of enormous but regular blocks and might have been intended as a substitute for a natural rock wall in this rockless region. Above the heads of male and female solar deities carved in relief are winged suns carried by fabulous beings. Here as at Alaca Hüyük the composition continues from one block to the next.

The reliefs with lion protomas and sphinxes on the city gates at Bogazköy (PL. 280; Bossert, 1942, figs. 472, 473, 482–487) and the reliefs from Alaca Hüyük (PL. 284; op. cit., figs. 495–497, 499), are related to the orthostats, at least in their placement. Prominent in this group is a youthful god on the Royal Gate in Bogazköy (PL. 280), whose helmet, axe, and tunic are of a type found only there. The excellent rendition of the forms of the body, the extraordinary treatment of the leg musculature, and the relatively accurate proportions make it one of the most important pieces of Hittite sculpture, revealing an artistic mastery previously attained only in the minor arts.

The question of stylistic development has been raised concerning the 200-year history of monumental sculpture under the Hittite empire. Many theories, mainly those concerned with the relative dating of Yazılıkaya and Alaca Hüyük, are weakened by the scarcity of dated works: the rock-cut relief at Sirkeli in Cilicia (Bossert, 1942, figs. 553, 554), a work of the Great King Muwatallis, dates to about 1300 B.C.; that of Fraktin to the 1370s; the side gallery at Yazılıkaya which shows a Great King and the sun deity probably should be attributed to the period of Tudhaliyas IV (i.e., 1250–1220 B.C.). These few securely dated works do not present a clear, understandable stylistic development; moreover, they offer too few indices for the establishment of a chronological order for the other monumental sculpture of the empire.

*Minor Arts.* Few objects of this category are preserved, fewer than one would expect from the numerous references in the text sources. Several bronze statuettes, of which the best are from Bogazköy (op. cit., fig. 583), represent male and female deities with close stylistic resemblances to the relief on the Royal Gate in Bogazköy. An openwork ivory plaque with sphinxes, lions, winged lion-griffins, and rams, and an ivory statue of a mountain god from Bogazköy show that the artists had also mastered the technique of ivory carving, probably through the influence of Syrian workshops. Equally important in iconography and quality are the small gold figurines from Carchemish on the Euphrates, which, from the period of Suppiluliumas, had been the seat of a vassal Hittite dynasty dependent on Hattushash, the capital. The figurines, punched or cut out from gold sheets, represent deities with emblems like those on the rock-cut reliefs at Yazılıkaya (Riemschneider, 1954, pl. 106). Several gold and silver figures from Bogazköy show that it was common to make miniature replicas of the large cult statues in temples, to be worn as amulets.



*Conclusion.* The 14th and 13th centuries B.C. saw the peak of Hittite power and with it the Golden Age of art and architecture. The arts absorbed influences and inspiration from the achievements of the preceding period and from the neighboring states, which they transformed in a Hittite idiom to create an independent Anatolian style. All the cultural activity occurred in political and religious centers. The most important was the capital, Hattushash, a mightily fortified city of exceptionally extensive territories for this period, containing the court of the Great King and the large state sanctuaries. Only parts of the lesser centers survive: the temple and the city gate of Alaca Hüyük; a monumental structure at Kültepe, related to the temples at Bogazköy; a fortress in Gavurkale, which might have been connected with a tomb. Archaeological work is urgently needed to unearth one of the purely religious ceremonial centers of the Hatti empire, such as those at Nerik (Nerikka) and Kummanni — the tradition of these typically Anatolian sacred cities survived in part into the Roman empire.

The Hittite empire collapsed about 1200 B.C. in the course of a vast migration of peoples who invaded much of the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt. Rebellious vassals probably joined the invading enemies in the destruction of Hatti. The capital was burned to the ground and similar catastrophes befell Alişar, Alaca Hüyük, Kültepe, and other cities. It has not yet been established whether the destruction occurred during a single campaign or whether these centers fell consecutively during several decades. In any case, by 1180 B.C. at the latest, all the Hittite cities were destroyed. Evidence of immediate resettlement has not been observed anywhere. In some areas the cultural traditions of Anatolia seem to have been interrupted for a long time, but they survived in the area to the southeast, although under external and internal conditions that were quite different.

THE LATE HITTITE PERIOD (ca. 1200–700 B.C.). The fall of the Hittite empire signified the end not only of political but of cultural unity as well. A period of anarchy of undetermined length resulted from the disappearance of central power, but small political centers under local despots arose again in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Malatya (anc. Milid), Zincirli (anc. Sam'al), and Carchemish are the most important and formed for several centuries the focal points of Late Hittite civilization, a culture built on very different foundations from those of earlier Anatolian cultures. It developed in an area whose population had had no racial or cultural unity since the first half of the 2d millennium B.C. The Luwians dominated the western part of this territory, while Hurrian elements appeared first in the eastern and later in the western sections. Hittite components were added to these in the late 15th century, but they seem to have remained on the surface. The actual Hittite population in this colonial territory was limited almost entirely to colonial and military administrators.

The courts of the Late Hittite princes of this region consciously continued the traditions of the empire, whether because the rulers were partly descended from lesser Hittite dynasties formerly in the territory, or because their claim to legitimacy was strengthened by carrying on the old traditions. In spite of internal struggles, the small Late Hittite principalities were able to survive for several centuries, because in the same period in which the Hittite empire fell the other great contemporary powers — Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria — became too weak to be able effectively to expand their territories. Only in the 9th and 8th centuries did the Hittite princes succumb one

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after the other to the repeated assaults of the Assyrians, who, with regained power, swept westward over the Taurus Mountains into the Anatolian plateau. In the 9th century the southern principalities were forced to render tribute to Assyria, a state of affairs which was temporarily reversed when Assyria battled Urartu, a rival kingdom in the mountains to the north. But under Shalmaneser V and Sargon II the Hittite states were completely subdued; the last to succumb was Malatya in 709 B.C.

Inevitably, Anatolian Hittite traditions were dissipated during this long period, and Aramaean and later Assyrian influences were strongly felt. Malatya, the northernmost center, continued the ancient Hittite cultural traditions more faithfully than the other states because of its location on the southern edge of the Taurus range and because of the claims of its rulers to legitimate descent from the Hittite royal house. Carchemish, however, favored by its location on the Euphrates, in the broad river plain crossed by trade routes to the east and southeast, had greater political and economic power during this period. Although its population did not really belong to the Hittite ethnic group, Carchemish was considered the principal Hittite center and was the only power at that time which had any right to be called the heir of the Great Kings of Anatolia.

*Architecture.* In contrast to the empire, the only surviving examples of monumental architecture from this epoch are palaces. No religious structures have been identified. Since the situation in the 14th and 13th centuries is exactly the reverse, it is quite difficult to compare the architecture of the earlier and later periods. The palaces of Carchemish, Zincirli (FIG. 574), and also of Sakçegözü, the latest of this group are based on north Syrian rather than Anatolian models. The palaces have wide, shallow rooms (*Breitraum-Häuser*) and façades on the long side of the building, accented by a columned portico. These structures conform to the *bît-hilani*, a building type which was developed in Alalakh (Tell Atchana) in northern Syria before the late 15th century B.C. and which did not appear in the Anatolian plateau during the Hittite empire, according to evidence unearthed to date. Late Hittite architecture also differed from that of earlier periods in its details: columns with ornamented bases and very simple capitals replaced the unadorned pilasters of earler times.

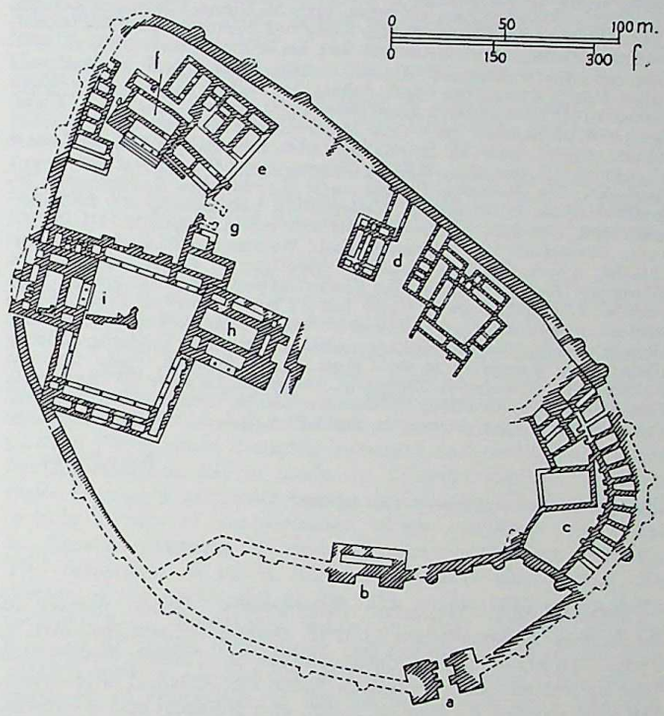
Military architecture of the late period, for example, the Lion Gate of Malatya, follows the principles of the 14th and 13th centuries. In Carchemish the double city walls and the artificial embankment are strongly reminiscent of Bogazköy, but the similarity does not necessarily imply dependence: there may have been a local north Syrian tradition of fortifications of this type. So little Late Hittite domestic architecture is known that nothing can be said about its form or construction.

*Sculpture.* The number of works preserved is greater than in the preceding period, which might be due to an increased artistic creativity, but it might also be the result of competition between the numerous local dynasties for works of art with which to decorate royal residences. The themes of Late Hittite art are considerably different from those of earlier periods. In the beginning, particularly in Malatya, the subjects were still predominantly religious, but cult themes gradually yielded to themes of royal power (Malatya, Carchemish) and scenes of official and private court life (Carchemish). Evidently Hittite art detached itself from religion; it glorified the king more and more as a secular monarch instead of representing him exclusively in the service of the gods.

Lion statues were still used to protect the gates of cities and palaces in the Late Hittite period; the practice of decorating doorways and palace façades with orthostats became widespread. Banquet scenes, particularly of funerary banquets, were popular. The iconography of the deities is clearly linked with Hittite Anatolia, but their costumes and attributes are derived from traditions of neighboring cultures, whose influence on the Hittites fluctuated. Hittite sculpture of the late period is strongly conservative; not even influences which it assimilated changed its essential character (PL. 288).

Owing particularly to the research done by Ekrem Akurgal, three stylistic phases of Late Hittite art have been established. The first phase began in the 12th century B.C. and in effect ended about 900, although it lingered on through the 8th century. To this period belong most of the orthostats of Arslantepe near Malatya, the so-called "Water Gate" reliefs of Carchemish, and the lions from the older gate at Zincirli. Malatya is still very close to the monumental art of the Hittite empire, while Carchemish and Zincirli in the south yielded for the first time, in the 9th century, to Assyrian influences, particularly in the representation of the human figure.

The middle Late Hittite style lasted from the second half of the 9th century to the first half of the 8th century; the best




Zincirli, acropolis, plan: (*a*) Outer gate; (*b*) inner gate; (*c*) storehouses; (*d*) palace of the governor; (*e*) construction from time of Kilamuva; (*f*) construction from time of Barrekub; (*g*) Lion Gate; (*h*) *bît-hilani*; (*i*) *bît-hilani*, possibly the palace of Barrekub (*after Naumann, 1955, fig. 445*).

examples are from Malatya, Carchemish, and Zincirli (PLS. 287, 289). Assyrian influence is seen in hunting and battle scenes (PL. 285) which contain chariots imitating Assyrian models.

The final Late Hittite style, known from examples in Malatya and Carchemish, dates from the late 8th century and ended with the fall of the principalities. Contemporary monuments in Zincirli and Sakçegözü were no longer in the Hittite tradition because they were produced by Aramean sculptors under Assyrian influence.

In Anatolia itself, large-scale sculpture reappeared at a relatively late date: the lions from Göllüdağ, a lion from a portal at Havuzköy, and the orthostats with reliefs in Ankara are a few examples. They do not directly continue the art of the Hittite empire but follow the stylistic development which took place in the southeast during the late period. It seems that in this region, centers which could afford to embellish their architecture with sculpture were reconstituted only from the 8th century B.C. on.

After the 2d millennium no creative innovations occurred in Hittite figural art. Although the range of themes widened and the forms were adapted to changing times, Late Hittite art on the whole moved in preexistent channels. Late Hittite art gained international significance in the 8th century, when the Greeks founded colonies on the Cilician and Syrian coasts, and thus came into direct contact with works of art in the Hittite traditions. Through these channels and not through Anatolia itself, where the Hittite tradition was practically extinguished, a number of figural motifs of Oriental and particularly

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of Hittite origin made their way toward the West, where they had an effect on Greek art (see ORIENTALIZING STYLE).

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Kurt BITTEL

Illustrations: PLS. 279–290; 6 figs. in text.

**HOBBEMA,** MEINDERT (MEYNDERT). Dutch painter of landscapes (b. Amsterdam, Oct. 31, 1638; d. Amsterdam, Dec. 7, 1709). Hobbema's first dated picture is of 1658; before that year he was probably a pupil of Jacob van Ruisdael of Haarlem. He was married on Nov. 2, 1668, and Ruisdael was a witness. Through the connections of his wife, the cook for a burgomaster of Amsterdam, Hobbema obtained in 1668 the position of Sealer of Weights and Measures to the city. His duties consisted of checking the weights of imported wines and of translating their several measures into that current in Amsterdam. For a given period Hobbema agreed to pay the sum of 200 florins annually to another maid who had helped him to obtain the position. Whatever the demands of his job, it does appear that Hobbema greatly reduced his activity as an artist after 1669. Very few of his paintings are known from his last 40 years, but among them is his masterpiece, *The Avenue, Middelharnis* (London, Nat. Gall.; V, PL. 309). Hobbema had a son, born in 1669, and two daughters, born in 1671 and 1673. His wife died in 1704. When Hobbema died five years later, he was listed as a pauper.

Most of the 200–250 paintings that are accepted as Hobbema's work were done during the 1660s. Although they show the strong influence of Ruisdael, they reveal a distinct personal style. Hobbema limited himself to a small number of subjects, such as country roads, farmhouses, watermills, and occasionally ruins near ponds. In all his pictures he painted stately trees whose dark, luxuriant foliage makes a pleasing contrast to the gray highlights of the trunks and branches. He was also fond of showing patches of bright sunlight playing on the pink surfaces of tiled roofs, on light green hedges, and on pearly surfaces of water. In all his pictures there are people walking on roads or resting nearby. Often Hobbema had them painted into his landscapes by other masters.

Hobbema's was a pleasing art, but it lacked the variety and the grandeur of Ruisdael's. During his best years, he painted pictures that are attractive for scenic detail and a pervasive mood of tranquil happiness. The only one of Hobbema's paintings, however, that can be considered a genuine masterpiece is *The Avenue*. Its date (1689) has been questioned, but since a building that did not exist until 1682 is depicted, the date is probably correct. The idea of a road that goes straight into depth was not new, but Hobbema gave it an unequaled majesty. Along with such landscapes as Vermeer's *View of Delft* and Ruisdael's *Windmill near Wijk*, Hobbema's *Avenue* represents the best that 17th-century Dutch landscape painting was capable of producing.



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Julius S. HELD

**HODLER,** FERDINAND. Swiss painter (b. Bern, Mar. 14, 1853; d. Geneva, May 20, 1918). Although Hodler received scant training in art, he became one of the most original artists of his time. His earliest works, landscapes and portraits, represent an almost fanatical opposition to impressionism; they emphasize line as the basic compositional element. Rejecting all criticism with astonishing vigor, he created a linear style that led a general trend in German and Swiss painting. Artists such as Henry Fuseli, William Blake, and Arnold Böcklin (qq.v.) are his spiritual ancestors.

Hodler considered himself more than a painter: a thinker opposed to mere painting. He sought to capture the essence of a man, a landscape, a historical event, or a human condition in his paintings. In portrait painting he preferred the profile because it gave the truest and yet most aloof description of the subject's character. And his beautiful landscapes with trees and mountains are exaltations of nature (V, PL. 210). Monumentality is even more evident in his historical paintings such as *The Retreat after the Battle of Marignano* (1896–1900; Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmus.), *The Departure of the Students of Jena as Freedom Fighters* (1908; Jena, Germany, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität), and *Wilhelm Tell* (Solothurn, Switz., Coll. Kettmann). But Hodler's most characteristic works are his own philosophical and poetical inventions, such as *Day* and *Night* (1890; Bern, Kunstmus.), *The Disenchanted* (Bern, Kunstmus.), *The Holy Hour* (1907; Zurich, Kunsthaus), *Youth Admired by Women* (1900; Vienna, private coll.), and *Love* (Solothurn, Coll. Josef Müller). All these works are composed of skillfully grouped and forcefully drawn single-figure units. The color is fine and sensitive, Hodler's only heritage from impressionism.

Success came to Hodler with a gold medal at the Paris World's Fair and at the exhibition of the Sezession in Vienna in 1904. In 1912 he was made an officer of the French Legion of Honor. He was more highly esteemed in Switzerland and Germany than in France, where some considered him "too Germanic." Hodler was the immediate forerunner of expressionism. Although most of his works are in Switzerland, especially in Zurich and Bern and in the private collection of Russ-Young at Serrières-Neuchâtel, some are owned by museums in Germany and Austria. In the United States, the Museum of Modern Art in New York has a drawing and lithographs, and the Art Institute of Chicago has some paintings.

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Guido SCHOENBERGER

**HOGARTH,** WILLIAM. English painter and engraver (b. London, Nov. 10, 1697, d. London, Oct. 25, 1764). He was apprenticed to the silverplate engraver E. G. Gamble and issued his shop card as an engraver on Apr. 29, 1720, but quickly became known as an illustrator of books and the author of satirical prints on topics of the day. As a painter he was practically self-taught, though in October, 1720, he subscribed to the St. Martin's Lane Academy and was connected with Sir

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James Thornhill, Sergeant Painter to the King, whose daughter he married Mar. 23, 1729. Hogarth was strongly interested in social life and showed himself an acute moralist in his effort to interpret the society of his time. His cruel satire was directed mainly at the aristocracy but did not spare the middle and lower classes, its express aim being to provide an education in matters of public behavior. The essential sources of his development were the theater and contemporary literature; in his paintings and engravings he tried to achieve a sense of continuity of description and narrative, transferred from the stage and from books. With this aim he devised his mnemonic system, which enabled him to reconstruct figures and scenes from daily life by reducing salient forms and attitudes to a linear shorthand. He also determined to reform methods of teaching painting and in 1735 founded the second St. Martin's Lane Academy. The liveliness of his social interest is shown in his promotion in the same year of the Copyright Act for Engravers, also known as "Hogarth's Act"; by his activities on behalf of institutions such as St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which he was a Life Governor, and the Foundling Hospital, of which he was one of the original governors; and still more by his insistence in all his works that it is society that is responsible for the formation of the individual.

The main influences on Hogarth's art can be directly related to his early career as recounted in the drafts for his uncompleted autobiography and in the writings of George Vertue, whose collected materials for a history of art in England were bought and used by Walpole in *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. Hogarth's apprenticeship introduced him at an impressionable age to baroque ornament, just as his work for publishers and printsellers led him to study Continental engravings from Jacques Callot (q.v.), his point of departure in the handling of figures and crowds, to the latest French illustrators. His boyhood admiration for the paintings of Rubens at Whitehall and of Thornhill in St. Paul's fired his ambition to become a history painter and confirmed his life-long allegiance to the baroque tradition in the rendering of elevated subjects. But far transcending these influences were the sources opened up to his visual imagination by the mnemonic system of linear shorthand, to the invention of which he attached so much importance. He used it to memorize scenes not only from life but from the theater, of which he was a devotee. He observed and remembered for future use stage settings, the grouping of actors in set pieces or tableaux (a favorite device to mark an important denouement), and even tricks of gesture employed by actors, as may be seen by comparing his narrative cycles with contemporary prints of the stage. Finally, his astonishing visual memory, if not the mnemonic system itself, enabled him to retain pictorial images as vividly as real ones. Although he never traveled farther than Paris, this retentive power applied to engravings made him one of the most visually learned of European artists, and the appreciation of his inventive alchemy of borrowed images is one of the rewards of scholarship.

Hogarth's borrowings from other artists are the subject of an authoritative article by F. Antal (1947). Among the influences that Antal traces are those of Callot and the fantastic features of the Bosch–Bruegel (qq.v.) tradition; the Dutch painters and engravers of actualities, including Romeyn de Hooghe and Jan Steen (q.v.); Rembrandt; the French rococo, including Coypel (q.v.); and in England the popular print, Van Dyck (q.v.), and Thornhill's late baroque. The engraving is the main source, but Hogarth attended auction rooms and knew the private collections of Thornhill, Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Dr. Meade, the physician and patron of Watteau in England.

By 1728 Hogarth was ready to commence his career as a painter, and in the following year he began producing conversation pieces, or group portraits containing a touch of anecdote. These were introduced by Marcellus Laroon the Younger and Philip Mercier, but Hogarth raised them to a new level. The English variant of this European category was decisively influenced by him and may be defined more precisely as an informal portrait group "in small" in a familiar private or proprietary setting, such as a parlor, club room, or garden, with an emphasis on social recreations — cards, wine or tea parties, play acting, or music — and a precise attention to costume. His figures of this early period are usually 10–15 in high. Hogarth's conversation pieces are distinguished by their playful inventiveness and subordination of rococo motifs to realistic vision. Notable examples are: *The Wedding of Stephen Beckingham and Mary Cox* (1729–30; PL. 291); *The Fountaine Family* (ca. 1730; Philadelphia, Mus. of Art); *A Musical Party* (ca. 1731; Cambridge, Eng., Fitzwilliam Mus.); *The Cholmondeley Family* (1732; Coll. Marquis of Cholmondeley); and his masterpiece of this period, *A Scene from the Conquest of Mexico*, also called *The Indian Emperor* (1731–32; London, Coll. Earl of Ilchester), depicting a performance of Dryden's play of the latter title by aristocratic children in the house of John Conduitt, Master of the Mint, before younger members of the royal family; and *A Committee of the House of Commons* (ca. 1728; Cambridge, Eng., Fitzwilliam Mus.). Hogarth's debt to the theater is evident in *A Scene from the Beggar's Opera* (1728; Coll. Hon. Lady Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe) and *A Scene from the Tempest* (ca. 1728; Wakefield, Nostell Priory, Coll. Lord St. Oswald). The second is an early example of a Shakespearean subject being elevated by style to the level of history painting: Ferdinand and Miranda are depicted as an Annunciation pair, and Prospero as a Joseph figure.

A new chapter opens with the publication of the six engravings of *A Harlot's Progress* (1732). Their success brought him to fame but not to fortune, for the prints were undersold by pirating printsellers (whence the artist's zeal in defending the legal rights of engravers). George Vertue records in the same year that Hogarth had first painted a single picture of a whore *en déshabille*. He was urged to add a companion picture; "then other thoughts increased and multiplied by his fruitful invention till he made six different subjects." When characterizing a particular person in this way, Hogarth would include details of surroundings which indicated his social lot, thus emphasizing the value of solid middle-class morality. The researches of Hilda Kurz (1952) have shown that the themes of the harlot and of the rake, in his next series, have their roots in Renaissance satire, and that Hogarth was influenced by Italian broadsheets and popular prints of the 17th century, notably *Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana* (1655–57), a series of 12 engravings of the life and death of a Venetian courtesan. The same authority has also identified a number of his literary sources, notably Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and its popular versions.

Reynolds' claim in the fourteenth *Discourse* (1788), that his countryman had "invented a new species of dramatic painting," therefore needs modification, for the Italian series had close links with the contemporary stage. But it is still essentially true. Hogarth observed dramatic conventions far more strictly and assimilated with incomparable mastery the traditions of English comedy and tragicomedy from Shakespeare and Ben Jonson through the Restoration theater (strongly influenced by Molière) to his contemporaries Gay and Fielding. By uniting the two streams of English drama and Continental art he created a new species of narrative satire in dramatic form, and became the first English artist widely known on the Continent.

The success of these engravings made from paintings led to an important change in Hogarth's practice. From then on his major works were usually painted first and engraved afterward, the actual engraving often being entrusted to others. His drawings were relatively small in number, and he sometimes painted, not drew, his preparatory sketch for a composition, as in the first study for the *Suicide of the Countess* (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus.).

The paintings of *A Rake's Progress* in eight scenes (PL. 293) were begun about 1732, but the engravings were held back until the passing of the Copyright Act for Engravers in 1735. Still more famous, and richer in human feeling, was the series *Marriage à la Mode* (PLS. 293–295), which was finished in 1743 (the engravings were published in 1745). The *Four Stages of Cruelty* and the 12 prints of *Industry and Idleness* (IV, PL. 440), both published in 1751, drew as much on the novel as on the theater. The *Four Pictures of an Election* (London, Soane Mus.) were inspired by the Oxfordshire election in 1754 and satirize



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election practices in a small country town, appropriately named Guzzledown; the engravings were published 1755–58.

The success of the social and narrative satires and their acceptance as his best productions did not cause Hogarth to relinquish his ambitions to excel as a history painter in emulation of the Old Masters. In 1736 and 1737 he presented *The Pool of Bethesda* and *The Good Samaritan* to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where they decorate the great staircase, and in 1746 *Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter* to the Foundling Hospital. *Paul before Felix* was painted in 1748, commissioned by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn for £200, and the triptych altarpiece of the Ascension in 1756, commissioned by St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, for the very large sum of £525. After Sir Richard Grosvenor declined his *Sigismonda* in 1759, Hogarth abandoned this field, in which he had closely followed the formal principles of his esthetic theory (see below) and revealed himself a master of the late baroque, which he enriched with his distinctive verve and realism.

The same spirit of emulation inspired his magnificent portrait *Captain Coram* (1740), presented to the Foundling Hospital. Its prototype was Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Samuel Bernard, which Hogarth knew from the engraving of C. Drevet (1719). Most of his finest single and group portraits postdate this masterpiece, in which the waning baroque tradition is given a new vitality by visual and psychological realism. Outstanding examples are: *The Graham Children* (1742; PL. 292); *Mrs. Elizabeth Salter* (1744; London, Nat. Gall.); *Lord George Graham in His Cabin* (1745; Greenwich, London, Nat. Maritime Mus.); *David Garrick and His Wife* (London, Royal Colls.), which translates in terms of portraiture a stock rococo theme, the surprised letter writer; and *The Artist's Servants* (1757; London, Nat. Gall.). In his group portraits Hogarth sometimes used the formula of the conversation piece without its miniature scale. Like Gainsborough later, he was often at his best when on terms of friendship with his sitter and when painting children. In his later years the rococo freedom in handling surface values developed in the direction of impressionism, and the undated *Shrimp Girl* (London, Nat. Gall.) probably belongs to this final phase.

Very different are the motifs of the topical satires. The collapse of the South Sea scheme in 1720 occasioned the first of these, *An Emblematic Print on the South Sea* and the *Lottery* (1721). *Masquerades and Operas, Burlington Gate* (1724), was, according to the artist, the first print he published on his own account. It ridiculed the taste of the town for masquerades and operas imported from the Continent, to the detriment of English drama, and began Hogarth's war with the connoisseurs. The series of 12 large prints (1726) illustrating Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* was, according to Walpole, the first of his works "that marked him as a man above the common." The scene of *The Skimmington* (No. 12) is a characteristic parody of Annibale Carracci's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (II, PL. 194) in the style of a Dutch beer painting. In general the dominant motif in these pictures is satire against the type of baroque taste that came from France and Italy, as well as against everything false or artificial in social life and in art.

Hogarth's inventiveness in revitalizing older categories of the satirical print is often related to his attempt to capture a wide public. In 1724 Thornhill had drawn the criminal Jack Sheppard awaiting execution in Newgate Prison. There had been a popular demand for effigies of famous criminals, which Hogarth exploited by publishing prints of the murderess Sarah Malcolm in 1733 and the Jacobite rebel Lord Lovat in 1746, both taken *ad vivum*. Hogarth ridiculed his opponent John Wilkes, awaiting trial for libel in 1763, by commemorating him in the same style.

His personal satire, like that of Alexander Pope, is always most effective when subordinated to a universal theme, the criticism of society, even though the prints abound in personal and topical allusions. Notable examples are: *The Distressed Poet* (1735); *The College of Physicians* and *The Sleeping Congregation* (both 1736); *The Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* (1738), considered by Walpole to be his masterpiece; *The Enraged Musician* (1741); and *The Bench* (1758). Hogarth's convivial habits made him a devastating commentator on the recreational life of London, as may be seen in *The Midnight Modern Conversation*; *The Laughing Audience*; *Southwark Fair* (all 1733); *Four Times of the Day* (1738); and *The Cockpit* (1759). In *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*, *The Rewards of Cruelty*, and *Industry and Idleness* the law is either invoked as a *deus ex machina* or is itself an object of social reform.

Hogarth closed his life as he had begun it, with a series of satires on connoisseurship — the unscrupulous fraudulence of the art market and the ill effects of erroneous taste. *The Tailpiece to the Society of Artists Catalogue* (1761) depicts the connoisseur as a one-eyed monkey watering the withered stems of imported architecture, painting, and sculpture. Other examples are *Time Smoking a Picture* (1761), and *The Bathos* (1764), based on the Hargrave Monument in Westminster Abbey, by his friend L. F. Roubiliac, the French sculptor.

In addition to his self-portrait with dog (1745; PL. 292) and *Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse* (ca. 1757; London, Nat. Portrait Gall.), the artist's likeness is preserved in the magnificent terra-cotta bust by Roubiliac (London, Nat. Portrait Gall.).

Hogarth's work *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753) is the first treatise in the history of European esthetics to be based wholly on formal analysis and is a key document for the student of the rococo. He cannot be classified as a rococo painter, although strongly influenced by the style. But his theory shows a masterly understanding of its principles. He attacks symmetry, frontality, parallelism, and the entire Renaissance system of a regular order or harmony of distinct parts. The formula that he brilliantly upholds in opposition to classicism is "intricacy, which leads the eye and mind a wanton kind of chase." Its symbol is the serpentine line of elegance and grace, which he illustrates with examples ranging from the statues of classical antiquity to chairs, cherubs, and corsets. He advocates choosing and composing forms so that the eye is impelled to a constant and asymmetrical movement along lines and surfaces.

But he also admits many principles which are opposed to the rococo, including baroque monumentality or "quantity" for grand subjects, and in certain passages anticipates the romantic attitude to nature. Lastly he draws a fundamental distinction between the formal values of an art of comedy and those of an art of grace. The analysis of comic form, which is based on his intuitive practice, is his most original and magnificent contribution to esthetic theory.

Hogarth's genius as a comic artist was quickly recognized both in England and on the Continent. The first commentary on his narrative cycles, and the only one to be authorized by the artist, was published by the French enameler J. A. Ronquet as early as 1746. The bibliographies of Dobson (1904), Weitenkampf (1890), and Read (1941) provide *in toto* an excellent guide to the English literature of the subject but are inadequate for the study of the growth of his reputation on the Continent.

In England he received the literary tribute of Fielding and Smollett in his lifetime, and was the subject of long and appreciative essays by Lamb, Hazlitt, and Thackeray in the following century. As a classic of Hogarthian criticism, Lamb's essay *On the Genius and Character of Hogarth* (1811) ranks second only to the brilliant appreciation by Horace Walpole in the *Anecdotes of Painting* (1762–71). Artists and connoisseurs such as Reynolds and Walpole were eminently fair to his gifts for satire and genre but disparaged the historical paintings. Hogarth's reputation in France was extended in the following century by the perceptive criticism of Gautier and Baudelaire. In Germany his citation by Kant, the enthusiastic reviews of his theory by Lessing (1749), and the monumental commentary of his champion Lichtenberg, who published the first installment in 1794, made him widely known to both literary and artistic circles. An Italian translation of his *Analysis* in 1764 had a strong influence on the esthetic ideas of the Enlightenment.

The legend of the "literary" artist, indifferent to formal relationships, was spread by classicist connoisseurs in his lifetime and survived in England at least as late as Roger Fry. On the Continent Hogarth's reputation never suffered to the same extent from this particular criticism. Meier-Graefe was the first to do justice to the rococo affinities of his art in *Modern*

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*Painters* (1907). Modern scholarship has concentrated on elucidating his sources and evaluating his place in European art. Of great importance is the sociological interpretation of his work offered by F. Antal (1952). Greuze in France, Pietro Longhi in Italy (qq.v.), Cornelis Troost in Holland, and Chodowiecki in Germany have all invited comparison with Hogarth, but none is his superior in comic invention, and only Goya (q.v.) in Spain, with whose early work there are also points of resemblance, eclipses him as a painter and critic of society. (See also III, PLS. 208 and 425.)

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Joseph BURKE

Illustrations: PLS. 291–295.

**HOKUSAI.** Of all the many masters of the Japanese color print, perhaps the best known to the West is Katsushika Hokusai, born in Tokyo in 1760. During a long life of nearly ninety years, he produced at least 30,000 drawings and the illustrations for 500 books. He was one of the last great masters of print designing, working right at the end of the movement which had started about 200 years before his birth.

He was born in a poor quarter of Edo (now Tokyo), the son of an artisan, Kawamura Ichiroemon. At the age of five he was adopted by Nakajima Ise, maker of metal mirrors. The decoration of the backs of these mirrors was a flourishing craft in Japan (see JAPANESE ART), and Hokusai was introduced very early in life to the fundamentals of design. This basic training was continued and widened in 1774, when, at the age of fourteen, he was employed for about three years by an engraver. He then served in a book-lending shop, which further familiarized him with book illustration, an important side of print designing, and with color prints themselves (see ENGRAVINGS AND OTHER PRINT MEDIA; UKIYO-E).

Thus, at the age of nineteen, Hokusai was fully prepared to enter as a formal pupil the studio of the painter and print master Katsukawa Shunshō (1726–92), whose portrait prints of actors were at the time enjoying great popularity with the Japanese public. The young artist launched himself publicly as Shunrō, since it was customary for a student to take one part of his teacher's name in forming his own. Although it is possible that before this time he had already made designs for cheap popular novels, Hokusai's works at this time consisted of actor prints in the style of his master.

Shunrō was only one of more than fifty different names that Hokusai took during his long life, the best known being Tokitarō, Hyakurin, Sōri, Kakō, I-itsu (or sometimes Tamekazu), Manji, Gakyō-jin, and Shinsai. The restlessness, seen in his frequent changes of name and in his constant housemoving (more than ninety-three times), is a characteristic of his art. His style frequently changed, and his intellectual and artistic curiosity never tired. He never flagged in his search for new subjects, for original ways of expressing things, and above all for an inner power of brushwork which would give his work deeper feeling and a permanent value. When he died in 1849, at the age of nearly ninety, he was still begging for a few more years in which to bring his art to a final state of perfection. Then, as he said, "At the age of one hundred and ten every dot and every line from my brush will be alive." He signed this plea Gakyō Rōjin, "the old man mad about drawing."

His life in the years immediately following his departure from Shunshō's studio in 1785, after a quarrel with his teacher, is only sparsely documented. As a newcomer to the highly competitive world of print designing he passed through a relatively lean period. Sometimes he was forced to give up designing for much lowlier employment. He eked out a precarious living by illustrating books — *Foreigners Observing Japanese Customs* (1796), *The Story of Buntarō, the Salt Gatherer* (1796), *A History of Phantoms* (1798), *The Simple History of General Oven* (1800), among many others. He first used the name Hokusai in 1798.

His greatest claim to fame at this time was in the designing of *surimono*. *Surimono*, literally "printed things," was the name given to small prints, privately commissioned and circulated by those who could afford this refinement. They were designed to celebrate such events as marriages and births, to announce changes of name or address and retirement, to serve as invitations to parties, or simply to convey expressions of good wishes. They were printed in relatively small editions, much smaller than the usual prints on sale to the public, and designers, engravers, and printers gave their best to make them marvels of refined taste, delicate design, and rich effect, often embellishing them with *gaufrage* (raised designs) and with metal dust. Hokusai designed some of the finest ever produced.

In the period about 1800 Hokusai was influenced by many contemporary popular artists. Among these artists were Torii Kiyonaga (1752–1815), who swept the public with his interpretations of beautiful girls, tall and slim of figure and beautifully robed but somewhat vacant and monotonous of feature; and especially Kitagawa Utamaro (q.v.), the most successful artist of the day, who designed prints of feminine beauties. At this time too Hokusai became interested in European-style perspective (see NAGASAKI SCHOOL), introduced into Japan by Dutch engraved books and taken up by artists such as Shiba Kōkan (d. 1818). Adapting this to Japanese requirements Hokusai produced, in 1806, his second set of prints illustrating the famous melodrama *Chūshingura*. Other landscapes such as *Mount Fuji Seen from Takahashi Bridge* (ca. 1800–06) show similar European influences. But the technique is often only partly understood and is adapted with great difficulty.

At the same time Hokusai was exploring the various native styles of painting such as the Tosa and Kanō schools (qq.v.) and that most Japanese of all movements, the decorative style, whose greatest master was Kōrin (1658–1716; see OGATA, KŌRIN AND KENZAN). Elements of all these appear in Hokusai's work. In art and the history of art, he was perhaps the best educated of all the print masters.

His style at this period owed much to the delicacy of *surimono* designing, but at the same time he was experimenting with figures in landscape — the form which was to be his forte in after years. *Fine Views of the Eastern Capital at a Glance* (1800) and *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (the great highway between Tokyo and Kyoto, 1804) show his growing powers and presage his future work in this sphere. He was fast taking over the leadership of the print movement in place of Utamaro.

In these early years when Hokusai was struggling for recog-

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nition, he was a great exponent of self-advertisement, and his feats of publicity and eccentricity have a strikingly modern appearance. He would travel round the countryside and to provincial centers, stretch out huge sheets of paper, rush over them with broom and bucket of ink, and haul up the finished product to be admired by the astounded local population. In a famous competition with Tani Bunchō (ca. 1765–ca. 1840) he painted a broad sweep of blue across a sheet of paper, then took a chicken, dipped its feet in red paint, and let it loose on the paper. The result was a painting which he entitled *Maple Leaves on a River*. Such tricks, dear to an art-loving, sensation-minded populace, served to illustrate his originality and brought him renown. But behind such prodigies of artistic sleight-of-hand lay years of study and discipline and a careful observation of the myriad aspects of life about him.

He devoted the decade from 1810 to 1820 mainly to the art of book illustration. The practice of illustrating books had grown up since the early 17th century, and such illustrations served also to assist the less literate among the public to understand the texts. Sometimes picture books without text were produced. The more serious novels also contained illustrations, and from about 1807 Hokusai collaborated with Bakin (1767–1848), whom the Japanese consider to be one of their greatest novelists. However, each became jealous of the other's contribution to the success of the works, and the collaboration broke up in stormy scenes. The contribution of the illustrator to these books was often considered of more importance than that of the author, and in this instance Bakin's work was minimized. Hokusai's style in these books is often more naturalistic than in his prints, and in them he seems to have curbed his extravagant imagination.

Interest in the actual technique of drawing constantly preoccupied Hokusai; his *Quick Lessons in Simplified Drawing* (1812) purports to make drawing easy, and his *Painting in Three Forms* (1823) shows how to draw the same object from three different viewpoints. *Paintings with One Stroke of the Brush* (1823) is both charming and ingenious in the way the artist depicts his subjects without taking his brush from the paper. The designs seldom seem forced.

However, the most famous of his books is undoubtedly the *Manga* (*Mangwa*), or "Random Sketches" (PL. 299). The first volume of this 15-volume work appeared in 1814 and the last posthumously in 1878. The *Manga* gave the public an avalanche of drawings taken from a thousand aspects of real and imaginary worlds: children, animals, plants, men and women illustrating every possible gesture and activity, landscapes, oddities, architecture — every sketch and composition enlivened by the vigor and virtuosity of Hokusai's brush. His mind was intrigued and amused by everything he saw about him. He showed himself a master of Japanese styles of the past and of Chinese modes. This jumble of random sketches, so easily thrown together, with no need for a connecting thread, was an immediate success and ensured a ready sale for the subsequent volumes — a commercial consideration which no doubt sharpened Hokusai's imagination and stimulated him to continue recording his observations of the fascinating world around him. The series has maintained its popularity and has frequently been reprinted.

One other illustrated book of 1814 is worthy of note: the *Shashin Gafu*, or "Pictures Drawn from Nature," which comprises 14 prints selected, designed, and reproduced with the greatest care.

As an artist, Hokusai matured comparatively late in life, and it was not until the 1820s, when he was about sixty years old, that he began to realize his full possibilities. There is little doubt that he did this in landscape, the last province left open to the print designer, and in prints of flowers and birds, which are now considered to be his finest work.

Pure landscape painting has always been considered the supreme test of the Oriental artist; although elements of it occur in earlier prints, it was a subject which the print designers had neglected. The genius of such men as Hokusai and Hiroshige (q.v.) made a public accustomed to representations of women, actors, and erotica accept pure landscape as a legitimate theme for the most popular of arts. The change was helped by improved communications and by the passion for travel which gripped Japan at this time.

The landscapes depicted in Hokusai's prints owe something to past traditions but are nevertheless strikingly different from anything hitherto found in Eastern art. Chinese painters and their Japanese imitators painted ideal landscapes (see LANDSCAPE IN ART), seldom recognizable as any particular location, which were a synthesis of spirit and intellect in which color was of little or no importance. But for the Japanese print masters, the whole of Japan, real and vital, became an inexhaustible mine of inspiration. Hokusai and Hiroshige, the two major prophets of this movement, gave their patrons landscapes of Japan which they could recognize while still marveling at the artists' daring imagination or sensitive insight, and at their exaggeration, emphasis, and selectiveness.

Like Chinese artists for centuries before him, Hokusai traveled widely in his search for landscape material, and from 1823 to 1835 he produced the *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (PL. 297, *below*; IV, PL. 447), the *Waterfalls of Japan* (PL. 296), the *Views of Famous Bridges* (PL. 297), and the *Waters in Their Thousand Aspects*. The great success of the Fuji series encouraged him to add another 10 prints so that in all 46 appeared. They include three of the most original and best-known of all Japanese color prints, *Fuji in Clear Weather*, *Fuji above the Lightning*, and *Wave at Kanagawa* (PL. 299), in which the mountain is seen from the trough of a huge breaking wave which threatens to engulf a boatload of men. In other views the majestic slopes of this gentle mountain are used to set off the everyday activities of puny man, and almost every print is in itself a masterly design. Hokusai returned to this theme of eternal Fuji and transient mankind in 1835 with his *Hundred Views of Mount Fuji*. The *Waterfalls* series contains some of his most original and powerful designs (PL. 296).

Hokusai is credited with being the first Japanese artist to use Prussian blue, a permanent dye imported from Europe to replace the fugitive blues previously used in prints. Properly and sensitively used it can produce beautiful effects; its careless use contributed much to the coarseness of some of the later prints, especially when blocks were used to produce more prints than their normal capacity.

Hokusai produced two great sets of *Flowers and Birds*, sometimes known from their format as *The Larger Flowers* (ca. 1828) and *The Smaller Flowers*. These masterly syntheses of European, Japanese, and Chinese influences are considered to be among his finest works. The same warmth of personal feeling that imbues his landscapes inhabits these less startling but no less lively designs. His combination of bold brushwork, skillful coloring, and powerful composition here enlivens themes which have been popular in Eastern painting for centuries. He thus revolutionized flower painting as he had landscape painting — though the subject gave him less scope for the bold imagination reflected in some of his landscapes.

However, Hokusai did not have the field completely to himself. Hiroshige, his most important competitor for the public favor, came to the fore with his *Views of the Eastern Capital* (about 1826), his first *Tōkaidō* set (1833–34), *Famous Views of Kyoto* (1834), and the *Eight Views of Lake Biwa* (1835). These prints, many of which represented famous scenes already treated by Hokusai, established Hiroshige as the leading landscape designer, and thereafter Hokusai seems to have gradually fallen from the public favor. Even so, his *Hundred Poems Explained by the Nurse* (published ca. 1845) show that his inspiration had by no means lost its vital force.

Toward the end of this life he turned increasingly to classical subjects, which the history of China and Japan supplied in abundance. *Poems of China and Japan Mirrored to Life*, a set of 10 vertical double prints, in *kakemono* format, are considered by some authorities to be the finest landscapes he produced.

Hokusai was essentially a man of the people, and his art sprang from the same earthy passions which characterize the Japanese print movement as a whole. As a designer he had an infallible gift for reducing the natural world to bold and original designs without losing touch with the sources of his inspiration. He exaggerated, simplified, and synthesized

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with huge confidence, eliminating the unnecessary and emphasizing essentials so as to produce designs which, while not losing touch with reality, are yet more intense than life. His sense of color equaled the boldness of his draftsmanship. The bold rhythms which flow through his prints are always controlled by a masterly power which seems to derive from an inner ecstasy. Never sentimental, his interest in humanity is seldom absent from even the smallest sketch in his notebooks. Sometimes, it is true, his works seem to mock his fellow men, but it is a sympathetic mockery not inspired by any sense of superiority; Hokusai mocked himself with the same readiness as he did his neighbor. His humor was never malicious, and he associated himself with his fellow man with great affection. He portrayed the world as a vast theatrical backdrop against which man and his emotions seem puny. His basic humanity makes credible even his wildest fancy.

Despite the insatiable appetite of the public, Hokusai escaped the dangers of overpopularity better than did Hiroshige, and he seldom sought a cheap effect or pandered to degraded taste. Through all his landscapes run warm, joyous themes which spring from a deep and keen appreciation of the beauties of his country, and he exhorted his countrymen to delight likewise in them.

Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of his art is his complete mastery of his media. He seems constantly to be setting himself problems merely for the sake of solving them brilliantly or at least differently. His line, it has been said, is life itself. It is unfortunate for his reputation that many of the prints which bear his name are but later impressions, made when the original blocks were so worn as to provide only a travesty of his intentions.

Hokusai came at the end of the print movement, and after his death and that of his rival Hiroshige (1858), very few designers, with the exception of Kuniyoshi, rose above mediocrity.

Hokusai had little influence on his pupils or, in fact, on Japanese art in general, especially since soon after his death Japan was opened to the West, after which Western styles overwhelmed the native art, bringing the country into the world of international art.

His prints reached Europe not long after his death; many of them were fine examples of printing, and they achieved instant success. European artists, struggling to achieve an art of landscape which was nonrepresentational, and in which line and flat areas of color combined to produce designs satisfying to the eye, found in these prints an exotic solution to their problems and a brilliant justification of their theories. Later, when the achievements of the earlier Ukiyo-e artists reached the West, the reputations of Hokusai and Hiroshige diminished, but seeing him now from a greater distance, we can appreciate Hokusai as a daemonic figure of colossal invention, the supreme example and spokesman of his society. Few artists have added as much as he to the world's vision of landscape.

PRINCIPAL WORKS. Ca. 1790: *Festivals of the Green Houses; Festivals for the Twelve Months.* – 1796: *Foreigners Observing Japanese Customs.* – Ca. 1798: First *Chūshingura* series. – Ca. 1800: *Fine Views of the Eastern Capital at a Glance; The Simple History of General Oven.* – 1801: *Brocade Prints of the Thirty-six Poetesses.* – 1802: *Fifty Fanciful Poets, Each with One Poem.* – 1803: *Fuji in Spring.* – 1803–04: *A Picture Book of Kyōka; Range upon Range of Mountains; Both Banks of the Sumida River at a Glance.* – 1804: *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (quarto block series). – 1806: Second *Chūshingura* series. – Ca. 1806: *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō; Hundred Droll Verses in Fashion.* – 1807: Illustrated new edition of *Suikoden.* – Ca. 1810: *Portraits of Six Poets.* – 1812: *Quick Lessons in Simplified Drawing.* – 1814: First volume of *Manga; Shashin Gafu.* – 1819: *Hokusai Gashiki.* – 1820: *Hokusai Sōga.* – 1823: *Paintings with One Stroke of the Brush.* – 1823–29: *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji.* – 1827–30: *Views of Famous Bridges; Eight Views of Lū-chū Islands; Snow, Moon, and Flowers; Waterfalls of Japan;* larger and smaller sets of *Flowers and Birds.* – 1828–33: *The Poems of China and Japan Mirrored to Life; Waters in Their Thousand Aspects.* – 1833–36: *Tōshisen.* – 1834–35: *Hundred Views of Mount Fuji.* – ca. 1845: *Hundred Poems Explained by the Nurse.*

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Peter C. SWANN

Illustrations: PLS. 296–300.

**HOLBEIN.** Family of German artists, which included Hans the Elder (ca. 1460–1524), his brother Sigmund (d. 1540), his elder son Ambrosius (1494–ca. 1519), and his younger son Hans the Younger (1497/8–1543). All worked as painters and designed woodcuts and stained glass, while Hans the Younger was known also for engravings and various decorative works. He and his father, in particular, attained great fame not only in Germany but also in several other European countries.

SUMMARY. Hans the Elder and Sigmund (col. 586). Hans the Younger and Ambrosius (col. 589).

HANS THE ELDER AND SIGMUND. Hans Holbein the Elder was the son of Michael Holbein, a tanner in Augsburg. An apprenticeship either in Ulm (Beutler, 1953–54) or in Augsburg (Stange, 1957, pp. 57–76) and a journey to the Netherlands between 1490 and 1493 have been deduced from his work, which also reveals knowledge of Upper Rhenish paintings, Ulm sculpture, and the engravings of Schongauer (q.v.). In 1493 Hans is recorded as a citizen of Ulm, and in 1494 he appears for the first time in the Augsburg tax registers. It has been calculated that Ambrosius, his elder son, was born in 1494, on the basis of a drawing of his two sons by Hans the Elder, dated 1511 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), in which the age of Ambrosius is given as seventeen and that of Hans as fourteen. From Ambrosius' birth date it has been concluded that the elder Holbein married in 1493. According to a local tradition, for which there is no documentary support, his wife was a daughter of Thoman Burgkmair and a sister of Hans Burgkmair the Elder (q.v.), both representative Augsburg painters. From the mid-1490s the collaboration of assistants is clearly apparent in Holbein's works. This was to become more extensive in the decade 1499–1509. Documents give the names of two assistants: Sigmund, the younger brother, from the mid-1490s until 1516, and Leonhard Beck, whose collaboration started later and seems to have come to an end by 1503. In 1500–01, Hans, assisted by Leonhard Beck and Sigmund, was working for the Dominicans in Frankfurt, and from Frankfurt he apparently made another trip to the Netherlands. In 1509 Hans appears to have been in Alsace, working for the convent of Hohenburg. He had contacts of long standing with Alsace, where earlier he had been active for the monastery of Murbach and neighboring places (Reinhardt, 1954–55). All this time many outside commissions led to frequent absences from Augsburg. From 1514 on, these absences were more prolonged and ended in his final removal from Augsburg, in 1516, when he went to Isenheim in Alsace. This fact emerges from a petition by his brother Sigmund, dated Jan. 12, 1517, in which Sigmund seeks the protection of the court against his brother, who had moved to Isenheim.

The sons of Hans the Elder had also left Augsburg. Ambrosius can be traced in Konstanz in 1514, in nearby Stein am Rhein in 1515, and finally in Basel during the winter of 1515–16, while his brother Hans was working on a Basel commission as early as the summer of 1515. In Isenheim, which is not far from Basel, the elder Holbein was employed painting an altarpiece for the Antonite monastery, where Grünewald had just completed his famous high altar. A letter of July 4, 1526, written on behalf of Hans the Younger by the burgomaster of Basel to the Preceptor of the Order of St. Anthony in Isenheim, has led to the conclusion that the elder Holbein spent his last years with this son (Chamberlain, 1913). This appears all the more likely, as it has recently been shown that from 1517 on a number of works were produced with the collaboration of father and son (Reinhardt, 1954–55). Thus in 1517, when the younger Hans had not yet become a free

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master, the very large commission for paintings inside and outside the house of Jacob von Hertenstein in Lucerne (now destroyed) obviously went to the elder artist who, aided probably by several assistants, painted the inside murals [see his preparatory drawing for the *Fourteen Helpers in Need* (*Nothelfer*); Basel, Kunstmus.]; whereas the façade paintings undoubtedly, and perhaps some inside hunt and genre scenes, were left to the younger Hans. The decoration of the Hertenstein house seems to have taken up the years 1517–19. The influence of contemporary Flemish art, such as that of Gerard David (q.v.) in the *Fountain of Life* (1519; Lisbon, Mus. Nac. de Arte Antiga), presupposes yet another journey to the Netherlands. In 1520–21 Hans the Elder painted several of the donors' portraits in his son's altarpiece (now in the Cathedral of Freiburg im Breisgau), commissioned by Hans Oberried (Schmid, 1941–42). From this period date some other works, previously ascribed to the younger Hans, which are now given to the father. It is a measure of the elder Holbein's artistic rank that many of his paintings were thought worthy of his great son. The relations between the elder Holbein and his two sons were so close, particularly in the field of portraiture, that for a number of portraits which have in turn been attributed to each of the three artists (or even to Sigmund), the authorship is still uncertain. The elder Holbein's fame as a portraitist, however, rests securely on his delicate silverpoint works, mostly in print collections in Basel, Berlin, Bamberg, Copenhagen, and in Chantilly (Mus. Condé; self-portrait), many of which were used in his religious compositions.

WORKS OF HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER (selection). *St. Anne with the Virgin and Child*, signed H. H. (datable in the late 1480s, German private coll.). – *Death of the Virgin* (Budapest, Mus. of Fine Arts), signed in full, with incomplete remains of a date. – *Death of the Virgin*, (dated 1490; Basel, Kunstmus.), left wing of an altarpiece of St. Afra, painted for an Augsburg church. – *Altarpiece of the Virgin* (1493, Augsburg, Cathedral), painted for the monastery of Weingarten. – *Passion of Christ* (Donaueschingen, Germany, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Samml.), painted with the help of assistants for Konrad Mörlin, abbot from 1496 of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Ulrich und St. Afra in Augsburg, and dating from the mid-1490s (Beutler). – *Madonna* (1499, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nat.-Mus.). – *Epitaph for the Three Sisters Vetter* (1499, Augsburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesamml.), executed after the designs of Sigmund Holbein by an assistant (?). – *Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore* (1499, Augsburg, Staatsgal.). – *Genealogical Tree of the Dominicans* and *Passion of Christ* (1500–01, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinst.), painted with the assistance of Leonhard Beck and Sigmund Holbein, for the Dominican church in Frankfurt. – *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*: *Presentation in the Temple* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle); *Death of the Virgin* (Basel, Kunstmus.); fragments from the *Annunciation* and *Nativity* (private colls.). – Altarpiece (PLS. 301, 302) for the monastery of Kaisheim, with scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin (1502, Munich, Alte Pin.). – Designs for stained glass for the Cathedral of Eichstätt, begun 1502. – *Walther Epitaph* (1502, Augsburg, Staatsgal.), executed by Beck (Stange, 1957). – *Basilica of St. Paul* (ca. 1504, Augsburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesamml.), including self-portrait and portraits of his wife and sons. – *Portrait of a Man* (dated 1505, Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.), the earliest dated independent portrait by the elder Holbein (date and attribution not generally accepted). – *Madonna* (ca. 1503–05, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nat.-Mus.), sometimes wrongly attributed to Sigmund Holbein. – Lost altar for St. Moritz, Augsburg (1504–08). – Lost altar for Augsburg Cathedral, 1508–09 (drawing in Danzig; Buchner, 1928); it contained the earliest Renaissance ornaments in Holbein's work. – *Votive Picture of Ulrich Schwarz* (ca. 1509, Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsamml.), execution perhaps by Sigmund Holbein. – Altarpiece for Hohenburg (1509, Prague, Nat. Gall.). – Altar of St. Catherine (1512, Augsburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesamml.). – *Portrait of a Man* (dated 1513; formerly, Vienna, Lanckoronski Coll.), which formed a diptych with a *Madonna* (formerly, Vienna, Montenuovo Coll.; now Castagnola, Lugano, Switzerland, Baroness Bentinck-Thyssen Coll.), or rather its prototype. – Altar of St. Sebastian (1516, Munich, Alte Pin.). – *Madonna* (shortly after 1516, Munich, Böhler Coll.), Holbein's most "classical" painting. – *Fountain of Life* (1519, Lisbon, Mus. Nac. de Arte Antiga). – *St. George* and *St. Ursula* (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle), the latter bearing the not completely original date 1522; hitherto ascribed to the younger Hans, now convincingly assigned, at least for the St. George, to his father (Reinhardt, 1954–55). – *Last Supper* (Basel, Kunstmus.), which, according to Reinhardt (1938), is not by Hans the Younger, but by the Elder.

Hans Holbein the Elder was the leading painter of his generation in the whole of southern Germany. In general this generation found its inspiration in the art of the Netherlands and was dominated by it, rather than by that of Italy, but it is characteristic of Holbein that he was not content with the impressions gained in his youth from the works of earlier masters such as Rogier van der Weyden (q.v.). Nonetheless, as a mature artist he again visited the Netherlands and was able to profit from Hieronymus Bosch (q.v.), as is seen, for example, in the figure of Christ crowned with thorns in the *Basilica of St. Paul*. Hans even went there a third time, as an old man, to look at the works of more modern artists, such as Gerard David and Quentin Massys (qq.v.). Unlike many of his contemporaries, Hans Holbein translated what he saw into his own pictorial language, making it completely his own. The essential, personal characteristic of his art is, above all, his concern for the two-dimensional composition into which the figures, completely dominating the picture, have to be fitted. The composition is usually very clear, with the main figure placed in the center. This enhances the hieratic, solemn character of the picture, which is relieved only by a pervading feeling of gentleness and humanity. Holbein aimed at ideal beauty, measure, and harmony, but he was able to insert realistic portraits into this over-all pattern. His paintings are above all the works of a colorist, the greatest in southern Germany except Grünewald.

The interest of Hans Holbein the Elder in surface pattern is closely linked to his conception of pictorial space. From about 1493 (Weingarten altarpiece) to 1501 (Frankfurt Dominican panels) he arranged his figures as in a relief, in one or two layers parallel to the picture plane. In the Kaisheimer Altar (1502; PLS. 301, 302) the figures are arranged diagonally in space, without any loss to the surface pattern, and in the *Basilica of St. Paul* (1504) spatial depth is achieved as never before or later in his work. About 1509 (Hohenburg altarpiece) he was more concerned with increasing the volume and solidity of his figures, which up to that time had been extremely delicate. This solidity reached its climax in the altar of St. Catherine (1512). Here, too, the Italian Renaissance decoration, which had first appeared in his work in about 1508, was fully developed. Yet despite the introduction of the Italian motifs, Holbein's ideals remained basically Gothic, in that the organic conception of the human body was beyond his range. On the other hand, his sense of harmony and his balanced symmetrical composition, in his late years tending toward a triangular arrangement, produced an approximation to the achievements of the High Renaissance (above all in the Böhler *Madonna*), which is unequaled in his generation in Germany.

Only since the 1920s or so have Hans Holbein's independent portrait paintings been rediscovered. The earliest of these (*Portrait of a Man*, 1505), if by him, is still in the Augsburg tradition and not very personal. The later ones, however, display a kindness and tenderness of feeling that distinguish them from most contemporary portraits. Only the portraits by his son Ambrosius (above all those of two boys; Basel, Kunstmus.) can be compared with them in this respect. Also in the later period Holbein developed a new interest in landscape (altar of St. Sebastian; *Fountain of Life*). Another field of the elder Holbein's activity, his designs for glass painting, has been the subject of a detailed study (Thiem, 1954). In Swabian, Bavarian, and Tyrolese churches there are still extant some 17 stained-glass windows painted after his cartoons.

Despite the great number of modern Holbein studies, we still lack a definitive catalogue of Hans Holbein the Elder's drawings, the clarification of his beginnings, a new assessment of his late work, and, with regard to the large altarpieces, the separation of those parts painted by his own hand from those of his collaborators. Among these it seems that his brother Sigmund played the leading role in the workshop for many years. From attempts (Beutler, 1953–54; Stange, 1957, p. 77 ff.) to specify his contributions, it may be concluded that his work, though in general outline following his brother's, is coarser and tends to a violence

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which is alien to the elder Hans. The connection with Sigmund suggested (Buchner, 1955) for a group of paintings which includes a *Presentation of the Virgin* (on the American art market) is not convincing. On the other hand, Von Mandach's attribution to Sigmund (1948) of some drawings in the Bern Historisches Museum deserves serious consideration.

HANS THE YOUNGER AND AMBROSIUS. Hans Holbein the Younger, son of Hans Holbein the Elder, was born in Augsburg in the winter of 1497–98 and died in London in 1543. He received his first artistic training in his father's workshop, and seems also to have had early contacts with Hans Burgkmair the Elder. The younger Holbein's earliest extant work, the table top with genre scenes and trompe l'oeil motifs (Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmus.), was painted for Hans Baer, the Basel standard bearer who fell in the battle of Marignano on Sept. 13–14, 1515; therefore the artist must have arrived in Basel at the latest in the summer of 1515. As a young journeyman he would have had to enter a master's workshop, which may have been that of Hans Herbst, with whom Ambrosius was working in 1516; there exist, in fact, some works (such as the *Procession to Calvary*, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) the authorship of which is disputed between Herbst, whose initials were also H. H., and the Holbeins. At the same time the young artist enjoyed a certain independence before becoming a master himself. In December, 1515–January, 1516, Hans the Younger decorated a copy of Erasmus' *Encomium moriae* (Basel ed., 1515) with witty marginal drawings; it belonged to the Humanist schoolmaster Oswald Myconius and is now in the Kunstmuseum in Basel. Three of the 82 drawings are probably by Ambrosius, and there may have been other collaborators, but the majority of the drawings are certainly by Hans the Younger. Another work done for Myconius by the two brothers is the *Schoolmaster's Signboard* (Basel, Kunstmus.), presenting on one side the teaching of children (obviously the work of Ambrosius) and on the other the teaching of grown-up pupils (painted by Hans). Holbein's introduction to Humanist circles in 1516 first bore fruit in commissions for book decoration from Johann Froben, the friend and publisher of Erasmus; his contact with Erasmus himself must have begun later, since Erasmus was absent from Basel between 1516 and 1521. Contacts with the ruling merchant class of Basel were also established in 1516, when Holbein painted the portraits of the burgomaster Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and his wife Dorothea Kannengiesser (Basel, Kunstmus.). In 1517 Hans went to Lucerne with his father, where his presence is recorded in 1517 and 1519 (but not in 1518), to paint the façade of the Hertenstein house. From these years date designs for glass paintings with coats of arms of Lucerne families. It is hard to decide whether the Renaissance features of the Hertenstein house façade are derived from Italian engravings and Augsburg adaptations of Italian models, or whether they are the fruit of firsthand knowledge of north Italian painting and sculpture. The foreshortening of Joseph of Arimathea's left hand in the *Lamentation Over the Dead Christ*, painted for the Franciscan Church of Lucerne early in 1519 (known only from copies) is derived either from Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks* (IX, PL. 120), or, as the present writer assumes, from Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria*, then in Mantua (Paris, Louvre), since the influence of this painting is later to be found again in Holbein's work. The *Family of Sir Thomas More*, by its obvious connection with Mantegna's *Camera degli Sposi* (IX, PL. 328), also suggests a visit to Mantua. An indirect proof of Holbein's absence from Basel is the fact that no books published in Basel between the middle of 1517 and the end of 1519 contain decorations by Hans the Younger. From this period, but only until the end of 1518, we have a number of book decorations for Basel publishers by Ambrosius, who was accepted as a master of the Basel painters' guild on Feb. 24, 1517. Since no works by Ambrosius for Basel publishers are known after 1519, it is generally assumed that he died early in that year, although one or two paintings which can be attributed to him, such as the *Death of the Virgin* (Vienna, Akademie der Bildenden Künste), have been assigned to a later date, about 1521 (Koegler, 1924). Also, since Hans became a master of the Basel guild on Sept. 25, 1519, it has been assumed that he took over his dead brother's workshop. About the same time he married Elsbeth Schmid. Before leaving for England in 1526 he produced all his known religious paintings except perhaps the *Noli me tangere* (Hampton Court, Royal Colls.), and a number of monumental wall paintings, but comparatively few portraits. His sitters were among the leading personalities of Basel: the Humanist Bonifacius Amerbach (1519; Basel, Kunstmus.), again the burgomaster Meyer with his family at the feet of the Virgin (1526), and especially Erasmus of Rotterdam, of whom three portraits of 1523 are preserved (Salisbury, Longford Castle, Coll. Earl of Radnor; Paris, Louvre; Basel, Kunstmus.). The first series of wall paintings in the Great Council Chamber of the Basel Town Hall (contract dated June 15, 1521; payments until November, 1522), like all of Holbein's murals, is lost. Here scenes from ancient history, mostly taken from Valerius Maximus and meant as a warning to the Councilors, alternated with single figures, all painted within a framework of feigned architecture. The architectural framework designed in illusionistic perspective, or trompe l'oeil, was the decisive feature of the decoration of the house "Zum Tanz," which more probably was executed before the journey to England (Reinhardt, 1938; Ganz, 1950), rather than about 1530–32 (Schmid, 1948; Gantner and Reinle, 1956). A simplified and more classical design (Basel, Kunstmus.) is, according to Koegler, as reported by Reinhardt (1938), a tentative recasting of the composition and is to be dated about 1538.

The first production of Hans Holbein the Younger's workshop, about 1519–20, was probably the series of five paintings of the Passion of Christ, on canvas (Basel, Kunstmus.), though only the *Last Supper* and the *Flagellation* seem to have been designed by Holbein himself. Here, and in other works of that time, the German "expressionist" conception of the figures betrays the impact of Grünewald, an influence completely assimilated and integrated in the famous *Dead Christ* (III, PL. 307), although at the same time it is imbued with powerful realism. This painting, dated 1521, either formed the predella of an altarpiece or took the place of a sculpture in an Easter Sepulcher (Ueberwasser, 1958). The panels with the Passion of Christ, perhaps originally the wings of the elder Holbein's *Last Supper*, are hard to date exactly.

The greatest religious paintings produced by Hans the Younger before the journey to England in 1526 are the *Virgin with the Family of the Burgomaster Meyer* and the organ wings for the Basel Cathedral (Basel, Kunstmus.). The history of the "Meyer Madonna" (PL. 305) has been definitely clarified by Reinhardt (1954–55). The altarpiece was painted for the chapel of Meyer's castle, Gundeldingen, near Basel, in 1526; between Holbein's return from England in 1528 and Meyer's death in 1531 the portrait of Meyer's first wife, who had died in 1511, was added, probably after the death of Meyer's two young sons, who had still been alive in 1526. Thus the votive altar was turned into a kind of epitaph. The inclusion of a third woman led to compositional alterations, as can be seen from X-ray photographs.

Holbein's only surviving work on a monumental scale, the organ wings, painted in grisaille with the statuesque figures of the Madonna and three saints (Basel, Kunstsmus.), must also date from 1526 and not from 1528 (Schmid, 1948), since, after the Reformation, a representation of Catholic saints in the Cathedral at the later date is very unlikely. Moreover the close stylistic connection with the "Meyer Madonna" points to a date before the journey to England. The treatment of flesh in the "Meyer Madonna," as well as in the *Venus* of about 1526 (Basel, Kunstmus.), shows a close dependence on Leonardo da Vinci, whose works Holbein may indeed have seen in France in the autumn of 1523 or the spring of 1524. From a letter of Erasmus of June 3, 1524, it is known that Holbein had taken a portrait of Erasmus to France, and there is other evidence of this visit: for example, the drawings after the statues at Bourges of Jean, Duc de Berry, and his wife Jeanne de Boulogne (Basel, Kunstmus., Kupferstichkabinett; cf. Grossmann, 1950, and Zschokke, 1958); and the architecture

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of the Château of Blois which appears in the woodcut of the Empress in the *Dance of Death* (Reinhardt, 1938). Holbein may well have visited the other royal châteaux on the Loire, where Francis I kept the *Mona Lisa* and other late works of Leonardo. On this same journey Holbein probably saw in Lyons Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel, who were later to publish the woodcuts of the *Dance of Death*, on which Holbein worked from about 1523 to 1526. Three early proof impressions (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett) bear the date 1527. In June, 1526, Melchior Trechsel applied successfully to the Basel court for extradition of the woodblocks from the estate of the deceased Hans Lützelburger, the woodcutter who cut 42 of the scenes and signed with his monogram the one with the Duchess. The woodcuts executed by Lützelburger are of the highest quality, never again attained in the rest of the series. The first edition, published by the Trechsels in Lyons as late as 1538, contained 41 woodcuts; in the edition of 1545, published by J. and F. Frellon in Lyons, there were 53 woodcuts, and it was not before 1562 that Jean Frellon published the most complete set, with 58 pictures, though in the opinion of Winzinger (1948) even more may have been planned. These woodcuts of 1523–26 are Hans the Younger's most popular graphic work, but he had previously designed a vast number of book decorations, among which were extremely original frontispieces and no less than a thousand single initials. In addition to Bible illustrations the most important set of illustrations in these years were the 72 designs for engravings intended for a *Hortulus animae*, which were cut by Jakob Faber and the Monogrammist C. V. between 1520 and 1523 (Koegler, 1943).

Hans the Younger left Basel after Aug. 29, 1526, and, traveling via Antwerp, where he seems to have visited Quentin Massys, arrived in England before Dec. 18, on which date Sir Thomas More, evidently his host in Chelsea (then outside London), wrote a letter full of praise of him to Erasmus. During his stay in England, which lasted until 1528, Holbein painted a number of portraits: *Sir Thomas More* (1527, New York, Frick Coll.); in the same year a lost picture of More and his family (an original drawing of the whole composition is in Basel; drawings for the heads at Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.; and the most faithful copy, by Rowland Locky, is in Lord St. Oswald's collection, Wakefield, Nostell Priory); *Archbishop Warham* (Paris, Louvre; the version at Lambeth Palace, London, is an early copy); *Sir Henry Guildford* (Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.) and *Lady Guildford* (St. Louis, Mo., City Art Mus.); *Nicholas Kratzer*, the German astronomer to Henry VIII (1528; PL. 306); and the double portrait *Sir Thomas Goldsalve and His Son* (1528, Dresden, Gemäldegal.). While the portrait drawing *Sir Nicholas Carew* (Basel, Kunstmus., Kupferstichkabinett) is an original work of this period by Holbein, there are grave doubts about Holbein's part in the painting based on it at Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, Scotland.

Holbein was back in Basel by Aug. 29, 1528, when he bought a large house. In February, 1529, the City Council ordered all paintings to be taken from the churches and destroyed, and since religious painting was no longer possible in Basel, Holbein returned to England in 1532.

In the Basel period of 1528–32, during which he may have made another trip to northern Italy, Hans Holbein the Younger painted some of his greatest portraits: *The Artist's Family* (cut down so that the last digit of the date — 1528 or 1529 — is lost; Basel, Kunstmus.), and several portraits of Erasmus (ca. 1531–32), culminating in the magnificent roundel also in Basel. Preparatory drawings in the Basel Kunstmuseum give some idea of the monumental commissions of these years: the façade of the house "Zum Kaiserstuhl," and the completion (1530) of the Council Chamber decorations in the Town Hall (*Samuel Rebuking Saul* and the *Anger of Rehoboam*; fragments of the latter are also preserved in Basel, Kunstmus.). Close in character to these Biblical compositions are the 94 woodcuts of the *Icones historiarum Veteris Testamenti*, published by Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel in Lyons in 1538 (VI, PL. 407), but designed before 1531 (II, PL. 292), when 68 of them appeared, in reverse, in copies of the Bible published by Froschauer in Zurich. Among other important works of this period are the illustrations to seven nonreligious books published in Basel, 1531–34, ten drawings of the Passion of Christ (Basel, Kunstmus.) designed for stained-glass windows (a type of religious painting permitted by the Swiss reformers), and a drawing, *Battle of Lansquenets* (Basel, Kunstmus.), which may have been the design for a fresco.

In England, where he returned in 1532 after staying for a month in Antwerp, Holbein found his old patron More out of favor with the King. His new clientele at the start were the merchants of the Steel Yard, the settlement of the Hanseatic League in London. The first portraits of this particular social group — *Georg Gisze* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), Hermann Wedigh (*Member of the Wedigh Family*; PL. 303), and the so-called "Hans of Antwerp" (Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.) — are dated 1532. This category of portraits continued until Holbein's last years and includes some of his most successful works, such as *Derick Born* (1533, Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.), *Dirk Tybis*, also 1533, and an *Unknown Young Merchant* of 1541 (both in Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.). On the occasion of Anne Boleyn's coronation procession on May 31, 1533, Holbein designed for the merchants of the Steel Yard a triumphal arch with Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus (drawing, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), and for the Guildhall of the Steel Yard he painted, at about the same time, two large wall decorations on canvas, *The Triumph of Riches* and *The Triumph of Poverty*, last heard of in an inventory of the Bishop of Olmütz. (In the present writer's view a drawing in the Louvre — clearly a copy after Holbein — and an engraving published by J. Borgiani in Antwerp in 1561 reproduce the first design for *The Triumph of Riches*, whereas most of the copies of both *Triumphs* are based on the paintings as finally executed.) Among the few designs for woodcut in these last English years, *Erasmus im Gehäus* and the title page for the Coverdale Bible (London, Br. Mus., both 1535) are the outstanding works. Holbein's main activity until his death, however, consisted in work for Henry VIII, whose service he seems to have entered by 1536, and for the court circle; this was chiefly portraiture and designs for goldsmiths' work and jewelry. In this period, too, Hans learned from Lucas Horenbout the technique of the portrait miniature (Colding, 1953), and produced some of the greatest works of this kind, such as the portrait of Mrs. Pemberton (London, Vict. and Alb.). Of the many miniatures attributed to him, the severest modern criticism has accepted about twelve (Winter, 1943; Colding, 1953; Reynolds, 1956). From 1533 on, several works testify to contacts with the court circle: *Robert Cheseman* (The Hague, Mauritshuis), *The Ambassadors* (the French ambassadors Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve; PL. 304), and *Sir Thomas Cromwell* (original lost, best version in New York, Frick Coll.), all painted in 1533; *Sieur de Morette*, another French envoy (1535; Dresden, Gemäldegal.); and Henry VIII's favorite, *Richard Southwell* (1536; Florence, Uffizi). Holbein also designed a table fountain (Basel, Kunstmus.), which was Anne Boleyn's New Year gift to Henry VIII in 1534 (Collins, 1955). A portrait of Anne Boleyn is known from the preparatory drawing (Weston Park, Earl of Bradford Coll.) and some copies. Holbein's earliest portrait of Henry VIII (PL. 303) dates from 1536, as does his only extant autograph painted portrait of Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour (PL. 303; preparatory drawing in Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.). In 1537 he decorated the Privy Chamber in Whitehall Palace (destroyed by fire in 1698); the cartoon for the left side with the two kings (Henry VII and Henry VIII) is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Except for *Henry VIII Granting a Charter to the Barber Surgeons' Company* (London, Barber Surgeons' Hall), an unfinished painting of about 1542, now in poor condition, an idea of Holbein's later interpretation of the King can be gained only from workshop production (e.g., the portrait in Rome, Gall. Naz.), or from copies.

For Henry VIII, Hans Holbein the Younger also painted Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan (1538; London, Nat. Gall.); in 1539 he made a portrait drawing of Anne of Cleves at Düren which was later used in the painting in the Louvre (PL. 303) and in the miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. There exist also portraits of Catherine Howard, the successor of Anne of Cleves (Toledo, Ohio, Mus.

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of Art); of the Duke of Norfolk (Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.) and of his son, the Earl of Surrey (São Paulo, Art Mus.); of the royal physician, Dr. Chambers (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.); and *A Man With a Falcon* (The Hague, Mauritshuis). In addition there is the celebrated series of portrait drawings at Windsor Castle.

In the autumn of 1538 Holbein was in Basel, where the City Council tried to retain him by offering him a pension and granting him the most liberal conditions of work, together with the permission to stay for two more years in England. Whether he actually was in Basel after these two years is doubtful, but although he certainly worked in England from 1541 until his death in London, between Oct. 7 and Nov. 29, 1543, he remained a citizen of Basel.

In addition to a sound technical training, Hans Holbein the Younger undoubtedly owed to his father certain characteristic traits and inherited gifts: a very strong sense of composition and linear pattern, a particular gift for portraiture, and the ability perfectly to assimilate alien elements to his own manner. But his greater realism, his intense interest in the rendering of space, his better knowledge of the organic structure of the body, and above all his different attitude to religion, which for the older man was a given reality beyond any questioning, distinguish the younger artist from his father; to this must be added the younger Hans's versatility and the international character of his later work, which represents a unique synthesis of European art.

His religious attitude was obviously not one of unquestioning acceptance. In 1530, before agreeing to practice the new Lutheran faith in Basel, he requested, according to a document published by E. His in 1879 (cf. also Saxl, 1957), that a more satisfactory explanation of the Lord's Supper should be given to him. This request can be interpreted as pure rationalism or as conscientious seriousness in matters of religion. Judging by his religious works about 1520, Holbein cannot easily be accused of religious indifference, though admittedly it could be argued that a change may have occurred later. No doubt for him the problem of religion was bound up with that of death, for almost all through his life he was haunted by the idea of death. [For this aspect of his art cf. Schmoll, ("Eisenwerth"), 1952, who, like Baltrušaitis (1955), stresses the *vanitas* character of the scientific instruments in the London *Ambassadors*.]

The representation of space and of three-dimensional stereometric forms on a two-dimensional plane was a problem that occupied Holbein constantly, and he found several solutions for it, though surprisingly enough his linear perspective was not quite "correct." He introduced problems of this kind even into book decoration and portraiture. In 1516, in the portraits of Meyer and his wife, he enclosed the two half-length figures in an architectural framework of great spatial force, and in the following years he was continually inventing new devices to give spatial depth to portraits by means of perspective applied to the surroundings. In pictures such as the diptych with the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* (ca. 1520; Basel, Kunstmus.) and in the façade paintings of the house "Zum Tanz," Holbein reached the climax of these endeavors, driven always by his desire to overcome the barrier of the picture plane so as to give the greatest possible tangible reality to the objects represented (see also the *Dead Christ*, III, PL. 307); but this idea sometimes came dangerously close to pure trompe l'oeil.

In his later portraits spatial richness and three-dimensional volume was achieved with the figure itself, placed against a neutral background which combined the functions both of infinite space and of a wall (e.g., *the Duke of Norfolk*, Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.). In these works the union and balance of realism and abstraction, which were the aim of Holbein's art, are perfectly achieved.

Since the monumental wall paintings are lost and only a few of his altarpieces are preserved, Hans Holbein the Younger's fame today rests mainly on his portraits and on the *Dance of Death*. But in addition there exist an enormous number of designs intended for execution by craftsmen in different media: for stained-glass windows; for arms, especially daggers, such as the famous *Dance of Death* dagger (Berlin, Altes Mus.) or another with a *Triumphal Procession* (Basel, Kunstmus.); for jewelry, goldsmiths' work, and table decoration, such as fountains, ewers, cups (e.g., Jane Seymour's Cup, for which drawings are in Oxford, Ashmolean Mus., and London, Br. Mus.), and saltcellars, as the so-called "Sir Anthony Denny's Clock" (London, Br. Mus.), which in fact is a "clock salt" (Collins, 1955). From the second English period dates an architectural design, the drawing for a large decorative mantelpiece (London, Br. Mus.) perhaps intended for Henry VIII's palace at Bridewell; the similarity of some early designs to the capitals bearing the date 1528 (when Holbein was in England) in Sir Thomas More's Chapel in Chelsea Old Church seems to confirm the attribution of the latter to him, but this has recently been rejected by Summerson (1953) and by Pevsner (1954). The question of Holbein's contribution to architecture thus still remains to be investigated.

By far the greatest number of Holbein's works are in connection with book decoration. His production was so vast that an adequate discussion is impossible in a short survey. Moreover, the extent of his activity in this field is not yet precisely established, and for the time being we have mainly to rely on the summaries by Schmid (1948). There are no copper engravings by Holbein. His designs for woodcuts and engravings can be roughly divided into seven groups: title pages, decorative borders, illustrations, initials, printers' devices, a few single woodcuts, and, finally, complete series of woodcuts which are not decorations of a printed book but independent works to which a text was added by the publisher, as in the *Dance of Death* and the *Icones historiarum Veteris Testamenti*. In both these series the small size did not prevent him from designing on a monumental scale.

The basis of all Hans the Younger's work was the art of drawing, which for him meant precision and expressiveness of outline above all. It was characteristic of his growing emphasis on the precision of the contour that in the late portrait drawings he used the mechanical aid of a tracing apparatus (Parker, 1945). Apart from the designs for works in other media and from portrait drawings, on which the painted portraits always depended, there are compositional sketches for large paintings, studies of details, such as the *Hands of Erasmus* (Paris, Louvre), of animals, of costume, and drawings after sculpture (Grossmann, 1950).

At the start of Holbein's career we find enterprises of a somewhat rare kind: the genre scenes of the Zurich table top, in which the tradition of the later Middle Ages is continued, and the drawings for the *Encomium moriae* (*Praise of Folly*) of Erasmus, where for the first time we meet with the ironical Erasmian spirit and detachment which were to become typical of the mature Holbein the Younger. These drawings represent Holbein's first contact with international Humanism. The portrait of Amerbach, the Basel Humanist and friend of Erasmus, is an idealized portrait and the expression of a new free spirit. The Erasmus portraits of 1523 demonstrate Holbein's profound psychological insight, his understanding of the great scholar, and, in particular, his power to portray the social status and even the whole social group to which the sitter belonged.

In these same years Holbein's experiments in perspective became bolder, reaching their climax in the house "Zum Tanz" and the title pages of 1523. It is tempting to interpret the extravagant delight in perspective as another form of the violent German expressionist tendency to overstatement. This expressionism had been at its height in the figures of Holbein's religious works, about 1519–20, that is, at the time of the Amerbach portrait. They show how unsettled the young artist was at this period — on the one hand, abandoning himself to the violently expressive subjectivity of German late Gothic art, on the other, trying to make the objective principles of Italian art his own. In the *Dead Christ* of 1521 a balance of subjectivity and objectivity is achieved, perhaps for the first time; about the same time, in the Oberried altarpiece (Freiburg im Breisgau, Cathedral), a romantic German night scene is combined with Italian Renaissance architecture. In the *Madonna* of 1522 (Solothurn, Switzerland, Mus. der Stadt Solothurn), the composition as such is in the spirit of the Italian High Renaissance,

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but the figures remain obstinately German. Expressionist tendencies seem to be favored by the theme of the *Dance of Death*, and doubtless there are scenes which could almost be ascribed to Grünewald; on the whole, however, the series is dominated by a strong satirical and moralizing tendency directed against the abuses of the Church and the secular authorities. Holbein's scenes have rather the character of allegories, in which an inquiring spirit, applying a kind of Erasmian social psychology, examines the meaning of death for various classes of people. As has been noted, the paintings of Leonardo had a particular attraction for the younger Holbein, and it was probably the perfectly assimilated example of Leonardo's art which helped him to create a work of the order of the "Meyer Madonna," which, together with his organ wings and Dürer's *Apostles* (IV, PL. 300), is the nearest equivalent in German art to the Italian High Renaissance. The integration of secular and sacred, of portraiture and representation of the divine, and the realism and closeness of the scene have no parallel in German art. The monumental simplicity of the composition owes not a little to the experience Holbein had gained in painting his numerous murals.

After this Holbein was able to produce in the More family group a life-size painting of many figures; this shows traces of the artist's knowledge of contemporary Flemish painting, but it is the first Northern picture to combine the qualities of a wall painting with a convincingly realistic portrayal of human figures and their surroundings. The portraits of the friends of Erasmus, More and Archbishop Warham, are instilled with that human sympathy which distinguishes Holbein's earlier portraits and which appears again in the late Erasmus portraits, and above all in *The Artist's Family* (Basel, Kunstmus.), painted after the return from England. This is his most personal painting, but by the sublimation of emotion and its calm classical composition, a private picture has been transformed into a superpersonal symbol of motherhood or *caritas* (Von Einem, 1954).

The following years show Holbein's complete mastery of the organization of large surfaces (second series of Town Hall paintings, the *Triumph of Riches* and *Triumph of Poverty*), with the trompe l'oeil illusionism of the house "Zum Tanz" completely abandoned. After the return to England, the compositional scheme of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* is reflected in several half-length individual portraits, while others reveal Holbein's familiarity with portraits by Gossaert, Massys, and Van Orley. Holbein's first life-size portrait of two standing full-length figures, *The Ambassadors* (PL. 304), has again another source. The two men flank the *vanitas* still life and the large distorted skull like the supporters of a coat of arms, and are thus endowed with a heraldic solemnity and a kind of aloofness which was admirably suited to a court portrait. Holbein the Younger was indeed one of the leading masters of the international mannerist court portrait. The life-size, full-length figure had precursors in German painting and in the work of Moretto da Brescia (q.v.), but there is a new flavor of court mannerism in Holbein's version of it. He later painted Henry VIII full-length and life-size in the royal portrait group at Whitehall, whose composition was actually an extension of the *Ambassadors* to four figures. The Italianate architecture of the surroundings contains elements from the famous architectural engraving after Bramante and is combined with motifs which may have been inspired by the Italian artists in the service of Henry VIII. Holbein probably also owed something to the school of Fontainebleau (e.g., in the architectural frame of the woodcut *Erasmus im Gehäus*) and to French court portraiture. He seems to have known drawings of François Clouet in the *trois crayons* manner, of which he also made use.

To increase the solemnity of his portraits Holbein sometimes painted his models in strict frontality, as in the painting of Henry VIII in the Barber Surgeons' Hall; a hieratic, superpersonal quality is given to the king as lawgiver. In the miniature portraits, in which Holbein's sensibility leads to a perfect integration of the composition with the circular shape of the miniature, strict frontality is adopted only twice: in *Anne of Cleves* (London, Vict. and Alb.), and *Charles Brandon* (Windsor Castle, Royal Colls.). Generally speaking, even when the sitter is not presented in solemn frontality, there is in the late portraits, particularly those of the aristocracy, a lack of human warmth, which may perhaps be ascribed to the influence of contemporary English painting. In these last years, however, Holbein painted other, more "human" portraits: *Duke Antoine of Lorraine* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), and the *Unknown Man*, discovered in Lord Braybrook's collection (Grossmann, Holbein Studies, 1951) and now in the Peter Courtauld Collection; in these paintings his personal sympathy was obviously engaged. All his portraits have a static quality; only once in an otherwise calm figure is movement implied: in the figure of Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan (London, Nat. Gall.), who seems to be moving toward the spectator. In this portrait, which served as a model for Van Dyck, who made a drawing after it, Holbein for once anticipated the dynamism of the baroque.

It is always difficult to press a great artist into one particular period style. Though one could consider Holbein the Younger above all as a High Renaissance artist — and perhaps the only one in the North — elements of late Gothic, mannerism, and even baroque complicate his work. Strangely enough, an examination of Holbein on these lines has hardly been attempted; only in Pinder's posthumous book (1951) has he been studied in a more general context.

About Holbein's workshop in London and his influence in England little is known, although a few portraits painted under his direct influence have come to light (Grossmann, Holbein Studies, 1951; Auerbach, 1957). There cannot, however, have been many of these, for with the coming of Flemish artists to England soon after Holbein's death, other influences made themselves felt.

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Fritz GROSSMANN

Illustrations: PLS. 301–306.

**HOMER, WINSLOW.** American painter (b. Boston, Mass., Feb. 24, 1836; d. Prouts Neck, Maine, Sept. 29, 1910). Of long New England ancestry and middle-class parentage, he grew up in Boston and nearby Cambridge. Apprenticed at nineteen to a Boston lithographer, at twenty-one he began free-lance illustrating, particularly for *Harper's Weekly*. In 1859 he moved to New York, where he became a popular magazine and book illustrator. Except for some drawing at the National Academy of Design and a few painting lessons from Frederick Rondel, he was practically self-taught. During the Civil War he went to the front for *Harper's*, and his first paintings, in 1862, were of the war. The National Academy elected him an Associate in 1864 and an Academician in 1865.

After the war Homer, an outdoor man all his life, turned to his favorite subject matter, country life, ranging from farm to summer resort. His early paintings and illustrations form the most genuine pictorial record of rural America in the 1860s and 1870s. His concern with outdoor light and color, his first-hand vision, and his sense of decorative values resembled early impressionism; but the direct influence of other art was relatively minor. He first visited Europe in late 1866, for about ten months in France, working independently. In 1873 he began to use water color regularly; after 1875 he abandoned illustrating except occasionally.

A turning point in his career came in two seasons (1881–82) at Tynemouth, England, on the North Sea. Here, painting in water color, he began to picture the sea and its people. After his return to the United States, he left New York in 1883 to settle on a lonely promontory on the Maine coast, Prouts Neck, where he lived the rest of his life, alone (he never married), face to face with the sea. With this withdrawal from society began the full development of his art. His chief themes became the ocean, the forest and the mountains, and the lives of sailors, fishermen, and hunters. His mature marines were supreme expressions of the power, danger, and beauty of the sea (I, PL. 117). While entirely naturalistic, their strong design, linear rhythms, and robust color harmonies reveal a conscious esthetic purpose which he never expressed in words.

Aside from his later oils, and eight etchings (1884–89), Homer's greatest achievement was in water color. Frequent fishing and hunting trips to the northern wilderness (at first the Adirondacks, then Quebec) resulted in many water colors, among his finest works in their skill, freshness of vision, powerful color, and strength of design. His water-color style, reaching maturity in the late 1880s, revolutionized American use of the medium. From 1898 he spent part of most winters in the south: the Bahamas, Cuba, Florida, and Bermuda. In his Nassau water colors of Negroes and the southern sea he attained his greatest brilliancy of color.

Homer and Thomas Eakins were the leading American representatives of the 19th-century naturalistic movement. Homer paralleled the French impressionists in certain respects, though without discernible influence from them. His art was strongly individual and native, in content, viewpoint, and style. He was the most varied and colorful American painter of the century, and in later life the most popular, and his reputation has increased since his death.

The largest public collections of his works are in the Metropolitan Museum and Cooper Union, New York; Brooklyn Museum; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.; Clark Institute, Williamstown, Mass.; and Art Institute of Chicago.

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Lloyd GOODRICH

**HONDURAS.** The Republic of Honduras is bordered by Guatemala on the west, by El Salvador on the south and southwest, and by Nicaragua on the southeast; it is washed on the north by the Caribbean Sea and on the south by the Pacific Ocean. Honduras preserves important remains of pre-Columbian cultures. The most significant collections of finds from this period are in the museums of Comayagua, Copán, San Pedro Sula, and Tegucigalpa.

SUMMARY. Pre-Columbian era (col. 598): *Copán*. Colonial and modern era (col. 602).

PRE-COLUMBIAN ERA. Cultures of South American origin predominate in eastern Honduras; these are of two main types. The northeast manifests the western extension of a Caribbean culture common to most of eastern Central America. One finds pictographs on boulders; three-legged grinding stones, 3–4 ft. in height, occasionally with a slightly raised border, more often with projecting stylized animal, bird, or reptile heads; three-legged stone pot-holders; two-handled cylindrical stone bowls; jadeite ax-gods, with and without beak-bird motifs; and both unpainted and monochrome pottery, including shoe vessels, with incised and appliqué patterns. There are tubular jadeite beads some 10 in. long and other beads with flat-nosed human faces in high relief. Jadeite representations mingle human and bird heads to depict the Antillean legend of the procreation of man. The coastal section of this area is noted for its inland waterways, artificial canals, and votive caches. An unpainted ware with an elaborate scroll decoration, perhaps a copy of the Ulúa marble vase, is also characteristic.

Southeastern Honduras, which constitutes the other main cultural type, displays ties to Pacific Central America and also marks the eastern extreme of Maya influence. Pictographs carved on boulders and cave paintings in red and black representing human hands and figures and conventionalized monkeys are reminiscent of Pacific Nicaragua (q.v.); these are a particular feature of the western highlands as well. The influence of distinct cultural conceptions is underlined in reliefs representing feathered serpents cut into a rock ledge southeast of Tegucigalpa. Other elements, associated in part with Panama and Costa Rica and in part with Costa Rica and Nicaragua, include peg-supported stone figures, stone images of seated males with a conventionalized spine, edgeless grinding stones similar to those found in the northeast (but never more than 1 ft. high), and "alligator"

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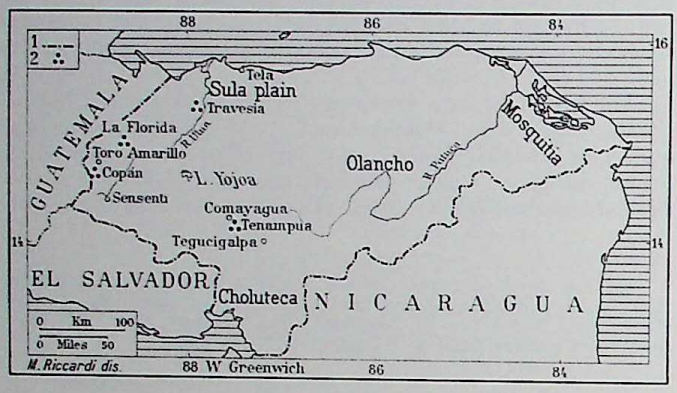
ware, so-named for the raised nodules used as decoration. With the exception of an occasional slab-leg grinding stone of Nicoya type (see COSTA RICA), these traits extend along the Pacific watershed into El Salvador and Guatemala.

Looking toward the west, in addition to the local developments in the Comayagua Valley, evidences of Maya culture and Mexican and eastern Central American traits are found. In the department of Copán, in the far west, appear large human figures cut in the round but following the shape of a boulder; stylistically these recall certain sculptures from Kaminaljuyú (see GUATEMALA). Similar figures, carved from a boulder but supported by a pedestal, display "alter ego" motifs reminiscent of Nicaraguan sculpture. At Lake Yojoa appear life-size free-standing figures in positions suggestive of eastern Central America. The flat facial features and style of sculpture are unknown elsewhere in Honduras. Smaller statues include figures supported by pillars, similar to the Nicaraguan types associated with Ometepe Island, also found in Guatemala, and the familiar peg-supported figures, as well as seated males with conventionalized spines. In sites associated with the Maya, such as Copán and the Sula plain,




The Republic of Honduras. *Key*: (1) Modern national boundaries; (2) archaeological sites.

jadeite plaques with incised interpretations of the god Tlaloc are found, as well as figures in the Olmec style. Alabaster vases, masterpieces of conventionalized design, are characteristic of the Sula plain, though they also extend into the Comayagua Valley. Two handles, representing animal, bird, or reptile heads, constitute the principal motif, while the precisely carved body of the vessel displays a stylized interpretation of the same theme. Other outstanding features are a scale-like band near the rim and the use of scrolls. The ceramics of this western region, only the most important classes of which can be considered here, reveal varied cultural influences. Two of the earliest styles, Playa de los Muertos and Usulután, appear from the Sula plain southward into El Salvador. Playa de los Muertos ware is noted for monochrome legless forms which include spouted and effigy types often decorated by fluting, incision, or modeling. The simplicity of vessel form combined with the portraitlike quality brought out in effigy is remarkable. Movement is indicated through the expression of the face, turn of the head, or position of the arms. Hand-modeled solid human figurines with individual hair arrangements and facial characteristics are associated with this ware.

Usulután ware is typified by bowl shapes, sometimes with four bulbous legs, and parallel black line designs, apparently rapidly applied on an orange wash over a white slip; this style also appears in Guatemala and El Salvador. Two-handled globular bowls, with or without convex bevels and stubby tripod supports, are characteristic of the highlands, and of the southeast in particular. Sometimes protruding monkey heads or nodules decorate the lugs. This ware has been subdivided into several distinct classes. Bold geometric ware is concentrated in the Sula-Comayagua valleys, extending into Olancho in the northeast. Its characteristics include textile or animal patterns painted in a bold manner on the upper body of the vessel, and loop handles with projecting animal heads. Ulúa polychrome ware represents perhaps the most striking mixture of cultural elements. It occurs from Tela, the northeastern extremity of the western region, into Choluteca in the southeast, the islands of the Gulf of Fonseca, El Salvador, and throughout the Ulúa basin; trade pieces reached Nicaragua and Guatemala. Background colors are orange, black, or cream white, while designs, frequently outlined in black, are painted in sepia, red, black, white, and orange. The over-all finish suggests wax-resin polish. Forms are Meso-American, eastern Central American, and highland types. The two major decorative divisions are Mayoid motifs, clearly inspired by Maya design elements and subdivided into fine- and heavy-line and dancing patterns arranged in bands or panels; and naturalistic animal motifs, in part recalling eastern Central America: Bold Animalistic, Heavy-line Monkey, Fine-line Monkey, Protruding-head Monkey, Diamond-shape Monkey, Serpent, Alligator, and Bird. Another connection with the eastern region is seen in Las Vegas polychrome ware, found throughout the eastern highlands but appearing principally in the Comayagua Valley. The background is white; the designs — stripes, glyphlike forms, serpent patterns, and animal effigies — are executed in red, black, and orange. The shapes (effigies, tripods, bowls) combined with intense color recall ware associated with the Chorotega tribe. Such Mexican pottery elements as handles which rise from the interior and pointed three-prong pot legs appear in parts of the Ulúa River basin.

Records of Maya culture survive in the Sula Valley and throughout the western region, including Sensenti and La Florida. Here are found ceremonial sites marked by stepped pyramids (often supporting stone temples) built around plazas, stone-lined ball courts, and sometimes elaborately carved steles and altars. Travesía, in the Sula plain, and Tenampúa, a Comayagua hill site, mark the easternmost survival of construction influenced by Maya style. The austere plaster façades at Travesía and the primitive figures in low relief offer a decided contrast to the classic style of Copán, as do the few stone statues from the vicinity which, pointing to southern and eastern Central America, emphasize the conjunction of cultural trends. The Sula plain has been one of the chief sources of carved Maya jade; pectorals, earplugs, and beads are found, plain or carved with realistic serpents or human figures or textile designs. A jade hand with a pointing index figure recalls the larger figures in stone from the western Maya ruins. There are also moldmade Maya style figurines and whistles which resemble human beings, birds, and animals, as well as moldmade human images, often with tiger masks. Isolated ceramic groups of stamped, carved, and black-on-white ware, decorated with glyphs of the Maya type and serpent motifs, are found in the Comayagua Valley. Maya polychrome ware with human figures in ceremonial dress, feathered serpents, quetzals, and stylized hieroglyphs occurs in western Honduras, the Chamelecón Valley, and, rarely, in the Sula-Comayagua region. The same designs appear on unpainted stamped and molded bottles and are carved and incised on monochrome bowls. Maya pottery also includes large jars with molded human faces and incense burners with decorations resembling ropes and tassels.

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*Copán.* This most important center of Maya culture in Honduras was flourishing as early as A.D. 500. During the classic period it was a cultural capital, particularly in the field of astronomy. The site comprises a monumental center with 16 subgroups distributed about it within a radius of 6 miles. The center itself includes the "Acropolis" and five adjacent courts. The former is an architectural complex of pyramids, palaces, and temples, reaching a height of 130 ft. at its highest point. Here are found the finest temples of the city: Temple 26, probably dedicated in 756 and connected to the Hieroglyphic Stairway; Temple 11, of the same date, erected to commemorate the astronomical discovery made at Copán of the length of the interval between two eclipses; and Temple 22, probably dedicated in 771 to the planet Venus. Beyond the Acropolis lie the Eastern and Western Courts, the paving of the latter being considerably below the general ground level. The Eastern Court faces, on its west side, the fine Jaguar Stairway flanked by figures of rampant jaguars, their bodies originally inlaid with obsidian disks imitating the spots of the animal. The Western Court includes a belvedere, with reviewing stand (X, PL. 13), Stele P (the latest monument of the early classic period), and several well-constructed altars. One of the most important archaeological features of Copán is the transverse section of the "Acropolis" which opens on the Río Copán; after the city was abandoned in the early 9th century, the river changed its course, carrying away a large part of the eastern base of the "Acropolis" and producing a

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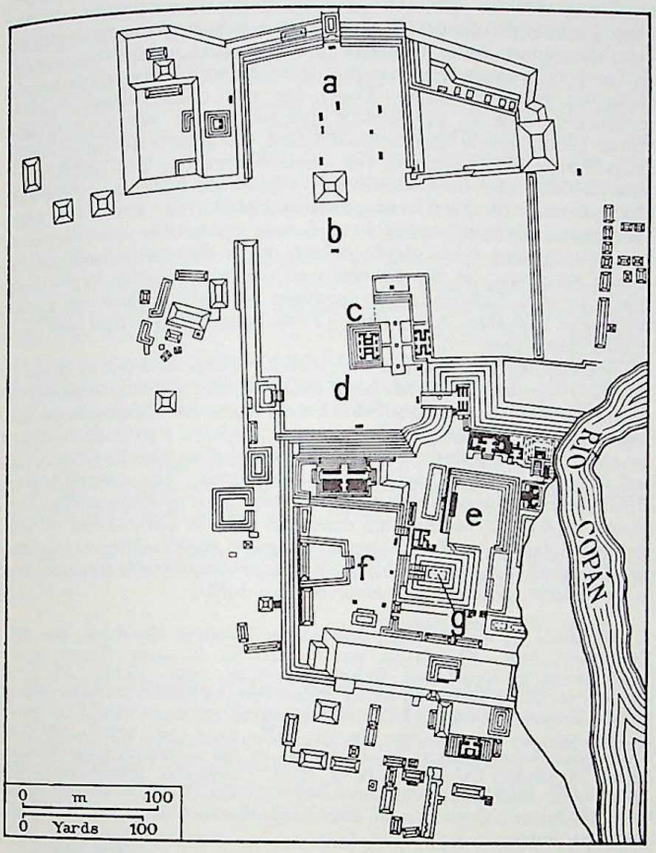
vertical face about 120 ft. high at its greatest elevation and about 1,000 ft. long. Thus was formed the world's largest archaeological section, in which one can distinguish the various earlier strata of paving. Beginning in 1931, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in collaboration with the Honduran government, redirected the river into its old bed, bringing to light several temples (11, 21a, 22, 26) and the Ball Court. Other important courts are the Great Plaza, the Middle Court, and the Court of the Hieroglyphic Stairway. The Great Plaza




Copán: plan of the central area of ruins. (*a*) Great Plaza with pyramid and steles; (*b*) Middle Court; (*c*) Ball Court; (*d*) Court of the Hieroglyphic Stairway; (*e*) Eastern Court with the Jaguar Stairway; (*f*) Western Court; (*g*) "Acropolis" (*from S. G. Morley, The Ancient Maya, 3d ed. by G. W. Brainerd, p. 277*).

is surrounded on three sides by rows of stone seats, while a pyramid stands at the center of the fourth side; nine steles and several altars with elaborate carving are found in the court. The Court of the Hieroglyphic Stairway is about 310 ft. long and 130 ft. wide. At one end stands the Hieroglyphic Stairway itself, about 40 ft. wide, the faces of its 62 steps carved with 1,500–2,000 glyphs. At each twelfth step there is a large seated statue. At the summit is found Temple 26.

Various courts, including the Ball Court and the Amphitheater, lie north of the "Acropolis." The former has a stone-paved playing alley containing three carved markers and surrounded by wide sloping stone seats adorned with carvings. The Ball Court was rebuilt three times, covering in all a period from A.D. 350 to the end of the 8th century. The carved monoliths of the Amphitheater, which retain traces of their original paint, are frontal representations of human figures in ceremonial dress; the backs, and often the sides, of these steles are covered with the complex hieroglyphs characteristic of the Maya numerical system (X, PL. 10). The altars of the Amphitheater are also noteworthy. The whole architectural complex of the city manifests traces of construction during different periods and displays the tendency of the Mayas to reuse the basic elements of support, such as the two largest pyramidal mounds forming the "Acropolis."

Besides the architectural and sculptural remains of Copán there are important finds of craft objects, such as obsidian ceremonial knives, bone incised with elaborate genre scenes or hieroglyphics, delicately carved jade, and ceramics. The ceramics of Copán have been assigned to several periods, each representing a particular style. The earliest period (ca. 200–400) is confined to monochrome and bichrome wares characterized by modeling and Usulután decorative technique; it shows a decided relationship to the Sula-Comayagua areas and eastern El Salvador. Early classic ware (ca. 400–600) seems to be largely imported from Guatemala (Kaminaljuyú and Petén) and British Honduras. Basal-flanged polychrome vessels are predominant, with tall tripod concave-wall forms in white and polychrome appearing later. Not until the full classic period (ca. 600–800) does a regional type of polychrome vessel (Copador) appear; this seems to have spread to the Comayagua Valley, Tazumal in El Salvador, and the Motagua Valley in Guatemala. Of significance is the discovery of two small pieces of gold, the only specimens of this metal thus far uncovered at a site of the classic period.

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Doris STONE

COLONIAL AND MODERN ERA. The landing of Christopher Columbus in Honduras (1502) initiated the exploration of the coastal region (Juan Díaz, 1508–09; Hernán Cortés, Gil González de Ávila, 1522; Cristóbal de Olid, 1524) and of the interior (Olid, Pedro de Alvarado, Juan de Chaves, and Hernández de Córdoba, 1535), opening the way to Spanish colonization. As a result of the Audiencia de México in 1530 and the Audiencia de los Confines in 1544, Honduras was linked to Mexico and Guatemala in its historical and artistic development. The scarce and poorly preserved monuments of the Spanish period (16th–19th cent.) include the Franciscan forts at Trujillo (late 16th cent.) and Omoa (17th cent.) and the Cathedrals of Tegucigalpa, and Comayagua,; they display the influence of the Mexican baroque. The liberation from Spain (1821) and from the political domination of neighboring states (1838) led to the expansion of such centers as Comayagua, the former capital, later destroyed by fire, and Tegucigalpa, the capital since 1827, which has undergone gradual urban development. During the 19th century numerous public buildings, such as the administrative buildings at Tegucigalpa, were erected in a colonial baroque style. Among the more important modern structures in other parts of the country are the United Fruit Company establishments at San Pedro Sula and at Tela (with dwellings, clubs, and a hospital for the employees), the Standard Fruit Company establishment at La Ceiba, the country school at Comayagua, the Municipal Palace at San Pedro Sula, and the School of Agriculture (founded 1945) at Zamorano. The modernization of the ports of Tela, La Ceiba, and Trujillo, has entailed the construction of new hospitals, schools, and hotels.

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Illustrations: 2 figs. in text.

**HONDURAS, BRITISH.** Lying roughly between latitudes 16° and 18° 30′ N and longitudes 88° and 89° W, British Honduras is bounded on the north by the Mexican state of Quintana Roo, on the west by the Petén department of Guatemala, and on the south by the Guatemalan department of Izabal. It is, therefore, peripheral to the major areas of Maya civilization.

SUMMARY. Pre-Columbian era (col. 602). Colonial and modern era (col. 604).

PRE-COLUMBIAN ERA. The northern half of the territory, mostly low lying and in places marshy, has been well explored. The exploration of the western portion of the Cayo district by logging companies and chicle gatherers has resulted in several archaeological discoveries. The southern part of the territory is relatively unexplored, and the hilly hinterland of the Stann Creek and Toledo districts is thickly covered with tropical rain forest. Of the three large sites known, two, Pusilha and Lubaantun, have been excavated under the auspices of the British Museum. These sites, and those in the western Cayo district, show evidence of an occupation similar to that of the classic culture in Petén, with pyramids, plazas, corbeled vaulting, and poly-

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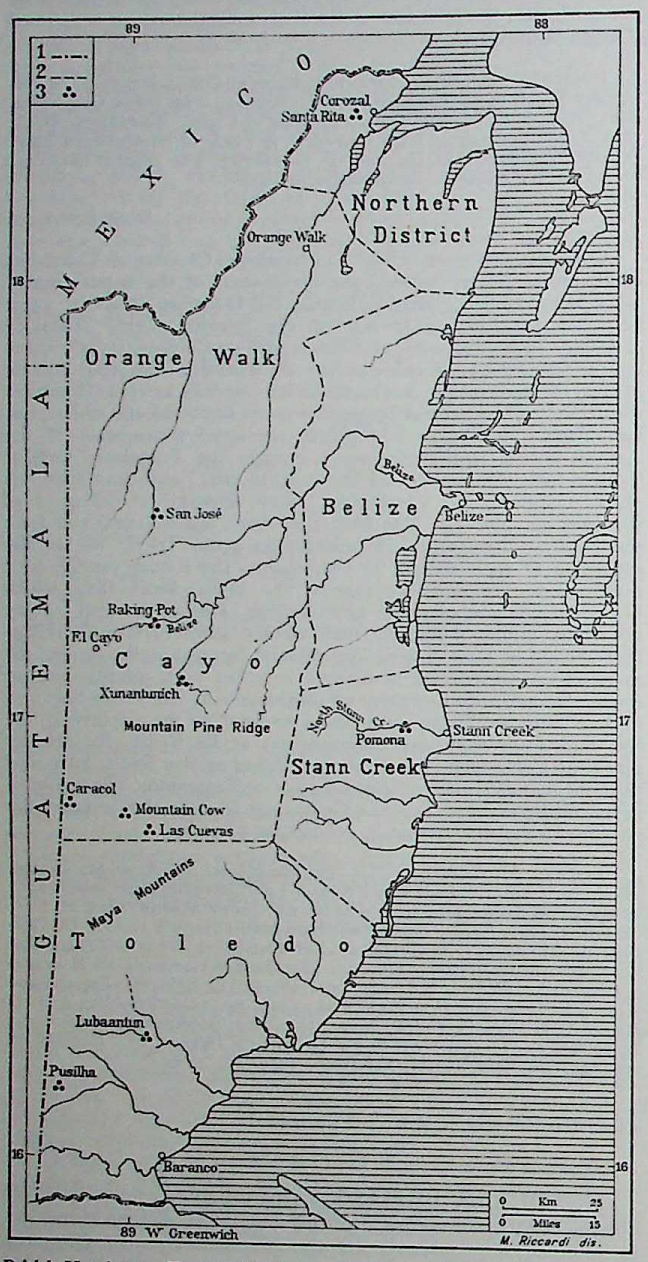
chrome pottery. Carved and dated steles (two, B and C, carved with human figures) as well as polychrome bowls were found at Pusilha. Nearby, at Lubaantun, a wonderful series of whistle figurines was discovered depicting scenes from Maya life: a woman grinding corn, a dignitary on a litter, a hunter killing a deer, and ball-game players in protective clothing and visors. There are also examples of different styles of headdress and of two distinct physical types, the "classic




British Honduras. *Key*: (1) Modern national boundaries; (2) district boundaries; (3) archaeological sites.

Maya" with deformed forehead and a heavy-jowled, round-faced type. Three sculptured altars were found, but no steles. The Dixon site on the Monkey River has never been investigated.

A number of jade and carved-shell ornaments of high quality were found at Pomona, in the north of the Stann Creek district, in a tomb destroyed by agricultural operations. The most important of these was a jade earplug, perhaps the largest ever found, incised with four glyphs identical in type with those on the "Leiden Plate" (III, PL. 1) and dating back to very early times. There are several important sites in the Cayo district. The largest, which was discovered by Anderson and partly excavated by him and by Satterthwaite, is Caracol. Some 7 miles long and 2 miles wide, it is of the classic period; carved steles and altars with enormous Ahau glyphs have been found, most of which are now in the University Museum in Philadelphia. A group of interrelated small sites at Mountain Cow was excavated by Eric Thompson; jade, painted pottery, and carved pottery of the classic period were unearthed. The most important single Maya monument in the territory is at Xunantunich, near Benque Viejo, where a stucco façade, only partly uncovered, shows mask panels and seated human figures. This well-known site has been excavated by many archaeologists. East of Cayo on the bank of the Belize River, is the large site of Baking Pot, partly excavated by Ricketson, for which polychrome and other pottery suggest a classic period date.

There are also numerous sites in the northern district. At San José, the only classic period site which has been properly excavated, Eric Thompson found evidence of a long occupation; the most recent pottery was comparable to that of the Holmul V period (see MIDDLE AMERICAN PROTOHISTORY). There are also many traces of Maya occupation, such as domiciliary mounds in the low-lying, alluvial coastal plain, mostly unexcavated, and a few groups of large mounds. Santa Rita, near Corozal in the extreme north, is best known for a remarkable fresco, now destroyed, which was discovered by Gann. The paintings of this fresco probably dated from about A.D. 1100. The figures were portrayed in a formal style, after the manner of the Toltecs, but with glyphs which were characteristically Maya, a clear indication of the blending of the two cultures in the post-classic period. Crudely made figurines and incense burners, similar to those at Mayapan, bear witness to the degeneration that took place in this same area.

Archaeological attention has recently been directed to caves in the Cayo district, in which have been found polychrome pottery of poor quality, plain slip ware with bands or panels of stamp-impressed ornaments, and three-pronged incense burners that may represent the most northerly and easterly occurrence of an aberrant cult which had its center in the highlands of Guatemala. The over-all pattern of Maya archaeology in this area is a reflection of Maya culture elsewhere, with a few outstanding examples such as Caracol and the Xunantunich façade, and with certain unusual manifestations, in which may be noted particularly a strong emphasis on eccentric flints chipped in geometric, animal, and even human forms.

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Adrian DIGBY

COLONIAL AND MODERN ERA. After the exploration by Cortés (1524) and the first English settlements (ca. 1638), the English colonies rapidly expanded over a large area, both in the interior and along the coast. Numerous conflicts occurred with the Spaniards, who, having devastated the region in 1779, succeeded in restricting English rule to the area now occupied by British Honduras. British sovereignty over the territory was finally recognized in the 1826 treaty with Mexico and in subsequent agreements of 1893 and 1897. Vestiges of the eventful colonial period are rare and without significance. Only in more recent times have the principal centers been endowed with more modern and comfortable buildings for public and private use. Belize, the capital, situated near the mouth of the Belize River, is now an industrial and commercial center with an active port. Consisting in large part of wooden structures erected on piles, the city offers little of interest from the point of view of architecture or town planning except the Governor's Palace (1814), in a baroque colonial style, and such recent structures as Barclays Bank.

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Illustrations: 1 fig. in text.

**HONTHORST**, GERRIT VAN. Dutch painter (b. Utrecht, Nov. 4, 1590; d. Utrecht, Apr. 27, 1656); also known by his Italian nickname, Gherardo della Notte or delle Notti (Gerard of the night scene or scenes). He was probably the son of the painter Herman Gerritsz. van Honthorst. He began his study of art in Utrecht under Abraham Bloemaert, and some time between 1610 and 1612 he went to Italy. In Rome he became acquainted with the works of Caravaggio (q.v.), which influenced his style decisively. He received important commissions there,

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and among his chief patrons were the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, and the famous collector Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. On his return to his native town in the latter half of 1620 Honthorst married. By this time he had begun to establish a considerable reputation as a painter; in 1622 he joined the guild in Utrecht and during the succeeding years served four times as its dean. He conducted an academy of painting, where he had Joachim van Sandrart as a pupil and later as an assistant. In the spring of 1628, at the invitation of King Charles I, Honthorst went to London, where he stayed about eight months working at the court. Between 1635 and 1641 he executed a large number of pictures for King Christian IV of Denmark. In this connection it is interesting to note that a contemporary biographer described Honthorst as a man of his word, who could "be trusted to deliver a painting on the date promised." During these years he moved to The Hague, where he became a member of the guild in 1637. Until 1652 he remained in The Hague, where he was court painter, and in this capacity he contributed to the decoration of the royal palace Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk and to that of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch. The last four years of his life were spent in Utrecht. With his contemporaries Terbrugghen (q.v.) and Baburen, Honthorst was one of the major figures of the school of Utrecht, which transmitted the realism and the dramatic chiaroscuro of Caravaggio to the painters of northern Europe (II, PL. 180). Honthorst's own interpretation of the Caravaggesque style was restrained and gentle, with a quality of poetry in the composition and lighting and with great sensitiveness and refinement in the figure. (See also V, PL. 297.)

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Margaretta M. SALINGER

**HOOCH,** PIETER (HENDRICKSZ.) DE (sometimes spelled Hoogh). Dutch painter (b. Rotterdam, 1629; still living in 1684). The chronicler Houbraken stated that Pieter de Hooch was a pupil of Nicolaes Berchem, who worked and taught in Haarlem in the years when De Hooch might have been his pupil. Although there are no extant pictures by De Hooch dated earlier than 1658, it is known from records that five years before that time he was employed as a servant and painter by one Justus de la Grange, a resident of Delft and Leiden, who in 1655 owned 10 pictures by his personal painter. De Hooch was said to be living in his native city of Rotterdam in 1654, but in that year he was married to a girl from Delft and in 1655 was inscribed in the painters' guild in Delft. He lived there at least until 1660, but sometime probably within the next three years he transferred to Amsterdam. There are records of his being there in the late 1660s and in the fall of 1670; it seems likely that he continued to reside in Amsterdam until at least 1677. Neither the place nor the date of Pieter de Hooch's death is known, but he was still painting in 1684, when he dated a picture of a huntsman and a lady in a landscape setting.

Although they bear no dates, a large group of pictures is generally assigned to the early years of his career, before his enrollment in the Delft guild in 1655. Many of these works are representations of soldiers resting in stables, preparing for a march, or drinking and playing cards in taverns. The compositions are somewhat cluttered and confused, compared with the marked order and clear space that distinguish his typical later works. The style of painting in these early pictures shows notable similarities to that of a number of his Dutch contemporaries, especially Carel Fabritius and Vermeer (qq.v.). The second group of works belongs to his years in Delft, from 1655 until his transfer to Amsterdam soon after 1660 (VI, PL. 74). To this period belong Pieter de Hooch's most characteristic paintings, the ones for which he has become justly famous. Most of them contain no more than two or three figures; they are primarily intimate glimpses of women going about their daily chores, with their children and maidservants in truthfully rendered Dutch interiors or outside in secluded courts or gardens. Here the artist displayed his peculiar gift for representing light and space in such a way as to suggest comfort, security, and serenity. When he went to Amsterdam, Pieter de Hooch apparently aspired to more fashionable and ambitious themes in order to please a more sophisticated and opulent clientele. In these pictures (1860s–70s) the domestic settings are more luxurious, the costumes richer in texture and design, with lapdogs, cavaliers, and musical parties evoking a different way of life. Unfortunately his temperament was not well-suited to the new surroundings and attitudes, and the forthright observation and technical integrity that made the little Delft pictures masterpieces are missing. (See also V, PL. 317.)

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Margaretta M. SALINGER

**HOPPER,** EDWARD. American painter (b. Nyack, N.Y., Jul. 22, 1882). Hopper studied illustration and commercial art in New York in 1899; from 1900 to 1906 he worked at the New York School of Art under Robert Henri. He was in Europe three times between 1906 and 1910, chiefly in Paris, but he also visited England, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Spain. He was interested in Paris as an architectural setting, and in some of the great realistic painters: Velázquez, Goya, Daumier, and Manet. He had little sympathy for impressionism and remained impervious to post-impressionism and to such contemporary developments as cubism and futurism.

Since 1908 Hopper has lived in New York, with summers in Maine and on Cape Cod, and automobile trips to the West and Southwest. For some years he supported himself by commercial art and illustration. An oil painting which was included in the famous Armory Show (1913) was sold — his first and last sale for ten years. Partly as a result of almost complete neglect, he painted very little until about 1920. From 1919 to 1923 he produced about thirty etchings on New York subjects. His first one-man show was in 1924. Soon afterward he was able to give up commercial work, and his oils and water colors, slowly and consistently produced, have been widely exhibited, with a growing recognition of his importance as a major figure. In 1955 he received the Gold Medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, an honor which has come to very few painters.

Hopper is concerned with the works of man: buildings, highways, bridges, theaters, railroads, gas stations, lunch stands, and lighthouses. Usually his compositions are strangely empty of human inhabitants, though they are curiously permeated with a reserved yet intense humanistic content, and convey a sense of loneliness and finality. Sometimes he evokes the feeling of observing a familiar, commonplace scene for the last time, and this serious suggestion gives a picture unexpected significance. He often achieves a peculiar emphasis because he looks at scenes that one expects to see crowded with people when they are drained of their inhabitants, as in *Early Sunday Morning* (1930; I, PL. 122). The human figure, when introduced, is often isolated and uncommunicative, as in *Two on the Aisle* (1929; Toledo, Mus. of Art). A primary interest is the definition and realization of light, as it proclaims itself on architectural forms. But Hopper never handles light impressionistically, nor does he allow it to break down the severe structure of the original material, as in *Lighthouse at Two Lights* (1929; New York, Coll. Mr. and Mrs. Richard D. Tucker). Hopper is essentially an outside observer rather than a participant in his paintings; a characteristic motif is a window through which one glimpses intimate episodes of private life cut away from the surrounding urban setting, as in *Night Hawks* (1942; Chicago, Art Institute). His landscapes also express the way in which man has left his mark on the world of nature, with Victorian houses starkly outlined against clear, endless skies, or highways cutting through the night, as in *Gas* (1940; New York, Mus. of Modern Art). In spite of his descriptive subject matter, Hopper is in no sense an anecdotal illustrator. His unobtrusive paint quality deliberately avoids brilliance. There

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is no distracting detail, and a monumental ordering of compositional elements gives his designs abstract power. Hopper has said of himself: " My aim in painting has always been the most exact transcription possible of my most intimate impressions of nature." He remains the most significant painter of the American realist tradition of his generation.

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Allen S. WELLER

**HOUDON, JEAN ANTOINE.** French sculptor (b. Versailles, Mar. 20, 1741; d. Paris, July 15, 1828). As a child Houdon attended the studio of the sculptor J. B. Pigalle. While still very young Houdon won prizes from the French Academy and admission to the French Academy in Rome, directed by Natoire, which he attended from November, 1764, to late 1768. Houdon's works during these years show a passionate and analytical study of the antique and a very intense interest — shared by his teacher, the sculptor René-Michel (Michel-Ange) Slodtz — in the Renaissance and the Roman baroque, the groundwork of his training. The statuette of the young priest of the *Lupercalia Festival* (Gotha, Schlossmus.) clearly draws its inspiration from Bernini's Apollo (II, PL. 272). Houdon's gigantic *St. Bruno* (commissioned by the French abbot of the Roman Carthusians for S. Maria degli Angeli) differs from Slodtz's more rococo *St. Bruno* in the firmness of the modeling, which, however, does not preclude a delicate, pictorial quality of the surface similar to that of the early-17th-century stucco statues by C. Mariani (Rome, S. Bernardo). In Houdon's work the rhetorical emphasis of the gestures is replaced by a calm simplicity, an immobility which resolves itself in a profound inner expression — a style which is more a part of the classic 17th-century Parisian and Roman tradition than of the neoclassic creed expounded by Winckelmann.

*St. John the Baptist*, whose ascetic severity is reminiscent of the earlier *St. Bruno*, is known only through the plaster model preserved in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, since the plaster original, which was placed in a niche in S. Maria degli Angeli, fell and was destroyed in 1894. The work, inspired by Michelangelo's *Christ* in S. Maria sopra Minerva, is the sculptural expression, noble and solemn, of a human drama. An even starker realism is represented in the *Ecorché*, presumably a preparatory study for the *St. John*. The product of the careful anatomical studies completed by Houdon in the dissection theater at S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, the widely celebrated statue of the *Ecorché* at once became, like the *Marsyas* in antiquity, a very famous model for academic study. The plaster figure of the *Ecorché* is in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, while both large and small marble and bronze replicas are to be found in schools and academies the world over.

When he returned to Paris, Houdon exhibited in the 1769 *Salon* those works completed in Rome, as originals or as copies, along with others done in Paris. All were within the compass of classicist taste. Among them were the *Morpheus* (the plaster figure of which is in the Schlossmus., Gotha, while a marble copy is in the Louvre, PL. 309) and the *Vestal* (copies: New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Coll.; Paris, Coll. Leroy); the *Morpheus* and the *Vestal* are free interpretations, respectively, of *The Dying Gaul* (PL. 164) and of the so-called "Capitoline Pandora." If the *Morpheus* won Houdon acceptance into the French Academy, the bust of Diderot (terra cotta of 1771 in the Louvre, PL. 310; marble of 1775 in Versailles) revealed his exceptional talent as a portraitist, which found a sort of official consecration in the Parisian *Salons* of 1773 and 1777. Houdon was excluded from the court environment, which was already crowded with renowned artists and sculptors such as J.-B. Lemoyne and A. Pajou, and he was a stranger to the academic circle, where old masters pontificated. But thanks to the intervention and recommendations of his friend Diderot, Houdon found within a few years an enviable succession of illustrious buyers among the nobility of France and other major European countries. It was not by chance that his business connections, chiefly as a portraitist, became more frequent, at first with the Duke of Saxony-Gotha and later with the cultural and aristocratic circles of Weimar and St. Petersburg — even with Catherine II herself. Indeed, it was where the new and progressive ideas of the French Enlightenment found favor in high political and social spheres that Houdon's portraits were especially well received. Their brilliant verisimilitude left nature shorn of evasions and compromises. The statues with a mythological theme or a religious or funeral character were less satisfying. His *Diana* (plaster figure of 1776, Schlossmus., Gotha; marble of 1780, The Hermitage; bronze of 1790, Louvre, PL. 308), of which there exist replicas of the bust alone (1778, Washington, D.C., Nat. Gall.) is conceived in the style of Jean Goujon; its pendant *Apollo* (1790, bronze, formerly Gulbenkian Coll.) is a simple derivation of the *Apollo Belvedere* (III, PL. 383). Like *Winter* (called *La Frileuse*, 1783, PL. 308) and *Summer* (1785, Montpellier, Mus. Fabre), personified by two fleshy seminude girls, *Diana* and *Apollo* differ from similar French rococo works in the masterful working of the details, the naturalistic softness of the flesh, and in the marvelous virtuosity which surpasses the decorative limitations of the conventional conceit of the Four Seasons. The same may be said of the *Bathing Girl* and of the *Negro Girl* (1781) executed for a fountain in the Parc Monceau, commissioned by the Duke of Orleans; of the two cenotaphs for the Princes Galitzin intended for a Moscow monastery; and of other similar works on a subject perhaps suggested to Houdon by Diderot. Between 1771 and 1789 Houdon executed numerous plaster, marble, and bronze busts which constitute a kind of gallery of the greatest personalities of the time. Writers, scientists, politicians (PL. 310), businessmen, and noble ladies of the *ancien régime* pass in review, as in the pages of the *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon describing the contemporary French court in their sumptuous costumes. Though the age and social level of the sculptor's subjects vary considerably, there is extraordinary perception and an objective grasp of truth in each portrait — in the portraits of the aunts of Louis XVI, the princesses Adelaide and Victoria, in the portraits of Gluck and of Turgot, of the Brongniart children (*Louise Brongniart*, PL. 310), of Louis XVI himself, of Cagliostro (PL. 307), of the Marquis de Lafayette, and of Buffon (PL. 310). In particular the Encyclopedists, the prophets or protagonists of the Revolution, found in Houdon a most vigorous and effective portraitist. Diderot (PL. 310), D'Alembert, Rousseau, and Voltaire are vividly captured with an analytical realism that, even when achieved by means of casts made *ad vivum* or on the corpse, and through direct, scrupulous, anatomical measuring, is transformed into a lofty, elegiac style. Granted this penchant for accurate representation, it is not surprising that in 1785 Houdon went to Mount Vernon to study and measure from life the physique of George Washington for a marble statue. The Washington portrait, done in the uniform of general and intended for the state capitol at Richmond, Virginia, was commissioned at the suggestion of Franklin and Jefferson, whom Houdon had already sculptured. (There is a terra-cotta bust of George Washington in the Louvre, PL. 310.) Following the style of the period, Houdon portrayed thinkers, philosophers, and artists either in the French manner with wig and 18th-century costume or in the antique fashion with naked torso or with a cloth draped over the shoulder. But in either form he totally avoided the superficial, refined, traditional rococo characterizations and the new leveling neoclassic idealizations. The statues and numerous busts of the aged Voltaire, represented in a striking likeness which takes on a symbolic value, are not only his most famous masterpieces but also the most typical assertions of his almost ruthless power of analysis. Houdon was a portraitist who did not compromise his virtuosity or his technical skill for facile psychological effects and mannered realism; he accomplished a continuous "Rousseauian" discovery of nature in all its aspects. "One of the finest attributes of the difficult art of sculpture," said Houdon, "is

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to preserve with all the realism of form and to render almost immortal the image of the men who have contributed to the glory or the happiness of their country. This idea constantly occupied me and encouraged me in my painstaking work." The coinciding of Houdon's ideas with the new religion of the "great man," with the enlightened principles of nature sublimated by a creative spirit, is evident. This was the most favorable climate for his creativity. And for that reason, after the Revolution, it was not so much the hostility of Jacques Louis David, nor the accusations of tepidity and moderation, nor the criticism for not having done patriotic works, nor the lack of sympathy from Bonaparte (whose herm bust he also executed; 1806; Dijon, Mus. B.A.) which caused Houdon's popularity to wane. It was rather the changing times and tastes — and the establishment in France of the neoclassicism of the Empire style — which contradicted those artistic postulates to which Houdon remained faithful until the eve of the Revolution. It did not help him politically or otherwise to transform hastily under the Convention an already-begun statue of St. Scholastica into an allegory of Philosophy. It did not help to praise the abolition of slavery in the French colonies with an emphatic inscription on the beautiful bust, the *Negro Girl* (1794), derived from the statue for the Parc Monceau fountain, nor to approach the manner of Canova (as in the bust of Dorothea von Rodde-Schlözer, Staat. Mus., Berlin). Although Houdon was honored everywhere as a master — he continued until his death to make numerous copies in marble and bronze of his works, which he himself scrupulously cast and chased and which were in great demand in France and elsewhere — his first biographers had already begun to have reservations on the validity of his portraiture, defining it as "second-class and accessory." Throughout the second half of the 19th century Houdon's art either was subject to such academic criticism for having little imagination and lacking idealization or else received a generic praise tinged with nationalism. In his defense remain the enthusiastic commentaries of Auguste Rodin on a few of Houdon's busts for their exceptional expressive powers and, in our own century, a series of contributions and monographic profiles. These constitute the premises for a critical reevaluation of Houdon and reveal him as undoubtedly the most original French sculptor of the 18th century.

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Valentino Martinelli

Illustrations: pls. 307–310.

**HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS.** Under the generic term "household objects" is included the series of objects, stationary and portable, furnishings and tools, that, apart from furniture (q.v.), constitute the equipment of family life. The methodological problems related to the study of household objects from the point of view of both esthetic value and sociological interest are, in many ways, similar to those that arise in connection with costume (q.v.).

Summary. Household objects and applied art (col. 610). Historical examples (col. 612): *Primitive household objects. The ancient world: a. Pharaonic Egypt; b. The ancient Near East; c. The classical world; d. Byzantium. The European tradition: a. Middle Ages; b. Renaissance; c. Baroque; d. The Empire style and the 19th century; e. Art Nouveau; f. The 20th century. The Oriental world: a. India and Central Asia; b. Southeast Asia; c. China; d. Japan.*

Household objects and applied art. The long list of household objects ranges from simple domestic utensils, such as cooking pots and housekeeping equipment, to objects of high esthetic quality and purely ornamental character. In terms of function, household objects can be classified according to the different domestic activities, varying in degree of social importance, and according to the surroundings in which the activities take place. In the kitchen, along with the cooking fire and its accompanying equipment, is found the battery of pots, pans, kettles, and crockery (generally stoutly and simply made), spits and various utensils for the preparation of food, as well as containers for water, wine, oil, salt, spices, and so forth. In the dining room and pantry appear dishes and flatware of more refined material and workmanship (which are generally part of matched sets, or "services"), stands, centerpieces for the table, fruit dishes, flower vases, and so on. In the bedrooms are kept the things used for sleeping, for private leisure, and for the toilette, as well as devotional objects and various articles for personal comfort. The living and reception rooms usually house the accessories for writing and needlework, services for coffee, tea, and liquors, candy boxes and smoking equipment, games, *objets d'art*, flower vases, and so on. In the bathroom, especially in modern times, are kept objects used for hygiene and personal cleanliness.

Other articles are classifiable according to more general functions, such as lighting, heating, ventilation, room division. Naturally, candelabra, chandeliers, candlesticks, and various types of lamps are found throughout the house. Lighting fixtures differ in form according to their specific function, which may be to light an entire room or only a small part of it. They may be either portable or stationary (suspended from the ceiling or attached to the wall). In the same way the apparatus for heating (fireplace and chimney with accessories, stoves, braziers) may differ in size, form, and refinement of workmanship, and it, too, may be portable or, like the great decorated tile stoves of northern Europe that often form part of the architecture of the house, it may be built in.

Even though all household objects are conceived in relation to a specific practical function, they vary in the ratio of functionality to ornamentation. In general, ornamentation increases in importance as the functional character of the object is weakened, sometimes to the point of extinction. An object originally conceived as a utensil may assume a character and function that are entirely ornamental, while preserving its original design.

As to material, household objects fall into the categories normal to craft production: wood, metal, ceramics, glass, leather,



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and so on. The necessity of satisfying often complex functional requirements frequently results in the use of different materials in the same object.

More important is the means of production. Although household objects are generally produced by the usual techniques of craft and industry, they are not entirely conditioned in typology and form by the evolution of production techniques. In making household objects, whether by simply repeating traditional types, adapting them to new social forms and requirements, or by creating entirely new types, craft and industry must face the problem of inventing the object. In this sense the repetition of types of household objects has much in common with the fashion aspect of costume. In the invention of types, planning and design (see DESIGNING) are of particular importance, acting to resolve in the unity of the form many requirements: function, or several functions combined; ease of use; sound relation between costs and price; and the like. This fact explains why it is in the field of household objects that the most interesting examples of applied art appear and, after industry had replaced craft as the system of production, that the first attempts at industrial design (q.v.) were made.

In the methods of their production, household objects may be differentiated into two broad categories: objects of general use, which are common to all levels of society and often achieve the status of a fixed standard, and objects that can be termed luxury items, reflecting the demands of the privileged social classes. The latter items are always the product of refined techniques — sometimes the original work of an artist — and not infrequently their quality and cost are so high as to discourage practical use. In this case the articles assume a purely symbolic function and often are displayed in showcases or on the walls as purely decorative, although the form and typological character of the useful object are retained. This fact indicates that the original function, although not practically exercised, retains significance and provides the theme for an ornamental celebration of the ideal or moral values of domestic life. This explains the frequent reference in the figural decoration of such objects to religious, mythological, allegorical, or propitiatory motifs, which even when they become traditional or customary, indicate that the object retains a significance beyond its utilitarian function, whether or not it is meant for daily use. Not only are certain more valuable household objects used only on holidays or for family celebrations, but some types, although originating in a practical requirement, ultimately assume a ceremonial or dedicatory character, which is usually reflected in the figural decoration. This is true of certain household objects reserved for such occasions as births, baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

The desire for esthetic quality in household objects derives not only from their social function, but also from the now nearly abandoned custom of investing hard-earned capital, sometimes even in very large amounts, in the accumulation of household objects through purchase or commission. On occasion these collections of objects constituted real family treasures, which passed from generation to generation and functioned as a kind of storehouse from which came the nucleus of the dowry. It is clear that the amassing of household objects is not consequent upon the mere objective value of the materials employed or the artistic quality of the pieces but also derives from the belief that an almost religious sense of family life and lineage may be transmitted with the objects. In the area of this cult or sentiment relating to the moral values of the family may be sought the most constant source of inspiration for the decoration of household objects of this class.

Although the production of household objects falls entirely within the sphere of craft techniques, specialization in the manufacture of certain types of household objects, either by single workshops or by the productive complex of an entire city, has existed from early times. The easy distribution of such objects by means of the common market routes greatly contributed to the exchange of stylistic experiences between artistic traditions. In this way the history of household objects acquires considerable importance for the history of art. In periods in which a specific awareness of the social value of style has existed, household objects have speedily conformed to the formal patterns prescribed by the higher art forms, particularly architecture and furniture designs, as well as figural decoration, painting, and sculpture. As early as the 16th century, but especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, the production of household objects was conditioned in its forms and styles by rules or patterns often worked out by artists of importance. Contemporary with the popularization of such series of models, which often specified structure as well as form, occurred the rise of large factories. Large-scale production contributed greatly to the leveling of taste, the establishment of standardized forms, and the formation of the modern industrial organization.

The development of technical processes has been of great importance in the history of household objects: often the discovery of a new technical process or a new material has brought about a radical transformation of the types of household objects, as in the 18th century with porcelain, in the 19th with galvanoplasty, and other industrial processes for the working of metals, and finally, in the 20th century, with the invention and large-scale use of plastics.

Giulio Carlo ARGAN

HISTORICAL EXAMPLES. *Primitive household objects.* In the prehistoric world household objects were almost nonexistent; aside from objects of domestic use, such as pottery and the few pieces of equipment, there is very little to consider. The very existence of household objects presupposes an already rather advanced cultural climate and stage of development such as began only in the Bronze Age, when the articles began to acquire their own particular shapes and purposes, the latter no longer arising from simple expediency. From bare essentials, demand grew for other subsidiary and, in a sense, less necessary objects that later became integral parts of household equipment. For example, clumsy, primitive terra-cotta fireplaces developed into braziers and stoves, and simple fagot torches of resinous wood were the antecedents of the candelabrum and the sconce.

Aside from pottery, which constitutes the greater part of the items recovered, prehistoric household objects include also a few pots and some situlae (bucketlike vessels) of sheet bronze, in which the artisan's imagination ventured into the geometric organization of elementary symbols in search of new decorative motifs. To these objects must be added many others irremediably lost because of their perishable construction: baskets, little boxes carved from tree trunks, combs, and other articles whose existence in the Western world can be deduced from the later development of these types and by analogy with objects from ancient Egypt, where the particularly dry climate has provided a favorable environment for the preservation of even the most perishable items.

Giovanni ALVISI

A far more complete knowledge of household objects in the early stages of human development comes from the evidence provided by contemporary primitive peoples. While the extant groups of hunter-foragers seem to possess as few household objects as those of the Paleolithic period, sometimes none at all, domestic household objects do begin to appear in slightly less rudimentary form among the simplest pastoral societies and are even more developed among the sedentary cultivators of the various continents, paralleling the development of fixed dwellings and the emergence of the prototypes of furniture (q.v.). The distinction between furniture and household objects is highly uncertain in these early cultural phases among peripheral or relatively isolated groups having a bare subsistence economy and limited technological capacity. In the same societies it is equally difficult to identify precise categories of household objects. While some objects are used to close and secure structures, like wooden shutters and locks, and are actually attached to the structures themselves (among the most interesting examples are those made by the islanders of Engano in Indonesia, and the Dogon of Mali) or are concerned with the elementary necessities of lighting or heating interiors (as the stone lamps of the Eskimos or the Aleuts), others are utilitarian objects whose function as "household objects" is purely incidental: that is, the various items that make up the individual or family equip-

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ment, such as weapons, tools, articles of clothing and ornament, musical instruments, objects of diversion and of worship, toilet accessories, and luxury articles (see ARMS AND ARMOR; COSTUME; GAMES AND TOYS; LITURGICAL AND RITUAL OBJECTS; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; UTENSILS AND TOOLS). All these and other objects can be found either separately or jumbled together in the huts and tents of primitive peoples. The artistic value of these objects depends on the degree of esthetic sensibility and technological skill of the group in question, factors that vary greatly both geographically and chronologically.

Among the farming peoples of the world, the largest and most universally represented category of household objects is that related to gathering, handling, and storing foodstuffs, especially vegetable products. The peoples living by animal husbandry had to create objects for the preparation and preservation of dairy foods and other animal products.

Certain peoples give artistic form and decoration to all the objects they use, but primitive peoples generally give artistic shape and ornament only to household objects connected with religious or at least ceremonial practices. This is true also in the more advanced indigenous civilizations of the Americas, which offer good examples, since in this respect they afford the longest chronological development.

In ancient Peru, unlike the great areas of corn cultivation in Central America and parts of North America, household objects connected with food seem to have been rare. In the ancient Mexican household and among the Pueblo dwellers of New Mexico and Arizona stone mortars called "metates" were an essential feature; until recent times, and sometimes even today, in every dwelling three or four of them were to be found, fashioned from stones of different grains ranging from volcanic rock to sandstone, to produce different grinds of cornmeal. Among the Pueblo Indians the metates were little decorated, although material and form were carefully selected. The metates recovered from excavations in Mexico and Central America are very beautiful in form and execution. Mexican examples, both ancient and modern, are often three-legged, worked with great care, their edges decorated only by a simple design of diagonal grooves framing the grinding surface. Others, sometimes cylindrical in shape, have a border decorated with masklike human faces. The most beautiful and interesting examples of the metate come from Costa Rica; those from the west coast, of Chorotega manufacture, most closely resemble the Mexican types. In the Guetar (Costa Rica) and Chiriquí (Panama) regions, the metates are four-legged and sometimes also have a border decoration on the edges of the grinding face. Many of these have the form of a jaguar: the back serves as the grinding surface, and a more or less stylized feline head and tail appear at the tapered extremities. The tail often forms a great arc, ending at the lower part of the right hind leg. The markings of the jaguar are indicated by interlacing motifs, little S spirals, and other designs carved on the head, tail, and along the edge of the flat grinding surface. Occasionally there are two heads and the tail is missing, or the jaws and front paws are joined by a snakelike form. In still other examples, anthropomorphic or simian figurines appear between the paws of the jaguar.

In almost all the American archaeological sites plates for grinding such substances as pepper and dyes have been found. The simplest forms consist of shallow depressions hollowed out of the living rock and very plain smooth shells, but all reveal the effort required to grind the inflexible material into the desired form. In Peru, especially during the Inca period, stone vessels of beautiful workmanship and finish were made, some of them ornamented with zoomorphic figures such as snakes and toads, but these were funerary vessels.

The Indians of lowland South America, in the preparation of food, used wooden troughs formed from partially hollowed-out tree trunks, in which they pounded the kernels of corn with heavy stones or pieces of wood. Of the many known examples of these wooden implements, a great number that are pleasing in form and workmanship derive from the Montaña tribes on the slopes of the Andes, such as the Capanawa, Chébero, Coto, and Aguano. Wooden troughs, which were rarely decorated, were also commonly used by the American Indians to make fermented alcoholic beverages; among the Cágaba of the Sierra Nevada they were made in the form of a canoe. Alcoholic beverages were also produced in enormous clay vessels, often a yard or more in diameter.

Although stone mortars and pestles are common household objects among the tropical forest dwellers of South America, often used where stone metates are not known, it is only in the Guianas, where they are made in a graceful hourglass shape and decorated with painted geometric motifs, that these objects have any artistic interest. In North America, also, among the Indians of southern California, simple mortars and stone dishes were used for grinding acorns. The resulting flour had to be washed many times with boiling water to free it of its heavy content of tannin and render it edible. Baskets, often of rather graceful form, were made as colanders for this purpose. Excavations in Florida and in other parts of the southeastern United States have also uncovered wooden mortars and grinding stones. The larger mortars were for the most part flat and undecorated, though of pleasing shapes, while the accompanying wooden pestles, which could be used at either end, were decorated with symmetrical beading. Smaller mortars were often beautifully worked with simple, engraved ornamentation around the rims (excavations at Key Marco, Florida).

Common among Indians of the forests of South America is a type of grater used for the preparation of manioc, an important source of food in the tropical forest. The grater is a smooth tablet of soft wood thickly set with stone chips; the edges of the tablet are often painted with black designs, and the stone chips are arranged in patterns of interlocking hooks. The inventors of this implement were probably the Arawak farmers. Wet grated manioc was squeezed in long tubular plaited colanders to remove the moisture. These colanders were often decorated with the same sort of interwoven design, partly in black, found on baskets made by various South American tribes.

In Oceania, a household object common to many Polynesian and Micronesian islands is an unusual grater for coconuts, a primary source of food in Oceania. The graters are mounted on three or four feet and are sometimes also provided with an appendage used as a seat (IX, PL. 544). The narrow cutting surface consists of a sharp shell blade. Sometimes, as on the island of Truk, the four-footed graters are given the form of stylized animals; elsewhere, for example at Matty, they are composed of a little scoop-shaped board, to the projecting handle of which the shell blade is attached. The graters are often covered with minute ornamental designs of dots, spirals, and other motifs.

On many of the islands of Oceania simple mortars of wood were used with short and stubby pestles, sometimes also of wood, as in the Lamotrek Atoll. Stone pestles of good workmanship that broaden toward the bottom were also commonly made, for example in the Society Islands. In the Palau Islands, fish-shaped implements are used to break coconuts in the magic rites connected with pregnancy. On Yap, little beaker-shaped mortars, resting on slender bases ringed by one or more carved circles, are used for breaking betel nuts.

Scrapers of a simple type are to be found in Melanesia, but they are for the most part not of great artistic interest. This is also the case with the scrapers used in the area of the Indian Ocean as far as the eastern coast of Africa. The wooden scrapers of the Admiralty Islands, supported by broad feet and often most charmingly carved and painted, are exceptions. Also from the Admiralty Islands come elegantly shaped wooden pestles, sometimes decorated with ornamental motifs (birds' heads). Of exquisite workmanship and decoration are the tiny mortars and pestles for the preparation of betel from the Trobriand Islands and other parts of the Massim area. Similar objects are found almost everywhere in New Guinea, variously ornamented according to the local styles. Worthy of mention here are the elegant little spades used to extract the pith from the sago palm. These trowels are narrow and tapered, and their handles are often decorated with anthropomorphic figures and heads, or end in a curvilinear three-dimensional decoration.

Among the primitive peoples of Indonesia, such as the Batak of Sumatra, are found wooden mortars for rice, generally

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made from heavy beams hollowed out lengthwise, which often have quite beautiful decorations carved on one or both ends.

Among a great number of Asian tribes and peoples, from Assam to Nepal and Kashmir, vertical wooden mortars are commonly used: the ornamentation is generally limited to a decoratively worked roll around the narrowest part. Equally common in Asia are hand-manipulated millstones which, however, are never decorated.

Although in Africa scrapers and dishes of stone are rare and generally without ornament, they did exist, even in prehistoric times in southern Africa and are still used today in the territory of the Zambesi. A household object common to almost all the African cultivators is the large wooden mortar used for rice, manioc, and millet; this takes the form of a cup or goblet resting on a base, often with one or more annular swellings which are sometimes broad enough to be decorated with carved notches, zigzag lines, and other simple motifs. Horizontal or troughlike mortars are in use only in some areas, as in the southern Cameroons and the northern Congo. The decoration, poor in general, is more carefully executed on the smaller mortars used for pepper.

Among the herdsmen and cattle-breeding peoples of Asia and Africa, whose principal foods are milk, milk products, and blood, household objects of a different type are to be found; for example, containers for butter (IV, PL. 85). These are of wood, cylindrical or casklike in form, with fairly smooth sides, but with lids often covered with carved or pyrographic decoration. The butter churn often has an artistically carved handle. Among the African herdsmen milk and its derivatives must never come into contact with metal or pottery, and so wooden vessels are used. These are sometimes quite simple, at other times quite artistically made, especially among the southeastern Bantu, who often ornament them with animal sculptures.

Eating and storage utensils for prepared food (dishes, plates, and pans made of wood, bark, gourds, and skins) are used even in cultures to which ceramic processes are unknown, including many of the inhabitants of Oceania. These cultures also devised containers for storing provisions, articles of clothing and ornament, feathers, and small objects of common use or magical value. Ancient American cultures filled these needs by a great variety of pottery objects, often quite exquisitely formed and decorated (see ANDEAN PROTOHISTORY; CERAMICS; MIDDLE AMERICAN PROTOHISTORY), but surviving wooden objects from these civilizations are much rarer, particularly in Mexico and Central America. Some small wooden plates with animal handles have been found in Inca Peru.

The Araucanians of southern Chile, like the nomadic tribes of the pampas and the Chaco, often used vessels of untanned hide, but they also made simple bowls and plates of wood that were of good workmanship. The Indians of the tropical rain forest also used wooden dishes, although pottery predominated. Often the Indians of the forest and of the Chaco used gourds, frequently handsomely worked, as bowls or vessels for water. In the territory of the Uaupés River, among the Tucano, these gourds were covered on the inside with bluish-black geometric designs. The gourds of the Lengua in the Chaco are carved with anthropomorphic figures, while the bottle-shaped ones of the Payaguá (PL. 311) bear ornamental motifs, carved or burned in and painted white, which, on the one hand, show Andean influence and, on the other, point to the baroque decoration imported into the Americas by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the regions of the Amazon River, Rio Branco, and Rio Negro, during the 19th century, there were also gourds decorated with motifs derived partly from ancient Arawak traditions and partly from the influence of the early missions, for example, flowers and tendrils of baroque flavor. These objects served particularly for drawing water for the bath. Gourd vessels were similarly employed in pre-Columbian Central America, even though ceramic objects were more prevalent. Water gourds ornamented with very delicate bands of zigzag lines are still found among the Darién tribes of Panama. In prehistoric North America, too, incised and painted pottery predominated; yet flat stone dishes with simple carved ornament have also been found. On rare occasions, probably for ceremonial use, these dishes were exquisitely sculptured in the form of a bird with a strangely arched neck. Stone pots and bowls, some of which retain traces of painting in red, black, and white, were used by the Anasazi of New Mexico.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast and southern Alaska, famous for their imaginative emblems, brought their strongly developed artistic sensibility to the decoration of dishes for fat and food and baskets for provisions, often giving them totem animal forms. For the preparation of maple syrup, some of the North American forest Indians used graceful little buckets of birch bark, cubical in form, with the upper rim slightly curved inward. The syrup was later collected in large, well-made rectangular wooden troughs. The Senecas, the Iroquois, the Mohawks, and others had nicely carved wooden bowls, often decorated with animal figures, which were used during the tribal feasts in the long houses. The Eskimos fashioned beautifully formed wooden dishes for storing whale oil and often decorated the rims with carvings of whale bone (PL. 311).

Vessels and bowls of particular merit are found in Oceania. While wood is the primary material, coconut shell, gourds, and bamboo are also used in this area. In Polynesia are found well-finished wooden objects of elegant form, such as dishes shaped like flattened boats which rest on four feet (Society Islands) or simple, finely carved round dishes with thin walls (New Zealand). Typical of the Maori are little chests and boxes with lids, elaborately carved, such as the waka, receptacles in the form of a canoe used to hold precious objects (PL. 326). In Tonga these dishes sometimes have a little base and handles, and the upper rim may be decorated with chips of mother-of-pearl. Gourds, too, were used in Polynesia as cups or flasks, sometimes decorated with beautifully carved or burned ornamentation. New Zealand gourds are decorated in a characteristically curvilinear style, in which the roundness of the gourd is emphasized by a series of minute diagonal strokes.

Wooden vessels of fine workmanship occur in all of Micronesia. In Ifalik, dishes are sometimes carved in the form of animals, usually dogs and birds, and there are also hanging vessels and bamboo boxes, both with covers. In Faraulep the bowls for serving bonito fish are painted reddish brown, and platters for the fish are made in fish form. Plates in the form of birds come from Mogmog and the Lamotrek Atoll, where a type of elegant wooden cup with very tall legs, rising from an annular base, also was produced. However, the most beautiful objects are found in the Palau Islands, where dishes richly decorated with inlaid mother-of-pearl are made in the form of oxen and dogs as well as of birds.

The art of inlay is to be found also in various parts of Melanesia. The wooden dishes of the Solomons, usually oval and sometimes rather large, often have round or triangular pieces of mother-of-pearl, which stand out against the very dark wood, inlaid on the rim or handle (IX, PL. 452). The pieces used for inlay are sometimes arranged in a star pattern. The most elegant forms are found in vessels from the Admiralty Islands, such as wooden bird bowls and large round bowls with high spiral-shaped handles. Also from these islands come plaited containers for oil, which are decorated with carefully executed polychrome designs and covered with a glue made from the parinarium nut. Flask-shaped gourds, containers for the lime used in the preparation of betel, are decorated with pyrographic designs on front and back. The variety of forms and decorative types in the household objects of the larger Melanesian islands (New Britain, New Ireland, and New Guinea) corresponds to the multiplicity of local ethnic styles (IX, PLS. 453, 455).

On many islands of Oceania vessels of bamboo are also decorated with carving or pyrography. In Micronesia, for example on Yap, these vessels are ornamented with animal figures as well as geometrical designs. Usually, however, the decoration consists only of lines, triangles, squares, and rhombuses, which are then varied in form and distribution to create a pleasing visual effect. Bamboo vessels are among the most common objects also in Indonesia and Malaya, in some cases (where ceramics are unknown) employed even in cooking but normally used for storing all kinds of articles. The peoples of inner Asia

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and Siberia make covered wooden or bark vessels decorated with ornamental spirals and plant motifs, which are carved and often painted.

In Africa, among the eastern and southern tribes and especially among the western and central peoples, wooden and woven household objects are made in interesting shapes and beautifully decorated. The fine wooden receptacles of the Barotse of the Zambezi, which have lids surmounted by animal figures sculptured in the round (II, PL. 131) deserve notice, as do those objects made by the Kuba (Bakuba) of the Congo (cups, jugs, boxes with fitted grooved covers) with their surfaces almost entirely covered with carvings of intertwining motifs, or with handles carved in the form of a hand, human face, or animal figure. In the Cameroons Grasslands there are pottery dishes with high bases and plastic representations of animals and wooden dishes of similar form, carved and decorated with dark-colored pyrography. Dishes for daily food preparation sometimes have drainage channels and artistically carved handles. In the central Sudan there are vessels of brass with stamped decoration, vessels of hide with covers, painted with simple ornamentation, and colorful woven straw plates in a great variety of sizes and color combinations. In Liberia the Kran use wooden bowls with small bases and broad projecting rims generally ornamented with flat notches: the outside is decorated by alternating smooth areas and areas carved with latticework designs or with undulating lines. These bowls, which are used for serving rice at feasts and for storing palm oil, are not found among neighboring tribes.

Especially beautiful gourd vessels, decorated with carving and pyrography, are found in west and central Africa; the Ashanti of Ghana make magnificent examples, decorated with finely carved openwork disk designs. Some gourd dishes of coastal Nigeria (those from the environs of Lagos, for example) are broad and flat in shape and almost always have covers. Exquisitely decorated gourds are in use also in the region around Lake Chad, in the northern Cameroons, and in various areas of the central Sudan. Often a series of decorated bands covers the gourd, leaving only a small smooth circle near the bottom, which is filled in with a kind of St. Andrew's cross. Particularly beautiful are the objects used at the tribal courts. Wooden household objects of the finest workmanship are found among the Teda of the southeastern Sahara. The vessels rest on short legs and are decorated along the upper rim with bands of fine crosshatching, while similar bands run vertically down the body of the pot, meeting at the bottom. In the interstices are carved spool motifs. There are similarly decorated wooden dishes shaped like half gourds, which are without bases. Containers for milk are closely woven and are of pleasing shapes, although without decoration. Among the Arab-Berber people of northern Africa ceramic household objects predominate, but there are also metal utensils which reflect a high level of culture; the bread stamps used in Algeria are unique in Africa.

Primitive peoples seldom use eating utensils: almost always the food is cut into small pieces with a knife to be picked up in the hands. Forks appear only for special uses in a few parts of Oceania, for example in the Fiji Islands, where they were used at cannibal feasts. Many groups use spoons and ladles, but generally only to serve the food, especially at feasts. Small carved wooden spoons have survived from the ancient Andean cultures, and from northwest Argentina graceful little bone spoons, probably used ceremonially. The Indians of the Brazilian woodlands and of the Chaco used both shell and wooden spoons decorated with carving. Some of the Amazon tribes had large, well-formed wooden spoons, occasionally decorated with figures or with a carved hanging ring. These forms derive, at least in part, from the influence of former Negro slaves (see AFRO-AMERICAN ART). In this area decorated gourds often serve as ladles. Spoons and ladles were also known among the North American Indians. Those of artistic workmanship were as a rule used for the great feasts and were thus partly ceremonial in character. Spoons in particular represented a personal possession of great value among the Iroquois, Senecas, Mohawks, and Delawares and the tribes of the Northwest. A very common type had a strongly arched handle ending in a hook, which kept the spoon from slipping into the large pots. These handles were often ornamented with stylized zoomorphic totem figures such as doves, ducks, swans, bears, and dogs, or the terminal hook might be carved in the shape of an animal. Artistically decorated ladles for cornmeal mush were used in the feasts that took place in the long houses — an interesting example has two stylized serpents on the handle. The ladles commonly made by the Delawares have a punched decoration of triangles. Carved ladles and skimmers used in preparing maple syrup were common among many North American tribes. The Blackfeet and the various tribes of the Northwest Coast had spoons and ladles made from the horn of mountain goat — the smaller utensils have graceful round handles elaborately carved in relief, often representing stylized totem animals.

In Oceania, these objects are sometimes made of wood but more often of coconut shell, while tortoise-shell examples are found in Micronesia (for example, in the Carolines and the Palaus) and in various areas of New Guinea, where the fine carving is emphasized by being filled in with lime. Coconut-shell spoons are usually unadorned on the front part of the handle, while the back is carved with either curvilinear or figural motifs, or the entire handle may be of carved openwork.

In the Admiralty Islands, ladles are very often made from half a coconut shell, into which a handle of decorated wood has been inserted — some of these handles are shaped like elongated rhombuses ending in carved and painted fish figures. The openwork decoration of the handles includes arch motifs (which sometimes enclose a kind of central cross), disks, triangles, and complicated crosses. Another type, sometimes made entirely of wood, has handles carved in the form of more or less stylized human figures, crocodiles, and so on. Also very rich in variation are the African spoons and ladles, the finest used for feasts or carried by dancers. Among the Somali and the Galla, in the coastal areas of East Africa, the handles are often broadened into tablets delicately decorated with carved braid motifs, broken lines, meanders, and circles. Decoration of a naturalistic type is also to be found among the African tribes, for example, in the work of the Barotse of the upper Zambezi and the Kran of Liberia. The well-known ivory spoons of ancient Nigeria, especially those made by the artists of Benin, characteristically combine traditional African and European elements.

A special group of pipes and tobacco containers are used by the primitive peoples of almost every part of the world, the examples varying from area to area, and even at times within one group, in material, form, and size. The pipe was not always an individual possession for personal pleasure. In America particularly, and to a lesser degree in Melanesia, it was used ceremonially at solemn tribal gatherings or for religious or magical healing purposes by a large number of people in turn, which in part suggests why some of the examples that have been found are almost monumental. As a consequence of the broad geographical spread of tobacco and the longer tradition of its use in the Western Hemisphere, the most notable variety of pipes occurs in the Americas. However, it should be pointed out that even though tobacco pipes were not introduced to the rest of the world until the 16th century, the custom of smoking vegetable substances (opium in Southeast Asia, hemp in India and Africa, and *pitjuri* in Australia) and the making of appropriate equipment may in some places have predated the use of tobacco and thus may have been responsible for the invention of certain kinds of pipes of considerable artistic interest, such as the narghile, used principally in the Islamic world.

Almost everywhere it seems that the oldest, if not the most common, form of pipe is tubular, in which the breathing tube and bowl are often carved of a single piece of bone, wood, or stone. This is particularly true in North America, although even there pipes were used that were made of more than one part, some of them having several tubes or bowls. Mounds and other archaeological sites in Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, and especially Ohio have yielded the most valuable artistic examples. In these the tube, either smooth or decorated with carving, is surmounted by stone figurines which are carved in the round from steatite, quartzite, chlorite, and other materials and

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depict wild beasts, birds, human heads, and other motifs, either realistic or slightly stylized in treatment (X, PL. 348). In some cases the entire pipe is a piece of sculpture in the round, which is made with all the openings necessary to its function (X, PL. 346). In other Indian pipes, the bowl is placed at right angles to the inhalation tube, and the pipe is often ornamented with human and animal figures (X, PLS. 352, 358, 360). This type has been retained until recent times, for example by the Dakota and related tribes, who carved them from a beautiful reddish stone (catlinite or pipestone). An unusual type, popular among the hunters of the Great Plains, is the so-called "pipe tomahawk," a household object, weapon, and tool all in one. Trade tomahawks of this type were manufactured in Europe for American import and then were often embellished with ornamental inlay; above the blade there is a metal bowl for the tobacco. The relative rarity of surviving examples of pipes with bowls or of other types having artistic interest from the highly developed ancient civilizations of America results from the fact that real pipes appear to have come into vogue relatively late. The traditional object in pre-Columbian Mexico, for instance, had been simply a slim pierced tube, whose slender surface afforded the artisan small scope for decoration. The renowned Eskimo pipes of carved walrus tusk with tiny terminal bowls and long curved tubes, sometimes decorated with human and animal figures or hunting and boating scenes in which the carving on the white ivory is blackened, were produced during a late, commercial phase of Arctic handicrafts.

Among the contemporary Indians of South America are found pipes of shell, ceramics, wood, and other materials, which usually cannot compete in esthetic value with North American examples. Decoration, when it exists, consists of geometric motifs and in rare cases (for example, among the Caduveo) rough carvings of anthropomorphic figures. The simpler types with straight tubes predominate, but bent pipes, often of terra cotta, with the bowl decorated with carving, sometimes in relief, have been found at various archaeological sites from the Chaco to Venezuela, and particularly on the slopes of the Andes (Peru), while some of the Amazon tribes (such as the Cainguá and the Chiriguano) were still using them in recent times.

Various archaeological excavations along the Brazilian coast have produced stone pipes, ascribable to cultural levels antecedent to those of the present Indians, among whom such customs as smoking cigars and chewing tobacco contributed to the disappearance of pipes in many areas. In the region around the Caribbean, however, the old stone pipes have been preserved in some localities: the Guaymí of Panama, for example, still make them from a special type of stone sometimes fashioned in the shape of elegantly stylized heads.

Outside the Americas primitive people do not as a rule produce pipes comparable to those of the ancient cultures. In Africa, among other types, the tubular is usually made without decoration, with or without a conical swelling at the side used as a bowl; this type occurs principally in the eastern and southern Bantu countries. Some of the southwestern tribes (Ovimbundo, Bajokwe of Angola) furnish more complex examples, decorated with anthropomorphic wood carvings. Among the tribes of central and eastern-central Africa two classes of pipes predominate: the water pipe, probably deriving from India, which generally consists of three parts (tube, intermediary gourd vessel for cooling the smoke, ceramic bowl); and the two-piece pipe, presumably European in inspiration, with a clay bowl provided with a neck at an acute angle into which is inserted the wood or reed stem. Particularly in examples of this type, in the Congo as in Uganda and elsewhere, the clay part is frequently decorated with geometric incision or with modeled relief (alternating bands or circles; two or more bowls either symmetrically or asymmetrically placed). The pipes of chiefs and dignitaries are sometimes of rare elegance. However, the African culture that has produced the most elaborate and original kinds of pipes in both clay and metal (brass and bronze) is that of the Cameroons Grasslands: the extremely rich decoration makes use of both geometric motifs in relief and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs, according to local taste (II, PL. 99; IX, PL. 523).

In Asia the forms of pipes used by the more backward populations reveal, in general, the influence of models used by peoples of the more highly developed cultures from whom they adopted the custom of smoking. The long, straight-stemmed pipes of the Tartar-Mongolian peoples of eastern Siberia, for example, recall Chinese models. However, original forms have been invented in Oceania, particularly in Melanesia, the part of Oceania where tobacco found the greatest favor, probably as early as the first half of the 16th century. In this area, the pipe is formed from a long section of bamboo with holes at both ends (one for inserting the material to be smoked, with or without a bowl, the other for inhaling). On the light, smooth surface of these cylinders, which are sometimes over a yard long, the artistic imagination of the Melanesians plays freely, creating an inexhaustible variety of decorative elements, from geometric designs or rhombuses, broken lines, and concentric rectangles, alternated in several registers, to plant and animal forms, and the most complex, symbolic stylizations of anthropomorphic elements. The techniques employed include line engraving, encaustic painting, and the cutting away of surface areas, then recutting the new surfaces with ornamental motifs, as well as painting with red and black coloring substances. The most beautiful examples come from southern New Guinea (from the basins of the Katau and the Fly, the Gogodara and tribes near the Gulf of Papua), and from the archipelagoes southeast of New Guinea.

Since tobacco containers are necessary only for the processed tobaccos or snuff used primarily in the more advanced civilizations, they are rare among primitive people, who generally use common leaf tobacco that is kept in rolls, wads, braids, or strings and does not require special containers. In scattered instances vessels of bamboo, gourd, or other material, similar to those used for betel, are employed as tobacco containers, for example, in Melanesia and Indonesia. The Batak of Sumatra have cylindrical bamboo tobacco containers with wooden plugs decorated with anthropomorphic figurines carved in the round, and various vessels made from dried fruits and fruit seeds, small gourds, bamboo, and shell were used for this purpose by a number of Malagasy groups, who decorated them with silver and carving. The Merina excelled in the production of these objects. Until the last century the Zulu, Xosa, and other South African peoples produced unusual tobacco boxes, some of them covered with minute polychrome beads forming geometrical designs, while others were made of pottery in the shape of cows.

Etta BECKER-DONNER

*The ancient world. a. Pharaonic Egypt.* Aside from actual furniture (q.v.), one of the household objects that served as furnishings for the ancient Egyptians was the headrest, which because of the ancient Egyptian concept of equivalence between sleep and death, frequently also formed part of the funerary equipment. The type most commonly found consists of a parallelepiped base, a small column, and a concave support for a cushion on which the head actually rested. Such rests were generally made of wood, but stone (usually alabaster) examples, exclusively for funerary use, are known.

The artificial illumination of interiors was achieved in Egypt as far back as the Old Kingdom, by means of simple lamps consisting of small stone or terra-cotta bowls or plates containing oil or fat in which a linen wick was immersed. Also frequent was the use of torches made of a mass of fat attached to the end of a stick. A lamp discovered in a Theban tomb of the 18th dynasty and now in the Museo Egizio in Turin is composed of a bronze bowl resting on a small wooden supporting column in the form of flowering papyrus stalk.

Cosmetics, toilet articles, and jewelry were kept in elegant containers and chests, often inlaid (PLS. 324, 330, 332, 334; see INLAY). A major item, which sometimes attained a very high level of quality, was the mirror, which was usually composed of two separate elements, disk and handle. The disk (not circular but slightly flattened laterally) might be of copper, as in the older examples, or of bronze or silver occasionally covered with gold leaf, as in the more recent. The handles of early mirrors, which were of ivory or precious wood (often ebony),

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sometimes were ornamented in gold leaf and at times were shaped like a small papyrus-bundle column. In New Kingdom examples the handle was generally made of metal, and although the little column was frequently replaced by a slender nude figurine, the capital was retained. In some examples the handle reproduces the grotesque figure of the dwarf god Bes, a favorite household deity and patron of the art of adornment. (See EGYPTIAN ART.)

Sergio Bosticco

*b. The ancient Near East.* Two factors contribute to the present scarcity of information about household objects in the ancient Near East: the perishability of many of the materials used and the social structure of the cultures involved, which lacked an economically evolved middle class and therefore produced the extremes of splendid royal palaces and miserable huts in which household equipment was limited to the barest necessities. To these is added the fact that excavation work has almost always been directed toward palaces, temples, or princely tombs, thus restricting what has been found to the possessions of a narrow social circle (of those most likely, or solely able, to own artistic objects).

As examples of furnishings, the Assyrian palaces have yielded decorative wall slabs of stone which imitate carpet designs, wall brackets in the form of a closed fist, and many rectangular glazed terra-cotta tiles made with concave sides and decorated with stylized plant motifs. The tiles were applied to walls with terra-cotta nails having sim larly decorated heads. For lighting there were tall bronze candlesticks. From Kish come examples dating from the 3d millennium B.C., consisting of long shafts terminating in a tight cluster of leaves that flares out above and bases formed by massive frogs. A bronze candlestick belonging to the Neo-Assyrian period, which is preserved at Erlangen in Germany, is formed of a female figure standing on a capital that in turn rests on three feet in the shape of birds' heads. Some festive objects used on social occasions should be mentioned, among them a variety of metal vessels (cups, goblets, rhytons, trays) often richly decorated (those from Alaca Hüyük, golden vases from the tombs of Ur, Phoenician bowls), the refined and widely used anthropomorphic vessels of the second half of the 2d millennium, and the examples from Cyprus. Innumerable vessels of undecorated terra cotta for everyday use coexisted with these luxurious objects. Games, too, may have served as a kind of furnishing, as in some of the surviving gameboards (the most elegant being the shield-shaped example from Megiddo) a hole is found at the top that may have been used to hang them on the wall (see GAMES AND TOYS).

A rather well-documented category of objects is that relating to the toilette; palettes for cosmetics, ointment jars, combs, and boxes, almost always of ivory or bone, have been found nearly everywhere, especially among important deposits of ivory objects. The most prevalent type of comb was rather short and had a long handle decorated with various kinds of scenes, but double combs also existed. Mirrors were made of bronze and were much like those of the Western world in type, various examples coming from Luristan and from Atlit in Palestine. Also connected with the toilette are the many terra-cotta receptacles found throughout the Near East. These are tiny boxes, not more than $3^1/_2$ in. long, which rest on four legs; their sides usually are decorated with geometrical designs (generally triangular) arranged in bands, although Palestinian examples sometimes have scenes enclosed in a plaited frame. Finally, examples of bath tubs have been recovered. One in the royal palace of Mari, dating from the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C., is not very large, while one uncovered in Sennacherib's palace at Ashur is monumental, with rich decoration inspired by the water gods.

Giovanni Garbini

*c. The classical world.* The Cretan-Mycenean household objects that have been discovered are few, but their general style and execution demonstrate the existence of a high level of craft production. Rhytons of stone or metal (IV, PL. 59), small gold vessels for ointments and cosmetics, little decorated plaques for furniture, little wooden chests covered with thin sheets of hammered gold, simple combs and some with double rows of teeth richly decorated, mirrors with handles of carved ivory, such as the very beautiful examples from Ialysos and Mycenae — all these objects reveal both the developed artistic sense and the refined technique possessed by Cretan craftsmen. Further, these objects perfectly express the Cretan taste in their modest scale and in their minute decoration, which confers on the object a unity that is not inherent in its basic form. Besides these more precious examples there were everyday objects, products of a more humble craftsmanship, less refined in form and less fanciful in decoration, but not less original: for example, the lamps of Pseira, Mallia, Palaikastro, and Nirou Khani, large basins, generally of steatite, with one or more handles and a varying number of spouts and lamps with supports in the form of bundled columns carrying the basin, as in the beautiful porphyry example from Knossos.

Greece entered the arena of Western culture with a truly new artistic language, slowly formed over the centuries. One of the most beautiful of Greek household objects was the mirror, which existed in three types: in a case, with a handle, or on a pedestal. The older forms are the mirror with handle and the standing mirror, while the third type dates from no earlier than the middle of the 5th century B.C. The examples that have come to light, even though few, illustrate perfectly the criteria according to which they were made: the most care was lavished on the handle, which usually bore all the decoration. In the most ancient mirrors, the still-austere handle was covered with minute Ionic decoration drawn from the traditional repertory of animals and grotesquerie. In the 6th and 5th centuries, however, the handle became animated, transformed into a figure, generally female. This was the period in which standing mirrors flourished. In these, the statuette which supported the reflecting surface rose from a base edged with molding and resting on animal figures. These handle figures gradually developed from conventionally posed maidens enveloped in the severe Doric chiton into freer, more lively and complex figures, which, while still retaining the function of caryatid, took on the character of independent sculpture (IX, PL. 505). Incised decoration, later the chief characteristic of Etruscan mirrors, was almost totally lacking in these two types, but it did appear on the mirrors in cases. These mirrors, since they did not have the handles which had provided the major field for decoration in the earlier types, had to be decorated in an entirely different manner. This type of decoration, either incised or relief carving on the outer surface of the mirror, was in general composed of disciplined, ornamental motifs, perfectly balanced and limited in scope. The value of these objects was increased by the substitution of silver for bronze.

Given the particular character of the Greek house, its extreme simplicity and the fact that it was considered more a place to sleep than the center of the day's activities, it is logical that household objects were rather few, those that did exist relating almost exclusively to women's activities: for instance, the chests used to hold jewels and alabastra, or small ointment jars, which were most common in Hellenistic times, when a special type of chest, the μυροθήκη, was developed solely for this purpose; *balsamaria*, which originated, according to tradition, in the shops of the Near Eastern craftsmen of Corinth; alabastra and combs of bone, ivory, and silver (of which magnificent examples survive, especially of the type with two rows of teeth); as well as the cylindrical cists, small receptacles usually made of wicker or some other perishable material, that were carried in the hand or hung on the wall by cords and may be seen in Greek vase paintings. The bronze cists common among the Etruscans were apparently unknown to the Greeks.

Almost indispensable in houses of a certain economic and social level was the incense burner (θυμιατήριον) made either of terra cotta or of metal. That the custom of burning incense or perfumed resin, known in the Orient from earliest antiquity, became common very rapidly also in the Western world is attested by archaeological finds and vase paintings, which again provide the richest documentary source. The incense burner

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was a vessel with a perforated cover, generally low, but sometimes in the form of a small brazier on a pedestal. A splendid example of the latter is a silver brazier from Taras.

In Greece the main source of artificial light was the torch, the (θαίς) of Homer, which was gradually replaced in the classical period by the lamp. Greek lamps were usually of terra cotta, but bronze, silver, and even gold lamps (such as the great lamp that burned perpetually on the Acropolis at the feet of the Athena Polias) were not unusual. They might be placed on a fixed pedestal which increased the beam of light by raising the source; these supports were normally of terra cotta or wood.

While Greek houses of the lower classes (see INTERIOR DECORATION AND DESIGN) for the most part did not contain a great variety of household furnishings, the houses of the rich were more liberally supplied. Most of the objects came from the markets of the Orient, for example, rugs and the gaily colored fabrics used to cover beds and benches or as wall hangings. The Homeric poems give evidence of the custom of decorating tents and palaces with animal skins and precious fabrics. This practice was first stimulated by Miletus and the whole area of the Hellespont and then by Persia, which were even in classical times the main centers of rug export. By the beginning of the 3d century B.C. the splendor and richness of the Orient had given to Greek culture a new aspect, and the custom of decorating the house with fabrics and rugs from Sardis and Pergamon was general in the Western world.

Arms and festoons hung on the walls, *objets d'art*, and statuettes completed the furnishings. Documentation on this subject is scarce, except for that rich source, Greek vase painting, and some hints in the writers (as the mention of the *Herakles Epitrapezios*, a statue by Lysippos which Alexander the Great prized so highly that he always carried it with him to adorn his table).

The extensive use of bronze has resulted in the preservation of a great quantity of Etruscan objects, particularly of three kinds: candelabra, mirrors, and cists, in which the best of Etruscan applied art was embodied (V, PLS. 24, 50; IX, PL. 505). Etruscan candelabra range in style from the great simplicity of the candelabrum of the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, with its shaft and brackets for torches of thick sheet bronze, to the squat and overdecorated examples from later tombs. The typical form of the Orientalizing phase, a lively union of statuette and shaft animated by attached rings, was later replaced by lighter, more slender candelabra, standing on lions' feet and terminating at the top in rosettes; at the center were classically influenced statuettes (sometimes magnificent examples of small-scale sculpture). Also used by the Etruscans were candelabra for single torches, some not unlike our own and others, resembling thymiateria, having a little plate at the top of a bulbous shaft (this type, however, seems to have been of very late and limited use). The hanging supports for lamps should also be mentioned. The most famous and certainly the most beautiful of the many that have come to light is one from Cortona, in which the decoration of the visible underside (inspired by archaic themes) is eurythmically organized in concentric circles culminating in a great central Gorgon. This piece, which has been dated in the second half of the 5th century B.C., is a unique example of its type both for its refinement of execution and its considerable size (33 in. in diameter).

While Etruscan mirrors did not differ substantially in form from Greek examples (with the exception of a few square ones), they did differ considerably in their ornamentation. In Greek mirrors the decoration was careful and minute, limited to the contours; in Etruscan examples, on the contrary, the entire concave face (that is, the reverse of the reflecting surface) was covered with decoration (PL. 333; IV, PL. 263). The mirrors with handles, which were the most common (those in cases or standing are rare), are chronologically and typologically divisible into two groups: the first, of Etruscan origin, includes those with a circular surface; the second, composed of the so-called "pear-mirrors" named for their characteristic form, came for the most part from the workshops of Praeneste (Palestrina) and date from the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. These are really products of the Roman era, but since the artisan tradition continued practically uninterrupted, they will be discussed here for the sake of convenience. The incision on mirrors is rarely of outstanding quality, and the figures reveal a facile conformity to sometimes half-understood foreign types. Only rarely are compositions encountered which, though typologically deriving from Greek models, are executed with freedom of stroke, mastery of the medium, and a certain degree of originality. Otherwise, these carvings hold an interest that is not so much artistic as documentary (as the example from Tuscania which shows a scene of haruspication). The peak of this production occurred at the end of the 4th century. The mirrors of the following centuries belong to the second class, the pear-shaped type of Etrusco-Roman manufacture, artistically inferior even to the preceding ones. There are rare cases in which the decoration of the concave face is carved in relief rather than incised. The handle is either simple, made of the same metal as the reflecting surface and fused with it, or sheathed in bone or ivory (and in this connection it remains uncertain whether the precious forearms of worked ivory from the Barberini Tomb were in fact mirror or fan handles).

The cists are perhaps the best known objects of Etruscan bronze work. First appearing in the 4th century B.C., these objects fulfilled an important household function, since they were used to hold small toilet articles such as hairpins, combs, mirrors, *balsamaria*, and boxes for cosmetics. The most ancient cists were oval in form and had hammered ornamentation, while later the cylindrical form prevailed. The latter type underwent considerable modification: the earliest examples were made of wooden frames covered with tooled and painted leather; later this covering was relegated to the central part only, where it was bordered by two bronze openwork bands; and finally this construction was abandoned altogether.

The cylindrical surface and the cover of Etruscan cists were completely covered with representations and ornamental designs. It is interesting to note the disparity in style and quality between the decoration and the applied, functional parts of these cists, resulting from differences in technique and in the levels of skill of the craftsmen. The incised decoration was made by a slow hand process, while the applied parts, such as the handles and the feet, were cast in molds in quantity. Thus, the same cist may have fairly good decorative work but cast elements of considerably lower quality. From the 4th to the 2d century Praeneste was the chief center of production of these objects.

Among the important Etruscan artifacts were braziers; round or rectangular basins of sheet bronze, ornamented with animal protomas, and little figures of sileni or of maenads, which were cast and subsequently applied to the main form, a technique that attained its fullest expression in the cists — braziers which, primarily used for heating, could also serve as incense burners.

Very similar in form to a candelabrum was the cottabus, an object used in the game of the same name, a variant of that known in Greece since the 6th century B.C. It consisted of a long shaft supported on a tripod, with a movable plate halfway up the shaft and sometimes a statuette at the summit. In this case, as in that of the candelabra, the craftsman has created objects of simple and refined elegance, confirming once again the justice of the fame enjoyed by the Etruscan bronzeworkers.

Representations of banquets, as in the paintings from Tarquinia or the urns found at Clusium (Chiusi), clearly attest the great quantity of crowns, festoons, and headbands hung on the walls, objects which doubtless originally had some sacred connotation, but which ultimately assumed an exclusively decorative character. The Tomb of the Reliefs at Caere (Cerveteri) represents the most complete picture of the interior furnishings of a house of the period (VIII, PL. 95). In reality the objects here represented on the piers and walls ought not to be thought of as constituting the usual and complete furnishings, but they do provide the best testimony to the custom of hanging objects (as can be surmised also from the nails on the walls of hypogea at Tarquinia) and are a useful guide for the study of the objects commonly used in Etruscan houses: a bag, a pitcher, robes, paterae, a fan, weapons, and crowns — objects

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either of immediate utility or purely decorative elements that have mostly perished.

The household equipment of a Roman house of the early republic was not much different from this. Later, however, reflecting a change in architecture and a general transformation of the manners and tenor of life, household objects as well as furniture became richer and more valuable. The Etruscan tradition of bronzework was not forgotten; on the contrary, it flourished in the new environment, both from the typological and the artistic points of view.

The problem of lighting, which had stimulated the Etruscans to create handsome objects, was solved with originality also in Roman candelabra and lamp holders. Most of these are terra cotta (PL. 340), but bronze examples, generally very elaborate and fantastic in form (such as those in the shape of a boat) are not rare. Characteristically Roman, though not unknown to the Greeks, were lamp-carrying candelabra, which might be long enough in the shaft to stand on the floor or shorter and meant to be placed on a table or other furniture. It is to this second category that the most beautiful and elaborate examples belong. While in some the transition between pedestal and shaft is made with simple, linear forms, in others the relationship between the parts is obscured almost to the point of sacrificing the functional aspect of the object. In such cases it is legitimate to think that it was the specific intention of the craftsman to create a functional object that was also an ornament. These ornate candelabra were usually made in the form of *amorini* or satyrs who either supported the plate which held the lamp or leaned against a tree from the branches of which the lamps were suspended (PL. 341).

Separate mention must be made of the splendid marble candelabra, which may well have had a ritual rather than a practical function. In these the most refined technique is united with an extraordinarily inventive richness: from the base decorated with festoons and bucrania, plant and animal elements spring up and unfold one from the other, creating the shaft more than decorating it, according to a taste most fully realized in the painted representations of candelabra in decorative murals, where the object, divested of its essence, is refined and attenuated into a purely decorative element.

Unfailingly present among the household objects of a rich Roman house was the brazier (*focus*), used to heat the rooms or, with appropriate structural modifications, to keep wine and food warm. This second use, deplored by Seneca, became ever more common in the Imperial age, thus encouraging a continuing elaboration of the object. The basic form of the brazier, a circular or rectangular basin on three or four legs, was the point of departure for later, more complicated forms, resulting from the increasing use of applied cast parts (PL. 345). Not unlike a small brazier was the *turibulum* or incense burner, which in its Roman form displayed the same structural complexity.

The Romans attained the maximum degree of luxury and richness in the household objects used at the table, the *argentum escarium* and *potorium*. These complete table services comprising, bowls, plates, paterae, trays, and other items, are among the most beautiful creations of Roman toreutics, and certain of the pieces have a documentary value, for example, the two cups from Boscoreale (PL. 315). Bronze and ceramic tableware was no less beautiful, particularly that of the terra sigillata type, which was highly original. Beginning in the 1st century B.C., glasses were imported in great numbers, first from Egypt and Syria and later from Gaul and Germany. They were surprisingly varied in form, color, and production technique, including murrhine and *diatreta* glass (see CERAMICS; GLASS; GOLD- AND SILVERWORK; METALWORK).

Also of great importance were toilet articles, which greatly increased in number as the custom of the bath became widespread. Besides the bronze mirrors of Latin manufacture but explicitly Etruscan tradition, which are discussed above, silver mirrors were made, which beginning in the 1st century B.C. partially replaced the preceding ones. The Romans also liked mirrors in cases and square mirrors with barely indicated linear decoration; standing forms were rare in this period. It was at this time that mirrors consisting of two surfaces of blown glass enclosing a sheet of silver or tin made their appearance. This innovation, attributed by Pliny to the people of Sidon, occurred at the beginning of the 2d century B.C., but the use of these mirrors always remained limited, and their size was too small for practical use.

Small chests of every type and size were common in the Roman house. The use of the *unguentorum scrinia*, like one that came from the Esquiline which still had remains of silver *balsamaria* in the compartments, became very widespread in the Hellenistic period. Roman combs, which like the Greek and Etruscan were predominantly of the stubby type with two rows of teeth, were as beautiful as the earlier examples. Mention should also be made of ampullae for oil, primarily of metal, hairpins, and the cists, which continued the line of the more famous Etruscan production. The forms, however, became heavier, overburdened by decoration and the excessive use of applied cast parts.

The increasing luxury of the Roman house stimulated interest in rugs and draperies. The taste for large decorated surfaces already manifested in mosaic floors and mural paintings was evident also in the richly embroidered curtains that were hung on the walls like tapestries or spread over chairs and triclinia. The use of heavy cloth draperies as dividing walls or for purely decorative purposes and of canopies is also well documented. Both were used illusionistically to enliven the architecture of the rooms.

Bare walls were decorated with niches and easel paintings, an art form begun in Greece during the 5th century which rapidly became popular throughout the Hellenistic-Roman world. The paintings were usually on panels, although some delightful mosaic compositions are known, and mounted in simple wooden frames with crossed and projecting listels. This primitive frame type was later replaced by a more complex system which greatly elaborated on the purely utilitarian character of the earlier frames, acquiring a certain esthetic value. These frames were often decorated with metal bosses or colored stucco.

Beginning in the 2d century B.C. the *horologium ex aqua*, or water clock, became an object coveted by the rich. This instrument, which worked on the principle of the hourglass, was invented, according to tradition, by Ctesibius of Alexandria and soon taken up in Rome, first in public buildings and then in private houses, where it was one of the most precious pieces of domestic equipment. Studies and private libraries did not have any special ornaments: their furnishings were limited to the necessary objects, such as capsae (cases) for *volumina* (books or scrolls), inkwells (PL. 336), waxed tablets, and sometimes busts of great writers of the past. Finally, mention must be made of chessboards and gaming tables (see GAMES AND TOYS) and of the musical instruments with which the Romans entertained their guests (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS), as well as brackets, shelves, and hooks for hanging crowns, festoons, and other objects, in brief of all the objects that served to make the house more beautiful and comfortable.

Giovanni ALVISI

*d. Byzantium.* The splendor and luxury of the Byzantine court and the sumptuousness of Byzantine private dwellings suggest the existence of household objects of equal richness. Evidence of such rich ware are the *missoria* (plates used to bring food to the table), the earliest known examples of which date back to the reign of Diocletian. Splendid plates, all of silver and embossed with scenes of secular character that reveal the continued influence of late-antique art, are to be found in Madrid (missorium of Theodosius I, late 4th cent.; II, PL. 487), in Florence (missorium of Aspar Ardabur, 434; Mus. Archeologico), and in The Hermitage, Leningrad (Concesti missorium, 5th cent.), as well as elsewhere. Missoria continued to be produced through the 7th century (examples in Nicosia, Cyprus Mus., and in The Hermitage).

Goblets, amphorae, and paterae occasionally went with the missoria. Noteworthy is the embossed silver Concesti amphora of the 5th century in The Hermitage, with its narrow, handled neck; and the patera from Parabiago (VI, PL. 258). Covered

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goblets are held by the Magi in a mosaic at S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, and cups with handles are represented on the reliefs inserted in the exterior revetment of the Little Metropole at Athens (II, PL. 436), while in many nonfigural works of sculpture, vines are represented growing out of a goblet. From the *De cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, it is learned that the precious tableware of the imperial palace was exhibited in a kind of showcase called the Heptapyrion (see FURNITURE).

In later Byzantine art, tableware reflects Oriental influence and, like the liturgical vessels of the time (see LITURGICAL AND RITUAL OBJECTS), is remarkable for the richness of its many-colored stones and enamels (chalice of Manuel Palaeologus, Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery). Along with this sumptuous tableware more modest ceramic ware was used; yet in the Byzantine world, as in the West, it was the custom to use not individual plates at table but only serving plates. Also, eating utensils usually consisted of knife and spoon only, although the fork may have originated in Byzantium, since St. Peter Damian remarks with wonder that it was used in Venice by the Byzantine wife of Doge Orseolo II. On the Riha paten (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Coll.) are represented a special basin and handled pitcher for washing the hands and a special type of wine flask with two necks.

The objects of glass are many and of high quality. Often gilded, faceted, or decorated with enamels, these were produced in Syria, primarily, and to a great extent at Byzantium also, in the time of the Comneni. Cups, glasses, and phials remain in considerable numbers (Venice, Treasury of St. Mark's; PL. 315).

Lighting was provided by the traditional earthenware lamps, of which innumerable examples survive from Syria, Palestine, and Coptic Egypt. Many of these lamps are zoomorphic in form; others are round or oval, with three wide lips. The lamps were placed on tripods or on the so-called *polycandelia*, lamp holders that in their simplest form were circular and provided with holes for the insertion of the lamps. *Polycandelia* were suspended from the ceiling by chains. Later, candelabra of ivory or enameled metal were used. Coptic censers are numerous.

Scissors and the compass appear among writing materials, besides the stylus, goose quill, knife and inkstand (usually rectangular, with two wells, or circular; e.g., a silver inkwell in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Padua).

Small ivory caskets decorated with rosettes, or with secular or religious scenes (nuptial casket belonging to an empress, Rome, Mus. di Palazzo Venezia) were very common in the 10th and 11th centuries and were widespread also in the West.

Very often precious stuffs were used in the furnishing of interiors (see TEXTILES, EMBROIDERY, AND LACE), and in the mosaic of the *Birth of the Virgin* at Daphne there is a representation of a large fan of feathers that a maidservant waves over the bed of St. Anne. Among household objects there are also to be found scales, hourglasses, water clocks, and wicker baskets.

*The European tradition. a. Middle Ages.* The political and economic crisis that marked the passage from Roman to medieval civilization marked also a decline in the production of household objects. Late-antique tradition survived in some places, but the objects made were of increasingly poor quality, corresponding to the poor quality of dwellings (see INTERIOR DECORATION AND DESIGN). The use of gold and other precious metals became rarer in Europe, troubled as it was in the course of the 6th and 7th centuries by barbarian invasions. Few objects of this period have survived: ceramics of simple form with punched decoration; some bronze basins (6th–7th cent.; Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmus.); some objects of wood, notable among them a cup with decorations in silver appliqué, which came from Soest (7th cent.; Münster, Landesmus.); and a small bottle for wine (Berlin, Staat. Mus.). Glassmaking continued, but coarser materials were employed. Green glass was common; honey-colored or brown glass was rare. Among the examples preserved are many glasses, footless, smooth or ornamented with large, round prunts (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmus.). The barbarians (see EUROPE, BARBARIAN) contributed little, although among treasure finds a few objects have come to light such as the Dollerup cups; PL. 328), the cups from the Petrossa treasure, and the splendid cups and pitchers from Nagy-Szent-Miklós (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.; V, PL. 96; VI, PL. 257). These last-mentioned objects are, however, of later date (9th cent.); they repeat classicizing forms with Oriental influence, although among them is the very original form of the bull.

The objects of Anglo-Saxon production (see ANGLO-SAXON AND IRISH ART) form a separate group, since the British Isles in the 6th and 7th centuries remained isolated from events on the Continent. The group includes the famous Birdlip mirror (I, PL. 289), numerous hanging basins, or fragments thereof, and a few drinking horns, all characterized by such decorative motifs as shields (*peltae*) and spirals.

With the establishment of the Carolingian empire and the Ottonian that followed (see CAROLINGIAN PERIOD; OTTONIAN PERIOD), both the higher standard of living enjoyed by the emperor, nobles, and clergy, and the fact that the barbarians finally settled down in various regions brought about a greater demand for luxuries, which in turn led to an increase in the quality and quantity of production, if not to production on a large scale. Liturgical vessels, somewhat better preserved and extant in rather greater number than secular ware, indicate a return to gold, silver, and precious stones for adorning various objects. Literary sources mention, for example, a golden basin given by Sisinath, king of the Visigoths, to Dagobert, king of the Franks; a cup of Dagobert's "d'or tout plaine"; and one belonging to Charlemagne "à le saphir à jour"; as well as a tray of gold and precious stones that Chilperic showed to Gregory of Tours in the royal palace at Nogent. Unfortunately, none of these objects survived; instead, objects of ordinary use remain — various ceramic cups and jugs in forms of some refinement and ornamented with the first recurrence of relief and painted decoration (8th and 9th cent.; Neuss, Mus.); some objects in metal, such as the Pettstadt cup (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nat.-Mus.), which is of silver and bears decorations of an Orientalizing type, and the great basin for the washing of feet from Metijens (8th–9th cent.; Düsseldorf, Kunstmus.); articles of glass, such as drinking glasses (still without base and often in bell form); some examples of work in rock crystal, such as a cup in London (9th cent.; Br. Mus.) and a sphere of rock crystal in the Musée de Cluny in Paris that seems to have been used to refresh the hands. There are also small wooden buckets with appliqués of metal (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.), as well as others made entirely of metal or ivory.

Among examples of ivory work (see IVORY AND BONE CARVING) there are extant some combs of the 9th and 10th centuries, and small caskets for jewels and precious objects (PL. 330). Additional knowledge of the various household objects of this period is gained from illuminated manuscripts: at the table no plates were provided for individual use — everyone served himself directly from great trays or from deep, standed cups (as illustrated in the Utrecht Psalter). There were virtually no forks, though they were shown for the first time in the codex of the Lombard Laws (7th cent.; a representation of Rotari, king of the Lombards, at table). Knives, however, were numerous and generally had curved blades and handles worked in gold or ivory; spoons were few, round, and short-handled. Apparently in widespread use was a special, handled basin which, accompanied by a pitcher, served for washing the hands before meals. Intricately woven wicker baskets were employed for the most varied purposes.

For lighting, besides the chandeliers in the form of suspended crowns (widespread in Visigothic Spain and used especially in churches), either lamps in the form of cones or vases of glass, hung by chains (Canon Tables of the First Bible of Charles the Bald; Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 1), or earthenware lamps of traditional antique form were used. Occasionally lamps shaped like cornucopias were placed either on tall stands with shafts worked on the lathe or on those metal tripods used for so many purposes (Utrecht Psalter). Locks, knockers or handles, and hinges in wrought-iron forms of extreme simplicity adorned doors, strongboxes, and the small chests used for books (Utrecht Psalter, Bible of S. Paolo fuori le Mura). Curtains

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closed off beds and, along with cushions, decked the sovereign's throne (see TEXTILES, EMBROIDERY, AND LACE).

As can be seen in many miniatures representing the Evangelists, the equipment of the study consisted of styluses; goose quills; a knife, generally with curved blade; and glass inkwells, either conical in form and set into a small stand, or rectangular or cylindrical in form; square and cylindrical capsae in which books were kept; as well as pincers, scales, tongs for the fireplace, bird cages, and scissors. Sometimes scissors were made with a spring after an ancient type dating from the 10th century, and sometimes they were made with two crossed blades in the form current today; often they were fitted with a guard. No trace is left of objects of specifically feminine use, yet probably there did exist distaffs, spindles, and small jars for cosmetics.

Not until the Romanesque period, however, was there a true general revival in the production of objects for domestic use. Factors in the revival were the new stability in Europe with the attendant reemergence of centers of city life, revival of markets, and formation of a middle class inclined toward an easier, more comfortable life. Furthermore, this period was characterized by the formation of the guilds (see INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS), by means of which goldsmiths, blacksmiths, glassworkers, ceramists, and armorers, as well as makers of scissors, combs, and so forth, all united into genuine legal entities with organizational statutes regulating their production. The use of metal (see METALWORK) became more widespread in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the increasingly varied forms testify to ever-increasing demand. There was greater diversification of the objects themselves and greater refinement of technique, with wide use of precious metals. The Osnabrück cup, decorated with enamels, is of the 12th century, and sources speak of a "magna scutela de onichio" acquired by Frederick II in 1239. Domestic tableware — of gold or silver for the nobility; of bronze, tin, or wood for the lower classes — was decorated with sobriety and elegance. Occasionally the decoration is incised and figural. In this period European craftsmanship distinguished itself in the working of bronze and brass. The most notable center was Dinant on the Meuse, which, from the 10th century on, produced plates, pitchers, and candlesticks. Brass objects, called *dinanderies*, were later produced also at Liège and in various Flemish and German centers, the period of greatest prosperity coming in the 14th century. The use of terra-cotta kitchenware continued, and with more variety in the forms, though only a few fragments survive from the Romanesque period. Flasks were made in various sizes, ranging from those used in the fields to those for table wine, which were often of silver. Pitchers had covers and, occasionally, three feet. There were also mortars of different sizes, with two handles, one near the top and one toward the bottom. There was a variety of carafes, basins, water jugs, cups, bottles, and the like. The revival of commerce favored the import of objects from the East, such as Syrian or Egyptian glass, the so-called "damascene cups," and Byzantine and Arab ceramics that, up to the 14th century, were imitated in Spain and Sicily with little success.

For domestic lighting, the use of candlesticks became established; most common in the 11th and 12th centuries were German examples, of brass or bronze, which were decorated with foliage and openwork and were sometimes made in the form of a horseman or dragon (PL. 341; Florence, Mus. Naz). Notable in later Italian production are candlesticks in crystal. Still in general use in the Romanesque period were lamps in the form of a wide-lipped metal vase that was suspended by chains, a form that goes back, probably, to Coptic Early Christian examples. Such lamps are represented in 11th-century frescoes in S. Clemente, Rome, and on the bronze door made by Bonannus for the Cathedral of Pisa of 1180 (IX, PL. 508). Another type, of Byzantine derivation, consisting of a lead plate with openings into which small glass cups were to be fitted, is represented by the 12th-century lamp at Barletta. In miniatures can be noted such objects as andirons, bird cages, baskets, casks for wine, and, among other things, small barrels set upon supports for serving of wine at table. Small basins for washing the hands sometimes came in pairs so that water could be poured from one basin to the other. As the use of the fireplace spread, more andirons, tongs, and bellows were produced, as well as greater numbers of bulbous bronze pots which had three feet and which could be hung by a chain from the handle to serve as caldrons.

Among objects for specifically feminine use, there was an increase in the production of the little love caskets of carved ivory or wood (PL. 330). Used as courtship gifts, these were often imported from the East, those of Siculo-Arabian manufacture being famous. Later, these small caskets were made of metal and decorated with enamels. Combs, mirrors, and scissors were also part of feminine equipment, the scissors sent to a lady being customarily fitted with a protective guard and enclosed in one of these small gift boxes.

Few changes occurred in writing materials. The inkwells remained the traditional small cylindrical or hexagonal vessels, with or without covers, made of horn, marble, earthenware, lead, bronze, gold, or silver. When not enclosed in a case and carried at the scribe's belt, inkwells were either placed atop the writing table or attached to it. Games of chess, draughts (checkers), and tricktrack (see GAMES AND TOYS) seem to have been popular (VI, PLS. 7, 9). Pieces for chess and draughts survive in good number (cf. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* . . ., 4 vols., Berlin, 1914–26). The existence of musical instruments such as violas, harps, and trumpets is documented by illuminated manuscripts (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS).

Because of a higher standard of living and the further development of commerce and craftsmanship in Europe, the Gothic style not only varied the repertory of decorative forms but also raised the artistic level of household objects in daily use. Rather more numerous than extant objects of the period and of great informative value are the inventories, such as those of Clement of Hungary (1328), of the Duc d'Arison (1368), and of Charles V of France (1368), which minutely describe all objects of considerable worth. Miniatures and contemporary painting (especially that of the International style) complete the picture and testify to a desire not only for elegance of execution but for a greater variety and greater refinement of forms. Precious metals, gems, enamels, and semiprecious stones were used over a widespread area.

In tableware the Gothic handicrafts reached their greatest efflorescence. Miniatures clearly show that such ware often added greatly to the decorative furnishing of rooms. Not only was there an increase in the production of kitchen utensils of wrought iron (though there are also examples made of silver, e.g., "un grant paelle d'argent pur cuire poisson," inventory of Louis d'Anjou, 1360); in addition many objects were made for the adornment of the table: basins, pitchers, goblets (a special type of double goblet was popular in Germany), centerpieces that held eating implements, chafing dishes (inventory of Louis d'Anjou), sauce boats (inventory of Clement of Hungary), and precious carafes (the Rhenish examples made of silver, the Bavarian of brass, and the Flemish of zinc, while French examples were adorned with enamels). There is a splendid goblet decorated with enamels in the British Museum, a wedding gift of Jean, Duc de Berry, to Charles VI (PL. 315). Two-pronged forks were widely used; one mention occurs in an inventory (ca. 1297) of the possessions of Edward I of England. Knives, which differed in form according to their use, had richly worked handles. Trays were round, oval, or square; a special type of tray, called *aumone* in French, was designed to collect the food to be distributed to the poor. Wine served at table was kept in little barrels, often of silver, set upon supports (inventory of Charles V). There are also ceramic jugs and small cups still termed "Turkish" style. Many of the jugs had a long spout, a lid, and three feet. The first stemmed glasses appeared in the 14th century, and, judging from the fact that a "couppe de voirre blanc, garniz d'argent doré" is mentioned in an inventory of Charles V (1399) and that often these very simple drinking glasses were kept under lock and key, they must have been considered objects of great luxury. The tables themselves were covered with valuable cloths (see TABLE AND FOOD).

Among the examples of pails, there is one of bronze from the 14th century with handle and feet, in the Stadtmuseum at Jessen. Locks were decorated with nonreligious scenes and

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architectural motifs. German examples were given the form of a shield or hatchet decorated with curvilinear motifs which also served as guides to placement of the key. Even the keys, with their pierced work, rosettes, and ogives adorning both handle and bit, became decorative objects. Keys, nails, decorative rosettes, hinges in lance or lily form, handles, and knockers (the last still in the form of pendant rings), were all made of either iron or bronze. Mirrors were occasionally of glass but most frequently still of polished metal and enclosed in cases of ivory, carved wood, or precious metal. Extant examples are primarily French, of the Gothic period, and adorned with secular scenes. In addition to ordinary pitchers there were special metal, twin-spouted ones that were suspended by a chain above a basin, as well as real lavabos set into the wall.

The hand warmers produced in France, Germany, and Italy (at Venice in particular) generally took the form of pierced metal globes) "pomme d'argent doré à eschauffer mains," inventory of Charles V) that were carved, damascened, nielloed, or — rarely — adorned with enamels and held a container full of embers or hot water (an exact description is given by Villard de Honnecourt). In 15th-century France there came into fashion hand warmers in the form of a book decorated with French inscriptions traced in Gothic characters. Wide, low braziers of metal, occasionally with openwork covers, were used to warm the rooms; smaller in size were the foot warmers. A new kind of lamp developed in the Gothic period was the portable oil lamp, often of brass and consisting of a long shaft that ended in a ring from the midsection of which projected two, three, or four spouts. This type of lamp remained common through the 17th century. A new type of Gothic chandelier, ancestor of modern examples, was formed by an arrangement of various numbers of curved branchlike elements radiating from a central core. These chandeliers are generally of brass and of German or Flemish manufacture. Chess and draughts remained popular, and stringed instruments enlivened banquets.

Fernanda De' Maffei

*b. Renaissance.* Household objects acquired new value in the Renaissance. No longer subject either to capricious desires for beauty or to any particular requirement of pomp or religious symbolism, household items now were shaped by a systematic theory under which every object within the sphere of human life, even the least important, must share in the beauty, harmony, and fitness that were attributed to the realm of the human mind. Indeed, even such great artists and theorists as Alberti, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Vignola (qq.v.) did not consider it beneath their dignity to furnish advice and designs for the minutiae of noble dwellings, and famous sculptors affixed their names to small objects of domestic use. Besides that most celebrated example, Cellini's saltcellar (IV, pl. 414; VI, pl. 269), there are inkstands, candlesticks, and bells by Andrea Briosco, known as Riccio (pl. 336), and *insegne* (large medallions serving as hair ornaments for ladies) and the inkstand by Caradosso. The improved standards of living and increased commercial activity, which made possible the extension of this refined taste even to people of modest circumstances, tended to fuse the various national products into an international European style.

The Renaissance ideal of formal beauty and harmony often ignored utility and comfort; designs for objects and furniture at times were inspired not by function but by contemporary architectural and sculptural models. The more usual functions of furniture (as desks, dressing tables, supports for small objects of all kinds) were fulfilled not by pieces of true furniture but by improvised fixtures such as shelves, brackets, hooks, small collapsible tables, lecterns, and so forth, almost as if the most useful objects were felt to be unnecessary in the rigorous esthetic of the Renaissance. In all the interiors represented in 15th-century painting, from Carpaccio to the Flemish masters, books, vases, lamps, and cruets all appear placed on bracketed tables that run along the walls. In 16th-century Venice, a similar object, called a *soaza*, circled the entire room at the height of a man, and from it portraits, brocades, tooled leather, and tapestries were hung. There were also various holders for other articles — most commonly racks for weapons and hatstands. Even today hatstands repeat Tuscan models of the 15th and 16th centuries. Every 16th-century Venetian inventory mentions various *restelli* which seem to have been small wooden shelves or racks fixed to the wall and equipped with hooks to hold all kinds of objects. There are references to *restelli* for writing, for the bedroom, for shoes, for combs, etc. Greater decorative value was given to the elegantly shaped and carved lecterns which constituted the finishing touch in any study from the Gothic period to the 16th century. But these lecterns, useful for large manuscripts, disappeared when printing, with its smaller characters, made books easier to handle.

Though locks, like hinges, generally retained their Gothic form, in the 15th century they began to take more practical forms (with the use of the file that permitted construction of gears that would double-lock) that could be operated by shorter, more manageable keys (IX, pl. 510). Italian craftsmen sought to conceal the mechanism of the lock within the piece of furniture and ornamented the aperture with plaquettes of wrought iron or, in the 16th century, bronze, decorated with simple architectural and figural motifs. Keys, though reduced in size, were more ornate; handles were given the form of capitals, dolphins, sirens, and statuettes. In the 16th century even more lavishly decorated keys, which carried the arms and initials of their owners, were created to fit locks that might be gilded and incised or, in rare instances, made of brass.

The best example of the application of architecture to furnishings was the mantelpiece. The hood of the fireplace was almost always hidden in the interior of the wall or, if visible, was shortened and squared as much as possible, as in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino (IX, pl. 97). There remained in view the great opening of the fireplace, classically framed by two piers or pilasters ornamented with candelabra, along with the richly molded projecting consoles, surmounted by garlands, volutes, or Donatellesque putti. Mantelpieces were often designed by the architect of the building, as were those by Michelozzo in the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence, those by Giuliano da Sangallo in the Palazzo Gondi, and the above-mentioned examples at Urbino. Fifteenth-century andirons were of forged iron and very simple, at most adorned with a few volutes elaborating the essential lines. In the following century, however, they were of chiseled gilt-bronze, embellished with foliage, miniature columns, putti, lion's paws, and urn bearers. In the 16th century it was customary, when the fireplace was not in use, to close it off with shutters of painted wood, a few rare examples of which remain in the Casa Chianini at Arezzo. To supplement the uneven heat distribution of the fireplaces, there were braziers set upon iron or bronze tripods like those that held copper or pewter basins.

In Renaissance interior decoration there was never a lack of pictures on the wall. In the 15th century a new type of frame was created, inlaid with ivory, bone, and wood; the best examples of these certosina frames came from the shop of the Embriachi (see ivory and bone carving; VIII, pl. 245). The type of frame in most widespread use was the Tuscan. Of wood, either gilded or enlivened by touches of blue, it was architecturally conceived, supplied with an architrave, and adorned with friezes, moldings, and classical candelabra. Frames of smaller pictures for domestic use, such as portraits and small altarpieces, were sometimes so completely adorned with volutes as to assume curvilinear form. In the mannerist style, which rendered frames still heavier by using fish-scale patterns, festoons, and caryatids, painted stucco was preferred to wood as the more plastic medium. Although these frames in the Italian style were particularly popular among the French mannerists, they were also used in Germany and in the Low Countries for more important pictures. In contrast, for small paintings destined solely for the adornment of the more modern houses and for the first private collections, lighter frames, composed of profiled strips of wood, were used. In Italy these were gilded and had a colored strip at the inner edge; in the Low Countries they were black, of ebony in fact, with gilding at

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the inner edge, a type of frame in use up to the mid-17th century. These frames were also used for mirrors, which only in the Renaissance began to appear in sizes large enough to be hung on walls or placed upon furniture. The well-known painting by Van Eyck of the Arnolfini marriage illustrates such a mirror (V, PLS. 222, 223). In Tuscany, however, the glass of the mirror was often hidden by a sliding panel. In the 16th century mirrors became more fanciful in ornamentation and form (PL. 333). They were round, in square or triangular frames, or stood free on a single foot. Almost all mirrors were products of the Murano glassworks, where mirrors are still produced in great quantities. The polishing and silvering was done in Venice, in the shops of the mirror makers, among whom Andrea and Domenico del Gallo, Benedetto Usanze, and Bernardino Bigaglia were famous.

Lighting methods were those usual to the medieval period, but Italian bronzeworkers of the 16th century, especially those of the famous school of Padua, created new forms in oil lamps for table use by inventing fantastic animal shapes contorted to form the oil receptacle, spout, and handle. Candleholders were used in a great variety of ways; besides those for the table, others were made that were projected from walls, mantelpiece, or lectern by means of a hinged arm. The Paduan bronzeworkers of the 16th century produced the most imaginative examples: in one by Riccio the candle is held by a faun. Two types of lamps may be distinguished: those with a bowl of glass or metal hung up by narrow chains (several examples are illustrated in Venetian altarpieces) and those with four, six, or eight arms that branch out from a small central column (one is shown in Carpaccio's St. Ursula cycle). This latter sort derives from German Gothic models, and the most complex examples are those made in Germany, where an exuberance, perhaps still Gothic in nature, led to a double tier of arms and to their adornment with metal leaves. Some German chandeliers of the 16th century are even embellished with stag's horns. Exterior lighting was provided by torches and by lanterns of wrought iron fixed to the corners of buildings. As workmanship became increasingly more elegant and forms more classic, lanterns became cages of architectural design enclosed by glass, and torches, accompanied by other decorations in iron, such as doorbells, knockers, rings for tying horses, and sockets for the staffs of banners, were sometimes placed along the entire façade. Particularly skillful were Florentine, Sienese, and Lucchese smiths: Niccolò Grosso, known as Caparra (IX, PL. 516), for example, or Giacomo Cozzarelli. The mannerist style, which often substituted bronze for iron, produced knockers that were especially heavy; examples may still be found in France and Spain.

The skill of Italian bronzeworkers gave artistic significance to two utilitarian objects, inkstands and bells, which were beginning to be used in private houses as well as in churches. Made of an alloy rich in tin to produce a better sound, in addition to the typical bell shape they were given cylindrical, hemispherical, or pyramidal form and were ornamented with nonreligious figures, arms, mottoes, and the seals of their owners. The best are Paduan or Venetian, and some carry the signatures of Riccio, Giuseppe Levi, and Alfonso Alberghetti. The bronze inkstands, also of Paduan, Venetian, and even Lombard production (some are by Riccio, others are attributed to Jacopo Sansovino) were small coffers, with or without little drawers; geometric shapes, borne on three legs; or even fantastic forms, human or monstrous, like the lamps and candlesticks mentioned previously. These Italian inkstands were imitated by German bronzeworkers, such as Peter Vischer the Elder. In the 16th century there were also ceramic inkstands, which were decorated with grotesques and had modeled feet and covers. They were produced by various Italian potteries and by the French ceramist, Bernard Palissy.

During the Italian Renaissance, table decoration reached such heights in splendor and elegance that laws were passed to limit excesses. Especially in Venice, banquets were spectacles of incredible richness: on the cloths of white linen were set vases, cups, plates, water pitchers, braziers, and basins for cooling bottles of wine, all made of silver, wrought bronze, or damascened metal (PL. 313). In the middle of the table were the *navi*, centerpieces of silver ornamented with countless tiny figures, that contained the tableware (knives, forks, spoons, saltcellars, dinner bells, pitchers), each small metal object assuming the value of an independent sculpture. Venice was famous for her gold and silver plate. Forks, still rare in the 16th century, were said to be *alla veneziana*, and it is known that on the lordly tables of Venice there was no lack of gold toothpicks. In addition there were imitations of Oriental objects such as bejeweled bowls of brass, openwork perfume vases, and circular trays with a central boss (brought into Venice by Eastern artists and used in the second half of the 16th century for coffee service). Throughout the entire 15th century plates were of tin or pewter; among wealthier families, silvered or gilded. Venetian and French workers in pewter were famous. In the 16th century, however, Italy spread the use of majolica ware, which had evolved from the "archaic" stage of the late 14th century (PLS. 313, 323; see CERAMICS). Also made of majolica were pharmaceutical jars, large plates ornamented in relief, dishes for sweets (called *amatori* since they were exchanged by engaged couples), and such presents to a woman in childbed as a set of cups, little plates, and saltcellars that could fit together to form a single small jar. Glassware from Murano (see GLASS; VI, PLS. 229, 230), already rich with enamel, beading, and graffito, in the 16th century was further burdened with work in relief of a baroque flavor. All Europe acquired this Italian glassware — bowls, plates, dishes for sweets and fruit, bottles, flasks (PL. 313). Outside of Italy, flasks of leather (those from England were famous) or of metal covered with cloth or leather were common.

Among musical instruments (q.v.), lutes and harps were often of decorative value, as were also chess pieces and playing cards (see GAMES AND TOYS). The most commonly used objects, however, were still the coffers, which faithfully reflect styles in furniture and in the representational arts (PL. 331). Of widespread use in 15th-century Tuscany were certosina coffers inlaid with colored woods representing landscapes, perspective views, and geometric designs. In contemporaneous northern Italy, coffers inlaid with ivory and woods that were produced by the shop of the Embriachi were popular (VIII, PL. 242). Typical of the Tuscan Renaissance were small round, polygonal, or rectangular coffers decorated with lozenges and, as described by Cennino Cennini, painted in the same manner as the big *cassoni*. Similarly decorated were the *deschi da parto*, round or polygonal trays on which were placed gifts for a woman in childbed, a custom that flourished in the 15th century and continued in fashion into the century following. Some of these *deschi*, attributed to Domenico Veneziano and to artists of Padua or Ferrara, must really be classified as paintings.

Though they had already appeared in the 13th century and were illustrated, for example, in Pietro Lorenzetti's *Birth of the Virgin* (IX, PL. 192), fans were not widely used in Italy until the 15th century. They next became a French fashion at the time of Catherine de Médicis and, under Henry VIII, an English fashion. At first fans were made in a variety of forms. Some opened into a circle like the medieval flabella, others were stiff rectangles, and still others, expecially in northern Italy, were made of feathers. In the 16th century the typical semicircular form became established, with a wooden, ivory, or metal frame covered with either openwork or painted parchment (sometimes painted by artists of note), or with lace, as was the Venetian custom. Fans occasionally were so expensive, because of either the workmanship or the materials, that in 1592 their production was regulated by law.

For all the objects discussed so far, Italy was the export center and dictated fashions and styles. There remain to be examined a few handicraft objects typical of other European nations. In the 16th century enameled-glass factories sprang up in Poitou, Anjou, and the Low Countries, and potteries were established at Delft and in England. The products of these last two centers were characterized by their decalcomania decoration. Quite original were Spanish ceramics of Moorish origin (PL. 312), which from the 15th century on produced embossed trays of the type later made also in Italy. The French

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and Flemings long retained skill in painstaking and minute carving (often of Gothic motifs) in ivor, bone, or hard wood, a tradition inherited from the defunct medieval technique of ivory carving. Examples are the Flemish knives with carved boxwood handles, some after designs by Théodore de Bry (16th cent.).

Characteristic products of the Franco-Flemish milieu are the paternosters or rosaries of large-sized beads (some $1^1/_2$ or 2 in. in diam.) of boxwood, ivory, ceramic, amber, or glass, minutely carved with Gothic motifs, religious scenes, and tiny skulls, and often opening to reveal more carved work inside. Not only were these rosaries found among the Flemings of the 16th century but Rabelais, in the first half of the century, wrote of the "patenôtres de Saint-Cloud" as articles of great renown. The French were particularly famous for their clocks, both the very tiny ones for ladies and the larger table models. In the late 16th century clockmakers were working also in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and England. The working of tin reached such a high level of craftsmanship in 16th-century France that the engraved, beaten plates and jugs of French pewterers equal goldsmith's work. The illustrious tradition of Dinant was continued in Germany and in the Low Countries, where brass was much employed for lamps, mortars, andirons, and for the embossed plates used as ornaments. The first brushes were produced at Nürnberg in the 15th century but generally had little artistic merit. Also of Teutonic origin are the stoves used solely in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and the Italian Alps, and of which there are no examples of earlier date than the 15th century. For the better conservation of heat these stoves were sheathed in majolica, the color, heavy decoration, and architectural form of which often gave them a Gothic appearance.

*c. Baroque.* In the 17th century primacy in the field of furnishings and household objects passed from Italy to France, not only because of the quality and quantity of the French production which was widely exported and imitated, but also because of the continuity and coherence with which French style developed through the work of a series of artists. Among these great craftsmen were André Charles Boulle, one of the primary creators of the French baroque; Jean Bérain, designer of the Cabinet du Roi; Charles Lebrun, director of the Gobelin works; the bronzeworkers Pierre-Philippe Thomire and Pierre Gouthière; the Caffieri from Rome; as well as the Piedmontese Justin Aurèle Meissonier, Cressent, and the goldsmith Thomas Germain, creators of the *rocaille*. In their shops were also produced knickknacks, screens, chandeliers, candlesticks, fireplaces, and particularly the clocks that now became indispensable furnishings (PLS. 323, 342, 344, 346). These objects were manufactured in great numbers by the first industries set up in France; the foundries and goldsmiths' works in Paris, the Gobelin manufactory, the industries (one of which made mirrors) established by Colbert, the potteries in Rouen and Nevers, and the porcelain works in Sèvres competed fiercely with other European industries. Characteristically baroque was the taste for Chinese objects and furniture, already current in Paris, at the end of the 17th century. It was possible to imitate Chinese articles even in Europe, because of an excellent substitute for lacquer, *vernis Martin*, named after the Martin brothers, who perfected the process.

Competition from French glass factories contributed to the decline of the Murano glassworks, though the dimensions of the mirrors made by the Muranese Liberale Motta in 1680 were never equaled. French mirrors, which sometimes occupied a good part of the wall, were generally rectangular in form and at first were bordered by gilt frames of heavy, fanciful design but in the late 18th century by narrow, rectilinear frames. Boulle's atelier produced inlaid frames; Augsburg specialized in silver frames (PL. 335); but Italian mirrors remained famous for their carved and painted decoration. Mirrors, fireplaces, and clocks remained the main items of baroque furnishings; to these were added the screen in the 18th century. Although there were some screens in the previous century, either Oriental or Oriental imitations (the Gobelin works produced some prior even to 1720), the most numerous and most beautiful examples were products of the 18th century, an age of light, graceful furnishings. A distinction must be made between fire screens composed of a single rectangle, often a framed piece of tapestry, and screens of several hinged panels, made either of cloth on a wooden frame or of lacquered wood. Ladies of the period embroidered screens and famous artists painted them. Notable examples are the screen painted by Watteau representing the four seasons, and the splendid screens by Giuseppe Bonzanigo in the Palazzo Reale in Turin.

For lighting, crystal chandeliers from Bohemia decorated with cut pendants and glass ones from Murano with colored flowers and leaves became very common. Along with them, however, there were still metal chandeliers, mostly of chased bronze but occasionally of wrought iron, with six or more arms arranged in floral motifs. The most complex and richly decorated examples, imitated throughout Europe, were French. Particularly slender and sober are English examples of brass and even of porcelain. Widely used were lamps which served as applied fixtures and became decorative elements when, with fancifully contoured arms, they formed part of a frame, bracket, piece of furniture, or small mirror that reflected the lamp's light. Candelabra of every sort and material (often in the form of flower vases) were placed not only on furniture and mantelpieces but on small columnar supports or on *guéridons* — small, high tables that may have derived from Italian 16th-century *portabusti*. In Germany, Austria, and Italy chandeliers of painted wood or wrought iron were preferred, some of which were designed by Piranesi and by Andrea Brustolon. Lanterns in the form of a glass cage with a framework of bronze or copper were used both outside buildings and inside — along staircases and in kitchens. The lanterns and torch holders were also enriched with all manner of baroque caprice. Locks, handles, and keys were made of gilt bronze and decorated with baroque volutes, sprays of flowers, and ribbons, often arranged asymmetrically. In contrast the locks on 18th-century English Hepplewhite furniture were decorated with copper plaquettes and inlays of ebony and ivory.

Gilded tinware of excellent workmanship was used solely for decorative purposes. Ceramic ware came into common use but in the 18th century was partly supplanted by porcelain for the tables of the wealthier classes and for services for chocolate, coffee, and tea — beverages which had then just come into fashion (PLS. 313, 317).

One of the most characteristic manifestations of the refined, mannered taste of these two centuries was the demand for small, precious, and often useless objects. Common among people of means were collections of vials, tiny boxes, small knives, miniature eyeglasses, watches, scissors, little combs of ivory, bone, or shell (very useful for wigs), ivory coffers from Dieppe, or others made of engraved leather for holding paper and pens. All these things were kept in cases of silver, ivory, leather, rare woods, and the like. Of these articles the snuffboxes have perhaps the greatest artistic value. The earliest examples, of brass or boxwood, date from the 16th and 17th centuries and come from various parts of Holland and Germany, where the use of tobacco was beginning to spread. Since they were used as gifts, especially in diplomatic circles (in Italian they were called *diplomatiche*), snuffboxes became costly objects profusely decorated with gold, silver, precious stones, enamels, and porcelain. Their makers competed in the invention of more novel forms and more imaginative decoration; in France Charles Quizille and Pierre de Beaulieu (end of 18th cent.) were famous as makers of snuffboxes. In Geneva snuffboxes were made of embossed metal, in Venice of lacquer, in Capodimonte (near Naples) of ceramic, and the factory at Hanau popularized in Germany and Russia boxes of gold and silver. The miniature painter K. G. Klingstedt was called "the Raphael of the snuffbox." Frederick the Great had a famous collection of them, and many of great value are mentioned in Napoleon's will. Often the donors or famous people of the time were represented inside the lid of the snuffbox, where Fagnani, a famous adventurer of the end of the 17th century, also painted scenes alluding to court scandals. In the following century snuffboxes were adorned with busts of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau,

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and Napoleon, or with symbols of the Revolution, as also were playing cards. Among the lower classes smoking tobacco was preferred to the taking of snuff, and despite the fact that smoking was opposed by both doctors and the Church (James I of England wrote a little work demonstrating smoking to be an invention of the devil), the habit was known in Spain in 1570, in England in 1586, in France during the reign of Louis XIII, and then throughout Europe, especially in Holland. Many pipes, mostly of wood, but also of earthenware, horn, meerschaum, and amber, have survived, some in a collection at the Louvre dating back to the first half of the 17th century. First produced in northern Europe, then in France and Italy, and mass-produced in the 19th century, pipes remained always at the level of popular handicrafts.

The fan, which became a symbol of the fashion and society of the time, kept its semicircular form. Frames were made of precious metal, ivory, wood, bamboo, shell, or whalebone covered with lace, a textile of light weight, or painted parchment or paper. Fashion was set by the fanmakers of Paris, who in 1678 formed a guild so jealous of its rights that in 1714 the admission requirements took four years to fulfill. In the 17th century appeared fans of large size which had eighteen to twenty ribs and were painted with Biblical or mythological subjects — drawn from Ovid, Giovanni Battista Guarini, and Giambattista Marino — or with copies of paintings by Lebrun or Van Dyck. There were also painters who specialized in the decoration of fans, such as G. F. Romanelli, called Raffaellino, and the Spaniard Juan Cano de Arévalo. In the 18th century the Oriental vogue introduced silk and lacquered fans decorated with *chinoiserie*, while rococo taste favored a smaller, lighter frame, in openwork or irregular in outline (some even with a little window in the center) as well as fans of scented skins (called Italian or Spanish fans) or of engraved and gilded paper (*papier à la serpente*) or of paper sprinkled with gold (*pluies*). Painted fans usually had scenes of gallantry, pastoral life, or the contemporary world of fashion, and some were the work of great artists: Watteau, Charles André van Loo, Boucher, Fragonard, Greuze. During the more classicistic era of Louis XVI, fans assumed a more classical aspect; the ribs were thinner and the composition more regular. At the end of the century appeared fans that depicted political and satirical subjects. During the 18th century fans produced in Augsburg, Berlin, and Vienna were not so fine as the French examples, although English fans are of somewhat greater artistic interest; in originality and grace, only Venetian fans can be compared to the French. The most famous center of Venetian production was the shop of the Remondini brothers of Bassano, but some fine examples were designed by other artists, such as Rosalba Carriera.

Handicraft production was also active in various countries outside the influence of French fashion. There are examples of 17th-century Flemish and German objects made of ivory (plates, caskets, carafes, beer mugs), great Spanish combs and damascened metals from Toledo (knives and perfume burners), and from England examples of textile production and metalwork (objects made of steel, iron, pinchbeck, lead, and copper) that rivaled French production even in the field of household objects. In Italy, Venice was, both in originality and quality, the most important center, though a minor baroque movement in Piedmont most nearly approximated 17th-century French taste and included such artists as the cabinetmaker Pietro Piffetti, the bronzeworkers François Ladatte and Giovanni Paolo Venasca, the carvers G. M. Bonzanigo and Antonio Rovelli, and J. A. Meissonier, the silversmith who emigrated to Paris. The Venetian penchant in interior decoration for practicality, lightness, and economy resulted in the production of a variety of small tables (the smallest termed *giridoni* after the French *guéridon*) for games, work, and music, as well as small, windowed cabinets for collections of tiny objects, *poudreuses*, and workbaskets. The furnishing of sitting rooms was completed by inlaid or painted spinets, harps, harpsichords, lutes, and mandolins (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS). Venetian decorators, though not so famous as their French rivals, were sought for their freshness and imagination. They were among the first to imitate Oriental lacquers on furniture and coffers, which they decorated with copies of paintings by Canaletto, Ricci, Francesco Zuccarelli, and Giuseppe Zais. They invented a method of applying *lacca cartacea*, that is of applying an engraving to wood and then covering it with varnish. Venetian handicraft in leather, porcelain, tapestry, ceramics, and wrought iron was important, as was Venice's most famous industry, Murano glass, which had recovered at the end of the 17th century from the crisis caused by competition from Bohemian crystal and Parisian mirrors. Italian wrought iron (andirons and tongs for the fireplace) was worked in its traditional forms. Pewter in particular was used and in the 18th century, especially in the valley districts of northern Italy, was made not only into holiday picnicware, for which there was great demand, but also into tableware, jugs, basins, candlesticks, saltcellars, and holy-water fonts of fine workmanship.

*d. The Empire style and the 19th century.* The reaction against the baroque effected no substantial changes in household objects, which remained essentially the same and changed only in their mode of decoration — toward a cold, heroic monumentality and a repertory of archaeological scenes and forms. Fireplaces had fire screens strictly rectangular in shape and decorated with minute and regular motifs, and along the gold and white, becolumned tables and mantelpieces were aligned winged Victories, tripods, sphinxes, obelisks, miniature temples, and Greek craters; similar motifs and forms appeared on vases, pendulum clocks, candlesticks, centerpieces, and incense burners. Even three-legged washstands and *guéridons* were transformed into tripods (X, PL. 284) or caryatids, or into simple stylized pillars. Handles were simplified to become knobs or pendent rings; locks were lightened in form to small oval frames; lamps were reduced to glass plates or globes suspended by thin metal chains. Nonetheless, in grand reception rooms, the splendid crystal chandeliers of the baroque remained popular. A new type of mirror, the cheval glass, or psyche (Fr. *psyché*; It., *specchio a dondolo*, or rocking mirror), pivoted in its frame (X, PLS. 284, 287). Rarely of large size, these mirrors were often furnished with candleholders and drawers and were set on pieces of furniture.

A popular motif of Empire decoration was the image of Napoleon, appearing on the most disparate objects, from bells to chandeliers, from knife handles to impressions on toys, from inkstands to pipes. His devices were painted on table services of Sèvres porcelain. The Empire style spread from France to other countries and continued throughout the 19th century, alongside incongruous revivals of the rococo and baroque in mirrors, frames, and fireplaces (PL. 345). In Germany in particular the baroque survived in the very heavy forms which were developed. Still more incongruous in effect were revivals of Renaissance style found in some wrought-iron lanterns and walnut hatstands and pseudo-Gothic articles used in Spain. Even some *chinoiserie* of the 18th century, such as the English tea caddy, was kept, and the repertory of romantic literature was exploited for the pastoral scenes on medallions and on porcelain or enamel snuffboxes. In short, the eclecticism and lack of direction characterizing the taste of the century was manifest also in the style of household objects. Technological and industrial progress had greatly changed conditions of life, but the new products seemed either resistant to decorative innovation or false, as they continued to masquerade in traditional forms little suited to their functions. Systems of lighting, for example, had been entirely changed by the use of oil, gas (first applied to street illumination in the early 1880s), and electricity. Yet the only original type of light developed in this period was the oil lamp with its characteristic globe of glass, either in the table model with its profiled foot, or in the lamp suspended from the ceiling. Occasionally, without exploiting the possibilities of the new technical means, electric bulbs were hidden in chandeliers like those of previous centuries.

*e. Art Nouveau.* Only when the Arts and Crafts movement directed by William Morris (q.v.) began to apply esthetic principles to handicraft and to consider handwork a spiritual manifestation (even though one of collective character) is there

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a glimpse of a recovery from the eclecticism of the 19th century. From 1860 on the artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood furnished designs for jewelry, kitchenware, textiles, screens, and such small articles of furniture as stools, brackets, and chests, which were traditional in form but novel in their decoration, with stylized floral motifs and elegant volutes rendered in the most refined pastel colors. These goods, produced by means of a sort of medieval system of collaboration among craftsmen, were sold in London and afterwards in Paris by the stores of Sir Arthur Lasenby Liberty.

The school for the production of ceramics in Nancy, founded by Emile Gallé in 1860, perhaps influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, later extended its field of activity to glassware and to cabinetmaking, as a result of the work of Gallé's pupils, Albert Dammouse, Auguste and Antonin Daum, Victor Prouvé, and particularly Louis Majorelle. It achieved a real triumph in the exposition held in Paris in 1878, at which were exhibited bowls and vases of the greatest refinement, though at times a bit capricious in their lines.

In Paris in 1880, an equivalent of England's Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was founded, the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, within the sphere of which the success of René Lalique, the originator of modern glassware, took place. Lalique's lamps of cut glass, jewelry (I, PL. 469), table services, combs (of horn or inlaid), decorative objects in the form of insects, darting fish, and sirens and flowers were all made by industrial techniques. Thus his products cost less than similar English articles, because the English were bound by esthetic prejudice to handwork. His mass-produced perfume bottles revolutionized the French perfume industry.

It was just this understanding of technological and industrial developments that enabled the Arts and Crafts movement to branch out and result in the Art Nouveau movement of Belgium (see ART NOUVEAU) and to make a real impression in Europe: Henri Van de Velde's first designs for household objects (PL. 325) were made for Siegfried Bing, a businessman who directed the "Maison de l'art nouveau," founded in 1896 in Paris; Victor Horta designed splendid jewelry, pins, and combs; Alfred William Finch took over direction of the Borga ceramic works in Finland. This movement was not slow in spreading also to England, as is demonstrated by Charles Robert Ashbee's Corporation-School in Chipping Campden, founded in 1888; by the furnishings and kitchenware designed by the architect C. F. A. Voysey (q.v.); by H. J. Powell's glass; William Arthur Smith Benson's objects of metal; William Frend de Morgan's vases; the bindings of Cobden Sanderson; and the furniture, lamp, and eating utensils by Charles Rennie Mackintosh (q.v.) in the early 20th century.

After Morris's death in 1896 the primacy held till then by England passed to Germany, where a vast campaign had already begun to increase production in the decorative arts. An extensive organizing of schools of applied art, craft museums, and craft publications, headed by the Kunstgewerbevereine, effected the rise of the Jugendstil within a climate of industrial mechanization. This development was already foreshadowed in the theories of Lichtwarck and Muthesius, in the concepts of "Sachlichkeit" and of "Standard."

The defects of the Jugendstil provoked the reaction that emerged as the Vienna Sezession, a movement that seemed to return to the English manner of decoration just at the time when Mackintosh was invited to hold an exhibition in Vienna (1900). Among the household objects produced by the Vienna Sezession are the eating utensils designed by Otto Wagner, Josef Hoffmann's simple and linear chandeliers, the furnishings of J. M. Olbrich, Laubisch's great floral chandeliers (1898), Ernst Moritz Geyger's combs and jewelry (1898), and Von Seidl's furnishings.

The various Expositions Universelles held in Paris from 1878 to 1900 proved how widespread were the various currents of Art Nouveau and how uniform their taste and also showed that there was an increased public interest in the minor arts. The last of these expositions is memorable as the largest exhibition ever devoted to this movement. Gallé's ceramics, Lalique's glassware and jewelry, and the Art Nouveau pavilion became famous. At the same time, however, it became evident that the new style, having reached the extreme in decorative competence, had also reached the limit of its possibilities and that the public had grown tired of it.

Only at this point did Italy enter the movement. Thovez, Leonardo Bistolfi, and (from Vienna) Raimondo D'Aronco organized an exposition of modern decorative arts in Turin (I, PLS. 467, 468), which revealed a lack of orientation in Italian handicrafts and demonstrated the need for a revival. At the exhibit a great success was enjoyed by articles made of wood, among them pendulum clocks designed by Basile, manufactured by the industrialist Vittorio Ducrot, and decorated by the sculptor Antonio Ugo. Furnishings of fine quality were also designed by Duilio Cambellotti. The glassworks in Murano were revived by E. Barovier, V. Zecchin, and Giuseppe Toso. Bologna's Aemilia Ars, directed by Alfonso Rubbiani, specialized in embroidery and lace but also produced ceramics, jewelry, and wrought iron. The products of Galileo Chini's Arte della Ceramica in Florence were often reminiscent of the Renaissance. Alberto Gerardi in Rome and Alessandro Mazzucotelli in Milan made splendid use of wrought iron in lamps, flower vases, and so forth; generally, these objects betray the persistence of traditional elements, revert to Renaissance naturalism by way of Pre-Raphaelite influence, or make use of capricious floral motifs in the asymmetric manner of the rococo.

*f. The 20th century.* The decline of Art Nouveau decorativism led to an affirmation of the ideals of functionalism and standardization. The Deutscher Werkbund, founded in 1907 and inspired by the theories of Muthesius and Behrens, aimed at the propagation of modern good taste through mass production. In addition, raising the level of taste and bringing about collaboration of artists and industry were common aims of the German art schools, whose administration was in the hands of the ablest architects. But it was particularly in the Weimar Bauhaus — founded by Walter Gropius (q.v.) in 1919, when he succeeded Van de Velde as head of the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts — that the principle of functionalism was systematically applied to household objects so that in modernity and intent they were considered equal to fine-arts products. The tableware factory in Dornburg, near Weimar, used Bauhaus designs conceived for possible mass production for its porcelains, earthenware, and glass. Marcel Breuer, a master in the use of metal, was one of the greatest Bauhaus furniture designers (V, PL. 456; VIII, PL. 50). O. Lindig and T. Bogler created designs of great importance in the field of ceramics. Gropius, K. Jucker, Wagenfield, and Edgar Brandt designed functional lamps.

There were many tubular lamps which anticipated present fluorescent lighting, as, for example, Gropius' chandelier of four tubes (1923). Indeed, electric lighting had already found some suitable applications within the Art Nouveau style: for example, chandeliers were placed nearer the ceiling to exploit the radiant power of the new lighting; often lamps were set into recesses covered by frosted glass and so could be arranged to follow the designs of wall decoration. Hans Poelzig in 1919 even devised luminous columns for the vestibule of his concert hall in Berlin. The first tubular glass lamps with metal supports were designed by Buffa and Emil Fahrenkamp, some of whose solutions to lighting problems are still valid. But it was within the artistic circle of the Bauhaus that the designs for functional lamps used in the mid-20th century were developed — the table lamp which has a switch and a flexible neck, the floor lamp which casts an indirect light, and the chandelier which features globes of white glass — all these designs can be found in the 1926 catalogue of a German factory that produced electrical equipment.

Giacomo Balla (q.v.), the Italian futurist, is another, though somewhat less significant, example of an artist interested in designing household objects. His knickknacks and articles of personal adornment, screens, carpets, and items of small furniture are related in their colors and lines to Art Nouveau.

The development of modern and more rational household objects has been determined by architects: from Mies van

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der Rohe, who has applied to furnishings the experience of ten years of German functionalism and modified the whole concept of the room interior by his use of mobile walls; through Le Corbusier, whose strict functionalism has achieved the most absolute standardization and tends to suppress household objects as autonomous elements in decoration; to American architects, in part dependent upon European functionalism, who with the work of Frank Lloyd Wright developed a more "human" concept of the house that allows use of interior decoration and household objects as more direct expressions of daily life.

The ever-closer collaboration of artists and industry enters the field of industrial design (q.v.; PLS. 316, 323, 325), since almost all household objects are now mass-produced. A great many contemporary household objects and articles of personal adornment result from new technical inventions and the demands of modern life, but generally they are not meant to be decorative (PLS. 329, 342). Thus modern household objects that are individually designed to be decorative as well as functional (as in the past) are confined to the areas of popular handicrafts and folk art and so conserve techniques and designs of traditional or folk character (see FOLK ART). The great public interest (not found in previous centuries) in folk art and antiques reflects, perhaps, a reaction to excessive standardization in modern decorative arts, an esthetic attitude prompted by Art Nouveau, or even a greater understanding of the historic value of such objects. (See PLS. 311, 312, 319, 322, 324, 346.)

Teresa TELLOLI FIORI

*The Oriental world. a. India and Central Asia.* In India to a greater extent than elsewhere, objects of daily use have the value of works of art in their craftsmanship, elegance of form, harmonious proportions and colors, and beauty of ornamentation. Although it is sometimes simple, the ornamentation is more often complex, as in other manifestations of Indian art, yet it is appropriate to the form and function of the object. That the qualities mentioned above had already been attained in ancient times is witnessed by archaeological discoveries, references in literature, and depictions of utilitarian objects in paintings and sculptures. Many categories of objects made of perishable materials are known to us only in late examples, rarely earlier than the 17th century.

The maintenance of craftsmanship over a long period of development explains the high level of conception and execution of objects in a wide range of materials and answering a great diversity of needs: kitchen utensils, dishes and receptacles of all kinds, dress and ornamental objects, smoking and reading accessories, lamps, weapons, rugs, linen, and toys. In the course of centuries, techniques and forms, color schemes, and decorative motifs have been slowly elaborated, repeated, and improved upon. Within this slow evolution diverse styles have emerged and local predilections for certain techniques or materials have produced objects of a regional character. In all the household objects, materials and ornamentation vary from simplicity to richness, according to use and the social rank of the owners.

Because metal can be cleaned perfectly, it has been preferred for domestic utensils. Copper jars, dishes, bowls, and caldrons for cooking rice owe their beauty mainly to their harmonious forms, but the yellow coppers of Benares are remarkable for their golden luster. Copper and brass may be plated, nielloed, hammered, embossed, engraved, or even pierced (i.e., the window screens of Benares). A few more precious materials and more complex techniques are also to be found, such as gold and silver that is chased, engraved, or inlaid. Setting of precious stones, enameling, and inlaying of one kind of metal into another are frequently encountered in Indian gold- and silverwork. A few techniques are distinctively Indian: for example, the type of damascening called bidri, in which silver is inlaid in an alloy of lead, zinc, and tin that is chemically blackened. First practiced in Bidar (Hyderabad region), this process was later adopted in Lucknow and in all of northern India under the Moghuls. In Kashmir, the floral ornamentation on silver-gilt objects is deeply etched to allow the silver to reappear below the gilding. These varied techniques and materials have been used to fashion trays, flower vases, cups, bowls, and receptacles of every kind: ewers, water or tea pitchers, perfume and rose-water sprinklers. Some traditional forms were established in which elegance is united with purity of form among the most beautiful of which is the round-bellied, long-necked surahi. The ornamentation, which sometimes consists of geometric motifs, sometimes an interlace of flowers and foliage, is refined and is similar to that of objects in other materials. Other articles of metalwork include weapons, elephant hooks, smoking accessories (water-pipe stands), and lamps. There is a great variety of lamp stands and lamps (mostly for oil but sometimes also for camphor), some on tall, straight shafts, some supported by a human figure or animal, and others resembling a candelabrum. Knife handles and arms of all types, including swords and daggers, have been embellished with damascening or engraving on the steel; sometimes the hilts are inlaid with gems. The armorers of Rajputana are still celebrated.

Great numbers of richly ornamented caskets and boxes have been made, principally of metal, ivory, or wood, which were designed to hold jewels, spices, betel, cosmetics, cigars, or powder (PL. 331). From early times, ivory has been skillfully worked in many techniques, with ornamentation in openwork, or incised, carved, or sculptured in high relief (see IVORY AND BONE CARVING). Occasionally, also, ivory is inlaid in wood (sandalwood or ebony). Ivory and wood are used for the same types of objects: trays, inkstands, book covers, toilet objects, fan handles, fly whisks, and parasols. Various centers have had different specialties (for example, the painted woods of Benares; the incised or relief woodcarving of Kashmir). Sandalwood, which is particularly suitable for miniature carving, is the characteristic material of the south of India and Mysore; in Kashmir, many of the same types of objects have been molded in papier maché and then painted and varnished. Among Indian women toilet objects have always been commonly used, and their forms and ornamentation are elaborated with artistic taste. Included among these are combs, trays, scent bottles, and mirrors of two types: one with a handle, the other circular with a central knob at the back. Musical instruments also are beautifully ornamented.

Textiles are of great importance in the daily life of India; the arts of weaving and dyeing were highly developed and cotton, wool, and silk were already in use before the beginning of the Christian Era. Besides clothing materials there were other fabrics for curtains, linen, and rugs. Extremely varied effects of texture, color, and ornament were obtained in the weaving by mingling different kinds of thread or by special dyeing processes (wax- or knot-resist), printed designs, or embroidery. Handsome curtains are still produced in Lahore. Under the Moghuls rug weaving, especially of wool, became very important principally in the north, but the typical floor covering is the *darri*, a cotton rug, which is usually striped. Besides this there are also woven mats and many other objects in current use made of such materials as bamboo, rattan, and palm and date fibers.

Fine pottery, particularly for holding water and oil, has always been made in India, but the art of ceramics was given a new impetus with the advent of the Moghuls. Dishes and flower vases of painted or glazed faïence were made in Delhi, Gwalior, and other southern centers. Clay was used also for an entirely different purpose as early as the Indus civilization (ca. 2500 B.C.; see INDUS VALLEY ART) in the making of dolls and animals. The tradition has been maintained until the mid-20th century; clay is still utilized for toys, along with materials such as brass, wood, and even ivory. The realism of the types depicted and the high quality of execution often mark these objects as true works of art. Many playing cards are masterpieces of popular imagery.

Other objects of everyday use are made of leather: for example, saddles and harnesses from Rajputana, the Punjab, and Kashmir; casks or flasks from Bikaner for water, oil, or powder. In the north, leather has been very skillfully worked, painted, embroidered, and gilded.

In Central Asia, craftsmanship did not reach such a high level. The ancient sites have, however, yielded numerous objects, many of which date back to the first 10 centuries of



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the Christian Era. Pottery, which includes cups, receptacles of various kinds, and lamps, is unglazed in the earliest period and is ornamented with incised and stamped motifs. Some vases, trays, bowls, and boxes have been found which are made in carved, painted, or, occasionally, lacquered wood. Among the metal objects are mirrors with or without handles. Various sites (Lou-lan, Niya, Astana, and Tun-huang) have yielded numerous textile fragments that were made of cotton, silk, and wool which had been printed or embroidered. Among articles for smoking, there are horn- and gourd-shaped water pipes which are skillfully decorated. Like those of India, such objects often have artistic merit and are valuable documents of the daily life of vanished civilizations.

Madeleine HALLADE

*b. Southeast Asia.* Household and family objects in southeast Asia, which were at one time strongly influenced by India and China, since the 19th century have begun to show the influence of the West. Objects used in early times are known from depictions in bas-reliefs as well as from references in epigraphic texts and Chinese records. The only surviving articles are those of ceramic or metal from temples, palaces, or aristocratic dwellings. Little is known with certainty of the furniture and implements of the lower classes, but probably then as now the objects were constructed primarily of perishable materials such as wood and basketwork and had no great artistic value.

Furniture of specifically indigenous origin is extremely limited, since for the most part the people eat and sleep on mats. Cupboards, beds, tables, and chairs are all of Chinese or European origin. In the Buddhist countries there are cupboards of pyramidal form in which religious manuscripts are kept and chests in the shape of coffins which hold prayer books. This type of furniture, which is found mostly in temples, is sometimes lacquered and lavishly decorated with designs or scenes in gold leaf or inlays of mother-of-pearl. When the different parts of the house are not separated by partitions, screens of wood or plaited bamboo or large curtains may be used.

Kitchen furnishings include one or more cooking stoves (the climate obviates need for heating), earthenware pots, mortars for pulverizing spices, scrapers for grating coconut pulp, and common utensils such as ladles. The forms of some of these objects, which may date from the prehistoric period, are perfectly adapted to their use and reflect some interest in style — at times even fantasy. In Cambodia and Siam, for example, graters are made of a block of wood carved in the shape of a crouching rabbit that holds in his jaws an iron blade with saw teeth with which the pulpy interior of the coconut is scraped after it has been halved. Since most food is eaten with the fingers, the eating utensils are rudimentary and include primarily wooden or metal ladles for serving rice from the pot and little Chinese porcelain spoons for eating soup and stew. As meats and vegetables are always chopped before serving, table knives are unnecessary, but there are kitchen knives and cleavers in considerable variety. The importation from China of great numbers of ceramic bowls, cups, and plates is being gradually supplanted by the introduction of enameled metal or aluminum receptacles from the West, as well as by European-style dinnerware. The large trays on which meals are served are usually of copper, some of local manufacture, others imported from India. Basketwork of every kind is, in contrast, characteristic of indigenous craftsmanship and is made in a great variety of forms, which are pleasing to the eye and well adapted to their function.

Toilet articles include large ceramic jars, round bowls of copper, silver, and lacquered basketwork, wooden combs, and small jars for powder and ointments. The early mirrors were polished metal disks attached to a handle of the same metal, often decorated. In Siam and Cambodia rectangular European mirrors, which are placed in a slanting frame supported on a low table of carved and gilded wood, have more recently come into use. Common objects are sets for preparing the quids of betel traditionally presented to guests; these include a tray on which are disposed small receptacles containing betel leaves and areca nuts, a lime pot, and scissors for cutting the nuts. Even in humble homes these sets are often of artfully worked silver. Accompanying the set is a metal cuspidor, a pot-bellied receptacle with a wide-flaring opening. Cigarette boxes, especially those for princes and persons of wealth, are particularly sumptuous. Made of silver, or occasionally of gold, they are typical products of the native goldsmiths.

George CŒDÈS

*c. China.* The time span covered by Chinese household objects is great, and, on the basis of archaeological discoveries made so far, they represent the most ancient examples of Chinese art known. According to the chronology established by J. G. Andersson, the earliest pieces date from the Chinese Neolithic period (see CHINESE ART). These pieces are examples of pottery very simply ornamented with geometric designs scratched into the clay with a pointed instrument; painted pottery appeared only in a later period. From the archaeological discoveries made in the province of Kansu it can be seen that these objects, mainly pots, usually had the form of a large gourd, with or without a cylindrical neck. Also from this period are the cups and flat dishes made of fine earth, sometimes very thoroughly fired, that have become deep red with age. Since the greater part of this pottery, which was meant exclusively for domestic use, has survived only in fragments, it is very difficult to form an idea of its artistic qualities. The ceramic production up to the end of the Chou dynasty (256 B.C.) centers on two basic forms: the gourd, from which almost all types of vessels were derived, and the animal form modeled in clay to represent both wild and domesticated animals.

The transition from the use of clay to bronze was rapid but not immediate. The use of bronze seems to have begun about the time of the Shang period (ca. 1558 B.C.) or perhaps even earlier, since the decorative motifs and the workmanship of the surviving Shang objects seem to indicate an already advanced stage of development. The bronze objects of this period, generally rather imprecisely termed "ceremonial bronzes," were originally vessels used for cooking and serving food and were subsequently adopted for sacrifices and funerary purposes. The most common types were *li*, *hsien*, and *ting* (early Shang period), *tui*, and *kuei*. Throughout the Shang and Chou dynasties the principal household objects for everyday use were the so-called *p'an*, *chien*, and *yi*; generally they were used as wash basins, but they could be adapted to various functions: *p'an* was used as a food container, *chien* as a mirror, and *yi* as a cooking pot.

The Shang-Yin period (Yin was the name assumed by the Shang after 1300 B.C.) marked the transition from prehistoric to historical times. From this period dates a group of articles made of bone, ivory, horn, stone, and terra cotta with incised or relief ornamentation, most of which have survived only in fragments, making it difficult to determine their use. Some, however, have been recognized as *shu-pi*, a kind of fork that was used to take meat from the kettle. Other recognizable objects from this period are combs and large ornamental hairpins made of bone and decorated with geometric motifs such as *lung* (dragon), *t'ao-t'ieh* (mask), and *ch'an-wen* (cicada), which are related to the symbolic decoration of the bronze vessels of the Chou period.

Household objects of the Chou dynasty (1027–256 B.C.) have been found only among objects placed in tombs. Those of ceramics, which have swollen and unimaginative forms, seem less advanced artistically than the bronzes. Similar objects from the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.) have little artistic value; vessels are rare and their decoration uninteresting, although they have some elegance and a vigorous simplicity. The bronze mirrors of this period, however, have a stylistic forcefulness that foreshadows those of the Han period. Also of this period are bronze locks with threadlike ornamentation and geometric and *t'ao-t'ieh* motifs.

Of fundamental importance for the arts were the new currents of thought that swept China with the advent of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 221), loosening the hold of traditional ritualism and abstract symbolism and inspiring a freer and more imaginative conception of the possibilities and aims of art. Taoist ideas did not fail to leave their mark on the art of the pe-

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riod and are visually expressed on a considerable number of pots, mirrors, and other household objects, some of which assumed a realistic form for the first time. Of this period are the bronze incense burners called *po-shan-hsiang-lu*, from the name of their characteristic lid, which was supposed to represent Po-shan, the great mountain of the Taoist paradise. Making of the incense burners began when aromatic wood was first imported from Parthia and Indochina, and their form can be explained by the Chinese desire to relate the form of the object symbolically to the paradisiac vision evoked by the incense: the lower part is elegant and slender, counterbalancing the top, which is weighted down by the elaborately carved cover.

Among the bronze objects used in the home were lamps, often made in the form of animals; the upper part, which formed the back of the animal, was provided with an opening for the fuel and wick. A number of objects were made of lacquer, by one of two different techniques: in the first, the object was given a wooden frame on which lacquer and coloring material were applied in many layers, left to dry, and then polished; in the other, the dry-lacquer process, many layers of cloth (without a wooden frame) were stretched over a plaster model and then encased in layers of lacquer.

The mirror was much used in this period, because, in addition to its usefulness as a toilet article, it was thought to have a symbolic meaning and beneficial virtues. The form continued to be round, and the decoration consisted mostly of concentric borders surrounding a central semicircular loop through which was passed the cord for hanging the mirror.

During the centuries immediately following the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 221), artistic activity in China seems to have undergone a considerable decline, and only in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906), one of the greatest periods of Chinese art, was there a great revival which had an impact on every field of art. Although household objects did not assume new forms, a new naturalistic tendency, subordinated to an overriding preoccupation with decorative elegance, made its appearance. Mirrors, generally round but occasionally square, were sometimes ornamented with floral and animal motifs; some were inlaid in gold and silver, others with malachite, with amber, or with black or clear lacquer on a colored ground (PL. 333). Many precious Chinese objects are collected in the Shōsōin of Nara (Japan): lacquered and carved boxes, inlaid chests, writing equipment, musical instruments, and game boards inlaid in ivory or hartshorn with gold and silver flowers.

The comparison of a modern with an ancient Chinese domestic interior demonstrates the chronological continuity of the household objects described briefly above. The modern objects reveal not innovations but rather an exaltation of the old in both construction and decoration; however, the structural elegance of the original examples has been lost through endless repetition, and the ornamentation has grown heavy. But there are two categories of objects that have preserved perfect temporal and functional continuity: the scroll paintings usually used to adorn the main room (*t'ang-hua*) of the house, and the sectional screens. A principal object of Chinese domestic life, the scroll painting, called *kua-fu* and *chih-fu*, was in ancient times placed above little pictures of the ancestors (*p'ai-wei*), thus endowing the *t'ang-hua* with religious significance. Other scroll paintings, placed on the walls of the rooms and almost covering them completely, were called *tui-fu*, *tui-lien*, or in more popular terms *tui-tzŭ*. Screens, also indispensable to the Chinese home, were simply large paintings or panels (*p'ing-fêng* and *p'ing-mên*) that were decorated with calligraphy and, instead of being hung on the walls, were mounted on rigid stretchers so that they could be placed at any point in the room. The simplest form of mounting for screens was the *yen-chang*, which consisted of a rigid frame with one or more wings, resting on a richly carved pedestal inlaid with pieces of colored porcelain, jade, and other materials.

*d. Japan.* The functional simplicity and linearity of the Japanese interior, with its exquisite disposition of space, are also characteristic of Japanese household objects, the logical complement of the architectural interior. Any one of these objects reveals the same harmony of design that is basic to Japanese architecture, resulting in both cases from the lines and materials used, the restriction of ornament, and the maximum degree of functionalism. The material employed (usually wood, bamboo, lacquer, paper, or clay) is considered of the greatest importance, because more than any other element it relates the individual object to surrounding nature. Even objects intended for routine daily use are truly artistic, and in fact, the Japanese always finds a reflection of his conceptions of nature and religion in the material employed for objects. He believes that each material occupies a place of its own in space and that each has its own value.

The earliest household objects that have survived date from the Jōmon and Yayoi periods; they reveal (especially the Yayoi objects) important characteristics that were to influence the form and design of such articles in the Great Burial period and later (see JAPANESE ART). Modern Japanese household objects, like those of China, indicate the continuity and stability of traditional forms. Yayoi vessels, compared with the more archaic Jōmon types (*atsudeshiki*) from which they derive, represent a substantial evolution and a notable technical progress: they are turned on a wheel, the paste is finer, the form simple and rational, and the ornamentation more delicate and disciplined. This type of vessel is the source for later carafe, teapot, bottle, and teacup forms. The basic shape is linear and varies in form according to function. Sake (rice liquor) bottles, made of bamboo, wood, terra cotta, or porcelain, are of several kinds, primarily round with a neck, or of a form not unlike that of Western flasks. Those of the Kosugi type have a graceful curvilinear contour and are decorated (especially the earthenware and porcelain ones) with floral motifs in subtle colors. Teapots, now made of pottery but once also of iron, reflect the same structural principles as the sake bottles, although they appear much cruder, especially the pots made for the *cha-no-yu* (tea ceremony), for which simplicity is preferred. Also necessary for the tea ceremony are simple cups, completely bare of decoration. Here form is function and beauty at the same time; great importance is given to material left in its natural state.

The Japanese feels that a curved line is nothing more than a thematic variation of the straight line, on which it exercises a force that throws the straight line into relief. This principle is illustrated in boxes, combs, mirrors, and all other common objects. The mirror, whether round, square, or rectangular, has its own special aspect: beauty of line is paired with the functionality of the object. Even though mirrors are often beautifully and intricately decorated, form is the predominant element.

The Japanese sense of space is exemplified in the multipurpose boxes — the lines, continuous and graceful, clearly reflect the structural simplicity. Some, executed by famous artists such as Kōetsu and Kōrin (PL. 336; see OGATA), with designs in relief and *maki-e* lacquer technique, are of considerable artistic value, while others, though less famous, are beautiful even without ornament. The names of these containers differ according to function: for example, *hokai*, a round container for cooked food, simply made and lacquered with decorative motifs; *suzuri-hako*, a box for ink and writing accessories, exquisitely constructed and painted with lacquer (PL. 339). Among many other types, there are boxes for paper, as well as boxes for cosmetics, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and lacquered according to the techniques in use (PL. 329; VIII, PLS. 417, 419, 420; see LACQUER). Combs of various materials (ivory, wood, bamboo) and in many different forms (rakelike, trident-shaped) show the play of straight and curved lines.

The tray in its various forms is undoubtedly among the most ancient of Japanese household objects. In early times it was customary, while eating, to hold a tray on which the various bowls of food and the cup of tea were placed, but with the passage of time short legs were added to the tray; gradually the legs were made longer and thus was evolved the little table so common in Japanese dwellings. Various types are the *ō-zen* (big tray), either round or square with short legs; the *nekoashi-zen* (tray with cat's legs) with legs bent inward at the base; the *hako-zen* (box tray), a case to hold eating utensils until mealtime, when it was used as a tray (as it still is in Tōhoku district); the *e-bon*,

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or lacquered tray for food and drink; the round *koma-bon*, decorated with a spiral motif radiating from the center; and the *tabako-bon*, or tray for smoking equipment. The complete roster of household objects is far too numerous for full description, but others worthy of mention include the incense burners, the marvelously inlaid pipe cases, the *hibachi* (braziers) and *naga-hibachi* (long braziers), and the *inrō*, or little medicine boxes that were hung on the belt. (See also PL. 339.)

Characteristically Japanese, in their functionality and in their artistic beauty, are screens and lanterns. Screens, which are either the folding type with several wings (*byōbu*) or a single panel (*tsuitate*) mounted in a frame resting on a small pedestal, illustrate how closely the functional object can harmonize with the beauty of the setting. The *byōbu* measures off an area of the room, focusing the attention of the observer, while the *tsuitate* functions as a shelter from drafts or as a room divider. Both are decorated with drawings and paintings of subjects from nature — flowers, landscape, animals — expressing the Japanese concept of spatial continuity between exterior and interior.

Lanterns made of paper and slender strips of bamboo are an example of the Japanese talent for transforming structural requirements into sculptural forms of abstract beauty. The special paper used filters the light from within the lantern, shedding a soft and restful glow. The lanterns (*chōchin*), of different types according to use, are *kaku-andon* (square lamp), *maru-andon* (round lamp), *temochi-andon* (carrying lamp), and *takahari-chōchin* (lantern with long legs). Candelabra that once adorned Japanese houses, such as the metal *shokudai*, of workmanship absolutely foreign to Japanese taste, are quite rare.

Besides the *kakemono* (vertical painted scroll) that is hung in the *toko-no-ma* (a kind of alcove), there is the uniquely Japanese *ikebana* (flower arrangement), the ultimate in Japanese household decoration. The floral composition is based on three fundamental principles: the absolute (heaven), the subordinate (earth), and the conciliatory (man). These premises determine the composition, since one branch must stretch upward to represent heaven; another must thrust toward the right in a V, representing man; while a third, leaning downward and to the left, symbolizes the earth. *Ikebana* functions not only as a harmonious decoration but also as a concrete expression of Japanese esthetic principles, and the list of furnishings and household objects that enrich the daily life of this people would be incomplete without it.

Antonio PRIORI

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See also the bibliog. for FURNITURE; HANDICRAFTS; INTERIOR DECORATION AND DESIGN.

Illustrations: PLS. 311–346.

**HOUSING.** See ARCHITECTURE; TOWN PLANNING.

**HSIA KUEI** (Yü-yü). Chinese painter, native of Tsientang in Chekiang, who attained the supreme rank (*tai-chao*) in the Hangchow Academy of the emperor Ning-tsung (reigned 1195–1224). With Ma Yüan (q.v.) he was the leading landscape painter of his day. Their styles were close enough to cause some confusion, and they are usually considered together as the founders of the "Ma-Hsia" school. Though the school was considered somewhat academic by most of the later Chinese scholar-painters and critics, it still commanded some respect, as witness Wang Li, writing in the late 14th century: "Their paintings may sometimes be rough, yet they never became vulgar; they may be exceedingly delicate, yet they are not simply superficially seductive. Their resonance is pure and far-reaching, surpassing that of all common things; both were free from the stupid and muddling manners of the dusty world" (*Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, V, 10, p. 38).

Hsia had a son, Hsia Shen, of whom a critic said: "His brushwork was inferior to that of his father, but his trees and rocks were somewhat better" (Wang Yü-hsien, *Shan-shui chia-fa*).

The southward flight of the court after the capture by the Tartars of the northern capital, Kaifeng, in 1127, marked the beginning of a century and a half of academic and individualistic painting activity; this developed a second climactic answer to the problems of landscape painting after the first solution found in the monumental style of the great masters of the Five Dynasties and Northern Sung periods. In addition to the hanging scroll and hand scroll, album painting — rectangular or fan-shaped — became an important and significant format. The typical style of the Southern Sung period, despite sporadic attempts to revive monumentality, was the lyric style of the Ma-Hsia school. These masters capitalized on what would have been details in the earlier monumental style. These they used as ends in themselves for the construction of a pictorial world of fantasy and mood. The essence of the style is the selection and juxtaposition of details of subject matter, placed in sharp contrast of near and far, with striking effects. These means are particularly appropriate for albums, fans, and hand scrolls. They are less satisfactory for the large-scale hanging scrolls, where the charms of intimacy give way to the more complex problems created by a large area of framed silk. The emotive possibilities of extreme distortion are explored, and hence the dangerously tall pines, reaching thorns, and angular rocks. The calligraphic touch of the brush becomes more pronounced, perhaps because of the need to evoke a mood at all costs. It is an extreme style and an exaggerated one. The Japanese, with their tendency to extremes, accepted it and used it for the foundations of their Muromachi monochrome styles. For the same reasons it was rejected by the progressive scholar-painters of the Yüan and later dynasties.

While Ma Yüan seems to have worked in a relatively limited single style, Hsia Kuei was master of at least two related but different manners. The first is characterized by a rather sharp, crystalline brushwork, defining clear and distinctly shaped forms of some complexity. In this first manner Hsia seems, like Ma Yüan, to have built on the great and influential style of Li T'ang. The close connections between the older artist, Li T'ang, and Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei are underlined by Waley (1924), who mentions that all three, with Liu Sung-nien, are reputed to have worked on illustrations for the Catalogue of Jades in the imperial collection — The *Ku Yü T'i P'i*. An early characterization of the first style follows: "Hsia Kuei painted figures and landscapes with beautifully rich and glowing ink, sug-

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gesting the presence of color. His brush manner had agedness [*ts'ang-lao*: that combined quality of richness and vigor, the product of a mature artistic personality, as well as technical mastery under rigid discipline] and his ink flowed very freely" (*Hsi-hu chih yü*).

The second style is more extreme and according to early critics was derived from the "dotted-ink" style ("Mi dots") of Mi Fei (q.v.) and his son Mi Yu-jên. The essence of this achievement is dramatic contrast, whether in details such as the transitions or juxtapositions of ink tones, contrasts of sharp brush strokes with soft, wet washes, or in larger areas such as near and far distance, complex units such as trees, fishing nets, boats against empty silk space, or a low misty shore beside a soaring, sharp-edged mountain range. The artist chooses to see things sharply or dimly, in or out of focus, in accordance with an emotional, even dramatic approach.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636) in a colophon on a scroll painting (Nelson Gall. of Art and Atkins Mus., Kansas City, Mo.) wrote of Hsia Kuei: "His intention is completely to remove any superficial and detectable traces of imitation. His [objects] look as if they will disappear or fade away. In doing this, he actually suggested under his brush the idea of 'ink-play' of the two Mis." Kao Shih-ch'i in 1693 wrote in *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia-lu*, "[In his paintings] the gradual transition from the 'high' to the 'low,' or the 'darkening' and 'fading-out' of the foreground and far distance, were rendered in such a manner that his idea was always most perfectly expressed without elaboration . . . . Among the Academicians who did landscape paintings [since Li T'ang] there has been none better than he."

The finest extant example of Hsia's first style is the long (27 ft.) hand scroll in ink on paper, *Clear Distant Views of Streams and Mountains* (PL. 348). Though the earliest colophon on the scroll is dated 1378 and the last part with the artist's signature is gone, critical consensus rates this painting well above numerous other versions and variations in the National Palace Museum, the Asano Collection (Odawara, Japan), the Metropolitan Museum (New York), the Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), and other repositories. It is one of the most complex hand-scroll compositions in the early history of Chinese landscape painting, beginning with a low but nearby forest, then shifting past sharp "ax-hewn" rocks to a distant view of the boat-spotted waters. A lone bridge links this relatively quiet beginning to a climactic passage with sharply defined counterthrusting rocky mountains. This is succeeded by a restatement of the distant views varied by rocky hills and forests with a temple complex and a pavilion. The mountain theme reappears in a more measured and vertical manner followed by a brief, distant view over a gently sloping ledge, which in turn makes the transition to a low forest with a wayside inn. The theme-and-variations organization typical of the landscape hand scroll is subtly but crisply handled with little of the deliberate slurring of transitions characteristic of Hsia's other style. The sharp divisions and variations exist also in details. Even the distant views, however atmospheric and simplified, give the impression of clarity because of the sharp edges of the carefully graduated washes representing the distant hills. While the rock forms and buildings seem quite naturalistic and convincing, the trees and figures reveal some of the abbreviations notable in the artist's other pictures. The trees in particular are simplified by using strong outlines with a minimum of interior modeling or shading; their exaggerated height and thrusting movements are comparable to the tree types of Ma Yüan.

The *Ko-ku-yao-lun* by Ts'ao Chao discusses two aspects of the stylistic relations between the two artists: "In his landscape painting, Hsia Kuei was similar to Ma Yüan in composition and *ts'un* ["wrinkle"] technique. However, in his concept, he stood for the quality of 'oldness' as well as simplicity and plainness. He liked to use a brush with a worn-out tip."

The foliage is even more simplified, dots or dashes being silhouetted against the paper with little effort at more than a few variations in shape; at the same time, the ink tones in the foliage are extremely varied, and it is here that Hsia's masterly control of numerous tones provides the rich complexity necessary for sustained interest. The trees seem to sway in careful choreography, in counterpoint to the rocky crags and mountains.

These devices in particular were of great significance for the future of Japanese monochrome painting of the 15th century. First Shūbun and then his pupil Sesshū (q.v.) followed them faithfully but creatively. The most abbreviated representational elements of all are the small but significantly placed human and animal figures. These are painted with sharp, rather thick, but broken strokes, giving a staccato effect. The method is well described in the *Shan-shui chia-fu*: "The faces and eyes of figures were painted with dots, the folds of garments with the 'willow-twig' technique of line drawing. These lines are at places disconnected or omitted."

The most famous and convincing hanging scroll in this style is the *Scholar Riding a Donkey and Approaching a Bamboo Grove* (PL. 347), in ink on paper. Tanaka has suggested that the subject is derived from a poem by the Northern Sung poet Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih) in which he describes how "a slanting branch reaches out of the bamboo grove." The fruit tree reaching out from behind the faggot fence suggests an early spring setting. The representation and the composition of the painting seem like the enlargement of a detail from a hand scroll such as the *Clear Distant Views of Streams and Mountains*. The same sharp brushwork and clear delineation are to be found in the simpler picture, while the scholar, servant, and donkey might well serve as classic examples of Hsia's figure types. Though the scale of the bamboo leaves is small, their sharpness and variety are remarkable. The seemingly hasty brushwork is well preserved, and Hsia's impatience with niggardly detail seems akin to his more abbreviated manner.

The *Rain Storm*, a hanging scroll, formerly in the Kawasaki Collection, Kobe, provides a transition to this other style of Hsia Kuei. Like the Asano *Scholar Riding a Donkey*, it may be an illustration to lines from a well-known late T'ang poem: "The cloud begins to rise from the stream when the sun is sinking, / The wind surges through the pavilion when the mountain rain is coming." Also, like the Asano picture, this composition might well be an enlarged detail from a more complex painting of earlier days. Most of the weight of the composition is at the left of the paper, connected to the right by a rude bridge with the figure of a man carrying an umbrella braced against the wind. The reaching, almost writhing trees are blown from left to right, and leaves and vines are scattered by the path of the wind. Even the towering cliff behind leans to the right, while the bushes on its top are scattered ink strokes moving in the same direction. There seems to be even more abbreviation used here than in the Asano painting, perhaps in part because of the more violent and evanescent nature of the phenomena represented.

By far the most important example of Hsia Kuei's abbreviated style is the hand scroll *Twelve Views from a Thatched Hut* in ink on silk. Only four views survive of the original twelve (III, PL. 263). Each view has an inscription by the emperor Li-tsung, giving the name of the view, while the scroll is signed at the end with four characters meaning "painted by [your] subject, Hsia Kuei." The remaining colophons begin with the Hung Wu period (1368–98), but we know from the *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia-lu* that originally the complete scroll had seals of both the Sung and Yüan Dynasties. An inferior but complete copy of this roll, made before the loss of the eight other views, is in New Haven (Yale Univ. Art Gall., Moore Coll.; another is in New York, Met. Mus.)

The *Twelve Views* is a well-nigh perfect solution, for the style and period, of that most difficult format, the hand scroll. There is still an observance of the actual appearance of nature, but it is nature changed by heightened lighting and the use of dramatic silhouette, sharply outlined — even isolated — to produce what might be described as a new whole made up of emotive fragments.

The Emperor Li-tsung's titles for the four remaining scenes are "Flying Geese over Distant Mountains," "A Ferry Returning to the Misty Village," "The Clear and Remote Sound of the Fisherman's Flute," and "Boats Moored at Night in a Misty Bay." The second scene in particular, with its subtly

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varied washes and vague silhouettes, is a perfect visual expression of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's (q.v.) comment in the colophon attached to the scroll: "His objects look as if they will disappear or fade away." The figures of the fishermen are painted in the "willow-twig" manner and are much like those in the *Rain Storm*, while the bold blacks of the trees and the "ax-hewn" wrinkles of the bluff before the last scene demonstrate the Ma-Hsia style in a strong and extremely simplified form. The outlines of the tree trunks, thick and black, serve to model their edges, bestowing volume by an almost magical use of dark linear tone. Even the log-built path leading around the final hill by the moored boats shows significant traces of the master's touch, for here are strokes that could be produced only by a "brush with a worn-out tip."

At least two album leaves can be reasonably attributed to Hsia Kuei and are in his second manner. Both are in the large album called *Hikko-en* (formerly Kuroda Coll., Tokyo, now Nakamura Coll., Tokyo). The horizontal leaf, called *Misty Landscape* (PL. 350), though much damaged and somewhat restored, is clearly related to the Kansas City scroll. In this case the emotive fragment is dominant, since the painting is small and has a definite frame, unlike the more complex hand scroll. While the condition of the silk adds to the hazy effect, the subtle mastery of the painter is most evident in the indolent mood dominating the simple diagonal composition with its few sharp accents against a deliberately indeterminate background. Again the word "romantic," or better still "lyric," seems appropriate. The other *Hikko-en* leaf is an oblate circle of silk with an even simpler composition but with the same sure handling of near and far by the simplest means. The too-prominent signature seems a doubtful addition to an otherwise characteristic work.

The lyric style of these last three paintings provides a logical transition to the bolder and more abstract spontaneous style, found in such Southern Sung masters as Liang K'ai and Mu-ch'i (qq.v.), with their occasional use of "splashed ink," the most extreme expression of Sung monochrome painting.

Hsia Kuei was a major influence on many of the so-called academic painters of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. The Chê school of Chekiang, Tai Chin in particular, was much indebted to Hsia as well as to Ma Yüan. It is likely that one very famous work attributed to Hsia Kuei, *Ten Thousand Li of the Yangtze*, the long hand scroll from the National Palace Museum, Taichung (exhibited in London, 1935–36), is a product of the 15th-century Chê school. While it is a remarkably complex composition of a very long and dramatic panorama, the brushwork reveals none of the subtlety associated with the Sung artist. Wu Wei, Chiang Sung, and Chou Wên-ching were other early Ming painters influenced by Hsia Kuei.

But the area of Hsia's greatest influence was Japan, particularly in the work of Sesshū. Most of the Kara-e (or Chinese style pictures) first imported to Japan seem to have been in the manner of Ma Yüan, or rather his 14th-century follower, Sun Chün-tse. As late as 1465 Sun's works were valued higher than those of Mu-ch'i. This opinion changed at the time of Nōami (1397–1471), when the Muromachi monochrome style was well developed. Hsia Kuei's works then reached a peak of favor, value, and influence. Nōami's *Kundaikan Sayuchōki* lists 113 Chinese painters, with Hsia Kuei, Ma Yüan, Ma Kung-hsien, and Sun Chün-tse among those of the highest rank.

Hsia Kuei was directly copied by Sesshū with full acknowledgement at least three times in two extant album paintings in the Asano Collection and in a lost album leaf known through a copy by Kanō Tanyū in the S. Nakajima Collection. But the greatest examples of Hsia's influence are to be found in the creative adaptations of his style by Sesshū in two notable hand scrolls: the very long and famous masterpiece in the first Hsia style in the M. Mōri Collection, Yamaguchi, Japan, dated 1486; and the shorter scroll in the second style from the Asano Collection, the first half by Sesshū, the second half a replacement by Hasegawa Tōhaku. These works are the last great examples of the style developed by Hsia Kuei.

Paintings by or very close to Hsia, other than those mentioned above, are *River Landscape with a Windswept Tree*, an album leaf of silk with attached inscription of the emperor Hsiao-tsung (Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts), and *River View with a Boat at Anchor*, a horizontal album leaf of silk (Tokyo, H. Iwasaki Coll., Seikadō Foundation).

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Sherman E. LEE

Illustrations: PLS. 347–350.

**HUMAN FIGURE.** The representation of the human figure has been a major concern of art from prehistoric times and for centuries was considered the greatest of artistic achievements. Not only was human form given to deities and supernatural beings (see DIVINITIES) but, in a process of stylization that extended to the point of transforming it into the fantastic or monstrous, it even assumed animal and plant shapes (see MONSTROUS AND IMAGINARY SUBJECTS; ZOOMORPHIC AND PLANT REPRESENTATIONS). In advanced cultures a hierarchy of genres and of artistic skills was created, which was based upon a scale of values descending from human representation to the representation of natural elements and largely corresponded to the ordering of terrestrial life dictated by various cosmological systems. A series of subjects and artistic genres of fundamental importance, ranging from the portrait to historical subjects and genre, reflects this interest (see GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS; HISTORICAL SUBJECTS; PORTRAITURE).

In contemporary art the human figure enjoys no special status with respect to other pictorial motifs and, indeed, gives place to the representation, so to speak, of no subject whatsoever (see NONOBJECTIVE ART). Modern nonconservative art criticism has fostered the concept of the human figure as an iconographic and stylistic motif which, viewed panoramically, successively emerges and then is lost. Its history thus becomes a series of chapters in a discontinuous narrative. In some periods and certain civilizations representation of the human figure, in both religious and everyday contexts, has been virtually absent (some contend that the mid-20th century is such a period). It may seem that there is a fundamental dichotomy between the figural and nonobjective approaches in art, but this is an oversimplification. The absence or rarity of the human protagonist does not preclude an interest in the natural world. In Islamic art nature is faithfully rendered in many floral and animal motifs. In short the human figure comprises not the whole, but only a part, of the subject matter of representational art (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). See also DRAWING; PAINTING; SCULPTURE.

SUMMARY. The human figure and its relationship to anatomical knowledge (col. 654): *Art and anatomy. Development of anatomical theory and investigation: a. Antiquity; b. Middle Ages; c. Renaissance and baroque; d. Ecorchés, manikins, wax models; e. The anatomy lesson.* Visualization and representation of the figure (col. 665): *Aspects of figure construction: a. Proportion; b. Geometric schematization; c. Pose; d. Color; e. Physiognomy. Idealization and transcendence. Movement and expression. Symbolism of the human body and its parts. Projection and assimilation of the human figure to other forms.* Eastern interpretations of the human figure (col. 687): *General considerations; India; China; Islam.* Art processes applied to the human body: deformation, painting and tattooing, hairdressing (col. 698).

THE HUMAN FIGURE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ANATOMICAL KNOWLEDGE. *Art and anatomy.* The relationship between the visual arts and anatomy may be compared to that which exists between art and botany, art and mineralogy, or art and zoology (see SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS AND APPLICATIONS). On the elementary level there is, on the one hand, the scientist who observes and studies the phenomena of nature, on the other, the draftsman who records and documents them under the scientist's

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direction. This kind of collaboration was of particular significance in the Renaissance, especially for the preparation of large illustrated scientific books, including anatomical treatises. The Bolognese scholar Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) directed draftsmen in the execution of reproductions of insects, plants, and birds in their natural habitat; in the field of anatomy Andreas Vesalius (1514–64) organized a comparable undertaking.

Scientific knowledge and naturalism in art do not necessarily run parallel. Rapid advance in anatomical investigation often exercises little immediate effect on the visual arts. The 20th century, which enjoys an almost complete knowledge of anatomy, has witnessed the triumph of stylization and abstraction in art. Conversely, there have been periods in history in which anatomical investigation lagged but naturalistic portrayal of the human body reached near perfection. Late archaic and classical Greece, the Hellenistic period, and the Italian Quattrocento produced artists with a strong capacity for anatomical observation.

The achievements of artists were frequently indispensable to both physicians and scientists. The botanical repertory found in the Ghent Altarpiece of the Van Eyck brothers (V, PLS. 215, 216) anticipated by several decades the herbals modeled directly on nature. The studies of the nude by Antonio Pollaiuolo (q.v.) foreshadow Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), which marks the beginning of scientifically accurate, modern anatomical presentation. Anatomical illustration reached its peak in the Renaissance and baroque periods; the eagerness of the artists to attend autopsies, which had become a kind of public spectacle, reveals a profound community of interests in conformity with the cultural climate of the age.

It is customary to divide the study of the history of anatomical illustration into pre-Vesalian and post-Vesalian periods. Despite the dramatic advances in scientific knowledge during the 16th century, the representation of the human figure gradually became more stylized and generic, while illustrations of anatomical treatises, with a few exceptions, grew weaker in graphic energy. Moreover, it should be noted that the artists are generally interested only in surface anatomy — the structure of the body, the skeleton, and the movement of the joints. Muscular structure, so variable according to stature, age, or sex, has prime significance for the artist's own work. However, the artist's contribution to scientific advance in anatomy was the creation of a norm, or ideal type, common to all human beings. If the anatomical draftsman's attention is directed to the particular or individual, the observation is no longer general but is pathological anatomy.

In addition to its broader application, the term anatomy is also applied to the dissection itself. The earliest motive for examining the human body was to gather evidence for legal processes (autopsy). Dissections were first performed in the 14th century at the University of Bologna and later at the medical school of Padua. Lessons in anatomy grew to the proportions of public festivities in 17th-century Holland.

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*Development of anatomical theory and investigation. a. Antiquity.* The Greeks were the first people in antiquity who based their medical theories on direct observation. The impact of Hippocrates and his writings, collected into the Hippocratic corpus (ca. 400 B.C.); the theories and scientific errors of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), who never dissected a body; the achievements of the medical school of Alexandria with Herophilus (ca. 300 B.C.), who was the first to dissect the human body publicly, and with Erasistratus (ca. 290 B.C.), who was the first to set forth a complete physiological scheme — all these profoundly influenced and often hindered the progress of science into medieval times. Anatomy in pre-Alexandrian times consisted of the study of the surface forms of the body, especially in connection with fractures, and Greek sculptors in their prime created works of art without any scientific knowledge of anatomy. It was at Alexandria that anatomy became a basis for medical study. Decline set in when the schools that succeeded Alexandria ceased to dissect the human body. The strongest influence exercised on the study of anatomy in the West until the time of Vesalius was that of Galen, in the 2d century, whose search for truth resulted in an industrious devotion to the dissection of animals. When he began his studies, it was difficult to find a human skeleton in the schools. Under the Roman empire the knowledge of anatomy accumulated by the Greeks lapsed. The *De re medica* of Celsus, the earliest and best Latin medical work (ca. 30 B.C.), was also the first ancient medical text to be printed (Florence, 1478). The first formal work on human anatomy (ca. early 2d cent.) is ascribed to Rufus of Ephesus, and Soranus of Ephesus (ca. A.D. 90–150) wrote a book on pregnancy with anatomical figures of the fetus *in utero*, copies of which have survived in several manuscripts (Brussels, Bib. Royale, Cod. 3714, ca. 900; Copenhagen, Royal Lib., Cod. 1653, ca. 1180; Vatican, Ms. Pal. lat. 1304, ca. 1230; Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 161, ca. 1250; Br. Mus., Sloane 2463, ca. 1450).

*b. Middle Ages.* From the 8th to the 13th century come other anatomical drawings that may have originated in Alexandria. The Arabs who transmitted Greek medical knowledge to the Western world were forbidden by Islam to dissect or to represent the human figure. The works of Galen and Hippocrates formed the main knowledge of medieval medicine. These, often in a corrupted form, were translated into Latin after the breakup of the Roman empire. Oribasius (325–403), Alexander of Tralles (525–605), and Paul of Aegina (625–90) were early abstractors. Translations of Greek and Arab came through Constantine the African (ca. 1015–87). But even though in the 12th century Gerard of Cremona (1114–87) translated the *Canon* of Avicenna (980–1037) and the medical school of Salerno flourished, descriptive anatomy developed slowly, and the art of graphic representation was even more backward. Following the Galenic tradition, human anatomy was based on animal dissection conducted on dogs, cats, monkeys, and pigs, whose organs bear a close resemblance to the human.

Several surviving groups of anatomical drawings of medieval date show that they were executed without direct reference to the human frame. Most of these are of the type known as the "five-figure series," which usually show man in a squatting posture in five schematic pictures representing the veins, arteries, nerves, muscles, and bones; sometimes a sixth diagram was added, that of a pregnant woman. Karl Sudhoff (1853–1938), who first described the pictures, pointed out that they derive from Alexandria by way of Byzantium. The figures are accompanied by didactic explanatory text, often close to the corresponding organ described. The manuscripts described by him are the following: Munich, Staatsbib., Clm. 13002, before 1158, from the abbey of Prüfening near Regensburg, and Clm. 17403, ca. 1250, from the abbey of Scheyern; Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ashmole 399, 2d half of 13th cent., English, and Bodleian Lib., Ms. e Museo 19, before 1344, Italian; Basel, Universitätsbib., D. II, 11, ca. 1250, Provençal; former library of Prince von Lobkowitz, Roudnice, Bohemia, Ms. VI, Fc29, ca. 1399.

The study of four manuscripts of Persian origin also revealed that since the Persians had more freedom to draw the human figure than the Arabs, all the manuscripts may have derived from a common Alexandrian model. Examples of the five-figure series have come to us from Germany, Bohemia, Provence, Italy, and England to which two were added in the mid-20th century: one from the 14th century (Milan, Bib. Trivulziana, Cod. 836) and one from the 15th century (London, Wellcome Historical Medical Lib., Ms. 5000). Even though important from the medicohistorical point of view, artistically these rudimentary drawings are merely schematic outlines.

The series of anatomical miniatures from the year 1314, which are reduced copies of those made for instruction at Montpellier by the order of Henri de Mondeville (ca. 1270–1320), physician and chief surgeon at the court of Philip the Fair, show a transformation from the five-figure series (PL. 375). Only the figure of the seated skeleton shows the squatting position; the others have taken on an easy pose. Sudhoff pointed out that the dissected figures drawn in a standing position

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and engaged in movement were an innovation in Mondeville's time. He also suggested that these figures may have influenced Vesalius; that the technique of drawing the origin of the blood vessels on the body surface without opening the thorax or the abdomen may have been copied by Leonardo in his drawing of the "blood-vessel tree"; and that the muscle man carrying his own skin on a stick may have given Gaspar Becerra (1520–70) the idea for his figure in Juan de Valverde de Hamusco's *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* (PL. 384).

Even as late as the second half of the 15th century there was little progress beyond Mondeville's visual instruction. In 1491, while Leonardo was already engaged in his studies of human anatomy, the first printed illustrated practical medical treatise, Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*, was published in Venice. Sudhoff believes that a Johannes de Ketham collected the text and drawings for the woodcuts about a century before and that when first printed they bore his name. In a Latin manuscript of about 1400 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Sudhoff found a complete series of the Ketham pictures and much of the text. It has also been suggested that drawings for the woodcuts were made by Giovanni Mansueti or some other member of the school of Gentile Bellini.

The commonest medical procedures of the time were venesection and the subsequent examination of shed blood, and a prominent position was occupied by the figure of the blood-letting man, on whom the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac were printed, since astrological ideas controlled the whole of medieval thought. These figures too derive from antiquity. The parallel between the outer world, the macrocosm, and man's body, the microcosm, has its origin in Plato's *Timaeus*, where he set forth an entirely fanciful scheme of the human body. It was also thought that man was an epitome of the universe and that the constellations influenced the functions of his physical organs (*melothesia*). This relationship carried with it a spiritual and moral significance, and the zodiac man (also called *melothesia*) exercised strong influence through the Middle Ages. It found its way into the handbooks of the barber-surgeons of the Renaissance, where guidelines showed the surgeon where to cut and when. From 1458 on yearly venesection almanacs were issued.

Ketham's slightly squatting pregnant woman, with the bottle-shaped uterus in the tradition of the Soranus treatise, was also found in a Leipzig codex of about 1400, which forms the link between a lost antique model and Ketham's woodcut. The fetus is in a standing posture, with legs slightly bent and hands covering the eyes. Ketham's plate of the female viscera formed the basic example for German and English obstetrical books and was reproduced with variations in the 16th century.

Another typical medieval figure, representing surgery in Ketham's *Fasciculus*, is the wound man, who does not appear earlier than in 14th-century manuscripts. His body is pierced by stones, arrows, and swords, indicating parts of possible injuries. Points of incision show the sites for ligation of the different arteries. The names of the internal parts are printed on the figure itself.

The disease man, headed *De anathomia* in Ketham, shows a male figure, covered more sparingly with names of diseases, and displays a stronger Renaissance influence than the others.

The period described may be characterized as the schematic period of the medieval physician-anatomist. The need for anatomical pictures was slight, and scholastic methods restricted the lecturer to applications of the text. Even Mondino de' Luzzi (ca. 1270–1326), who occupies an important place in the history of anatomy as the first known to have dissected the human body systematically at the University of Bologna and as the author of the first "modern" anatomical treatise (1316), did not find it necessary to have illustrations. Nevertheless, his treatise remained the standard work until 1543. The change came with the Renaissance, when "the spirit of investigation of the artist who perforce went direct to nature, dissecting with his own hands and observing with his own eyes, showed itself far more fruitful than the tedious *ex cathedra* methodization of the professor" (Singer, 1917).

*c. Renaissance and baroque.* The contribution made by artists to the study of anatomy was not a sudden occurrence. The medieval tradition of teaching anatomy from textbooks died hard. The famous papal bull of Boniface VIII in 1300, *De sepulturis*, proclaimed excommunication of anyone who followed the practice of boiling bones of the dead. Although not directed against dissections, the proclamation was misinterpreted in that sense and made it difficult to obtain corpses. The rise of Humanism, when "man became the measure of all things" and artists sought to approach nature more closely, provided the most important impetus toward the collaboration of anatomists and artists.

E. C. Streeter (1916) and later F. H. Garrison (1920) put forward the thesis that, because painters purchased pigments in Florentine apothecary shops, they were in touch with physicians, who were also patrons of such establishments. The result produced a fellow feeling which led the artists to apply for admission into the guild of physicians and apothecaries (1303), within which this group of artists became known from 1349 on as the Society of St. Luke. During the period the relationship lasted, more than two and a half centuries, it led to no exchange of interest and information, because the physicians lacked interest in the work of the artists in anatomy.

Medical historians often have reservations about the extent of firsthand knowledge of anatomy among Renaissance artists. Information is based mostly on Vasari's enthusiastic statements, and anatomists are in the habit of pointing out where these may apply to surface anatomy only. However, a thorough knowledge of anatomy is evident in the work of Antonio Pollaiuolo (q.v.), who "understood the nude in a more modern way than the masters before him" (Vasari). Andrea del Verrocchio (q.v.), who was probably the initial influence on Leonardo's anatomical studies, restored an antique marble statue of a flayed Marsyas, to the delight of his Medici patron, and "used to form natural objects, so that he might have them before him and imitate them, such as hands, feet, knees, legs, arms and busts" (Vasari). Luca Signorelli (q.v.) is said to have visited burial grounds in search of parts of bodies, and his nudes are most dependent on anatomical knowledge (PL. 380; III, PL. 392; IV, PL. 179). Albrecht Dürer (q.v.) was probably engaged in actual anatomization, and several of his sketches of dissected parts have survived. Michelangelo (q.v.) studied anatomy more than many other artists, particularly while making a crucifix for the cloister of Sto Spirito in Florence (1494). While living there he was well supplied with cadavers, which he dissected to the point that, according to Ascanio Condivi (*Vita di M. A. Buonarroti*, Rome, 1553), his stomach was turned so that he could neither eat nor drink. In Rome, in 1547, he met Matteo Realdo Colombo, pupil of Vesalius and his successor to the chair of anatomy at Padua, with whom he discussed the composition of an anatomical work, with text by Colombo and illustrations by Michelangelo. This, without illustrations, became Colombo's *De re anatomica* (Venice, 1559), with a title page designed by Veronese, displaying Colombo in the course of dissection. Ercole Bottari (*Vita di Michelangelo*, Rome, 1760) mentions a wax model, which the Florentine academicians possessed, called "la notomia di Michelagnolo," and copies of models for his anatomical studies exist in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (also formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin). Raphael (q.v.) "examined attentively the articulations of the bones" (Vasari) and made a sketch for the *Entombment* with a skeleton drawn from nature. Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), imitator and jealous rival of Michelangelo, was chiefly interested in myology and *écorchés* (muscle men), drawings of which have survived, together with at least one example in bronze which is attributed to him. Il Rosso (q.v.) had completed a treatise on anatomy, according to Vasari, before 1530.

The artist who made the greatest contribution to anatomy was Leonardo (q.v.). Like his other studies of nature, his anatomical drawings are of purely scientific character (IV, PL. 268). His association with Marc'Antonio della Torre (ca. 1473–1512?), anatomist and professor at Padua and Pavia, in planning an

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anatomical textbook was more a common search of both for truth than a relationship, often but erroneously accepted, of teacher and pupil, writer and illustrator, employer and employee. Leonardo's earliest anatomical studies date from 1489 and were independent of any contemporaneous influence. What the two men had in common was the questioning of established authorities. Marc'Antonio questioned Mondino in favor of Galen, Leonardo questioned them all. His statements, "Here Avicenna contends . . . but he is in error," and referring to Mondino, "but here experience shows . . .," prove that, although his own terminology was Arabist and he himself was steeped in the writings of Galen, Avicenna, and Mondino, his observations were independent of any tradition. Of Mondino's followers he writes: "They scorn me who am a discoverer; yet how much more do they deserve censure who have never found out anything but only recite and blazon forth other people's works."

His treatise on anatomy, which he sought to finish by 1510, was never completed, but he had a detailed plan for the work showing "in fifteen entire figures the cosmography of the Microcosmos in the same order as was adopted before [him] by Ptolemy in his *Cosmography*." His 600 drawings surviving in the Royal Library at Windsor, when arranged into a modern scientific scheme, cover the osteological, myological, cardiovascular, nervous, respiratory, alimentary, and genitourinary systems. He is said to be the founder of physiological anatomy; his drawings in embryology depart completely from tradition, and he gave the first correct drawing of the position of the fetus *in utero*; his numerous drawings of the heart and his studies of blood circulation prove that he came very near the concept of the circulation of the blood, preceding Harvey by some 100 years. Still, his notes on vessels read: "Here shall be represented the tree of the vessels generally as Ptolemy did with the universe in his *Cosmography*," demonstrating the extent to which he himself represented his own times.

His technique in anatomical drawings was as revolutionary as his scientific thought. It was his plan to represent the subject from four aspects as though the viewer were able to walk completely around it, observing it from every side. He was the first to make topographical dissections and serial sections to illustrate the structure of the parts. He made cross sections and casts of the ventricles of the brain. His use of perspective, simultaneous use of surface anatomy and cross sections, drawings of solid organs as though they were transparent in order to indicate depth of layers, cord and wire representation of muscles, and detail drawings of one-half of the body or only one limb where the other corresponds — all were unknown before Leonardo and have survived in principle to the 20th century. Facing the Middle Ages on the one hand and Vesalius on the other, Leonardo has rightly been called a forerunner, "a Saint John crying in the wilderness" (McMurrich, 1930).

Another anatomist who paved the way for Vesalius was Jacopo Berengario da Carpi (d. 1530) who, lecturing in Bologna, corrected a large number of Mondino's errors. His anonymous artist holds the distinction of having made the first anatomical illustrations from nature to accompany the text of a printed book (*Commentaria super Anatomia Mundini*, Bologna, 1521.)

Andreas Vesalius (1514–64), the founder of modern anatomy, was born in Brussels. After studies in Louvain he went to Montpellier and Paris, where at the end of the 15th century practical anatomy came to be recognized. He too accepted Galenist anatomy, but his greatness lies in his refusal to accept established ideas unquestioningly and in finding discrepancies by observation. After a return to Louvain, where his thesis was accepted in 1537, he journeyed to Padua, where the University reigned supreme as the center of Humanism and science in Europe. It was under the rule of Venice, where Vesalius may have met his countryman, Jan Stephan van Calcar (ca. 1499–1546), pupil of Titian. After receiving a doctorate, Vesalius was nominated professor of surgery, a position which carried with it the responsibility of teaching anatomy as well. In 1538 he published without title his first six anatomical plates, which are known as *Tabulae anatomicae sex*; they were a tremendous innovation in graphic anatomical demonstration at that time. Jan Stephan is mentioned as the artist. Vesalius' next revolutionary achievement was in the controversial subject of bloodletting and venesection, again based on observations made during dissection. In 1543 his *De humani corporis fabrica* was printed by Johannes Oporinus of Basel, whose share in the publication of this work was as great as the author's and the artist's. He undertook at the same time the printing of a companion work, the *Epitome*, to serve as a ready guide for students and containing only a minimum of text. After the publication of his work, as remarked by Charles Singer (1925), anatomy became Vesalian, while Vesalius himself passed into the background. At the same time the universe became Copernican, because 1543 also saw the publication of the treatise *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres*. Copernicus removed the earth from the center of the universe; Vesalius revealed the real structure of man's body. They destroyed forever the favorite medieval theory of macrocosm and microcosm.

The beauty of the *Fabrica*, its famous title page, its initials and typography, have won universal admiration. The dynamic and dramatic postures of its lifelike figures, muscle men, and skeletons are of such a high artistic standard that they became archetypes for future artists. At least one work in progress at the time, Giovanni Battista Canano's *Musculorum humani corporis picturata dissectio* (Ferrara, 1541), for which Girolamo da Carpi (1501–56) prepared drawings, remained unfinished, presumably because of the perfection of Vesalius' woodcuts. The phrase "with pre-Vesalian anatomy," used so frequently in descriptions, indicates the dividing line drawn between the old and the new. It is from the illustrations of the *Fabrica* that independent artistic anatomy originated.

The identity of the artist or artists responsible for the illustrations aroused wide speculation. Many theories were advanced, from the idea that the illustrations were plagiarized from Leonardo to presumption of direct collaboration of Titian. It is now generally accepted that the Jan Stephan mentioned by Vesalius, the rather obscure student of Titian born about 1499 in Calcar, a small town in the Rhine province, is responsible for them, with possible help from other pupils of Titian. The only unquestioned works by his hand are the figures of the skeleton in the *Tabulae sex*. Vasari's statement, "the eleven large plates of anatomical studies which Andreas Vesalius engraved after the designs of Jan van Calcar," would indicate more. That only a close collaboration of anatomist and artist could produce them is certain, and some plates may be the work of Vesalius himself. The background to the series of muscle men forms a continuous landscape, and it has been identified as "the region around Abano Terme . . . in the Euganean hills a short distance south by west of Padua."

Vesalius also became the founder of the Italian school of anatomy, which, with Padua as its center, remained foremost until the early 17th century, when the Netherlands, with its anatomical theaters in Leiden and Amsterdam, took the lead. The generation following Vesalius was content with copying his figures, and his artistic influence, by then conservative and conventional, can be traced through the 18th century. Among the plagiarists mention has already been made of Juan de Valverde de Hamusco and his artist Gaspar Becerra, whose muscle man (PL. 384) is one of 15 original woodcuts in a work containing 253.

In this section only those works are discussed that are of interest to the art historian or that display originality and innovation in style and technique. The proliferation of illustrated anatomical treatises after Vesalius makes a complete listing of them impossible. The Renaissance in art and in medicine did not coincide in date. The turning point in medicine is 1543, at a period that in art is considered mannerist and past the Renaissance. Certain anatomical works that are post-Renaissance in style are pre-Vesalian in anatomy.

Vidus Vidius (d. 1569), grandson of Ghirlandajo and friend of Benvenuto Cellini, translated Hippocrates, Galen, and Oribasius into Latin. This work was published in Paris in 1544 under the title *Chirurgia e graeco in latinum conversa*. The original drawings by Francesco Primaticcio (q.v.), are based on a 9th-century Greek manuscript (Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Cod. LXXIV, 7) of Apollonius of Citium (1st cent. B.C.). The

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woodcuts are attributed to François Jollat, who worked in Paris from 1502 to 1550. The antique figures of the original manuscript are adapted to the contemporary taste and in style and design are unlike anything done before.

A year after this work there appeared another French publication, Charles Estienne's (d. 1564) *De dissectione partium corporis humani* (Paris, 1545). He had begun work about 1530, and his figures are pre-Vesalian. The wood engravings are also by François Jollat. As artist the names of Jean Cousin, Jean Goujon, and Il Rosso have been suggested. The figures have been described as "hideous" because of the many nonessential details and contortions. They do no more than reflect the style of their age, and a certain grotesque element practiced by mannerist artists slipped into the plates.

The same can be said of Giulio Casserio's (1561–1616) posthumous works, for which the artist Odoardo Fialetti (1573–1638) designed copperplates. They have been referred to as exemplary in their own medium, but they too could not escape the baroque influence. The fetus is revealed in the womb of a coy Eve hiding an apple (*De formato foetu*, Padua, 1626), and the anatomy of the newborn is illustrated by a sleeping infant modeled after one of Guido Reni's cupids.

Pietro da Cortona (q.v.) may have designed copperplates for an anatomical work too, for to him are attributed 27 drawings engraved on copper by Luca Ciamberlano in 1618, but first published only in 1741 (PL. 387). Accessory figures, not by the same artist, have been added to the blank spaces, and the subsequent (1788) edition, where these are erased, is preferred to the first.

The realism of Dutch still-life painting is evident in the drawings of Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711) for Godfried Bidloo's *Anatomia humani corporis* (Amsterdam, 1685) with a touch of French style in the nudes.

The Vesalian dissected cadavers and skeletons in motion enjoyed a much livelier existence during the 17th century, and the restraint imposed upon them by "the reformer of anatomy" disappeared in an age of virtuosity.

In the 18th century France was the center of anatomical investigation. Jakob Christof Le Blon (1667–1741), Jan Ladmiral (1698–1773), and Jacques Fabien Gautier d'Agoty (1717–86) experimented with colored copperplates, but for anatomical illustrations none of them proved satisfactory. Jacques Gamelin (1738–1802), an artist who both dissected and drew, continued the tradition of the skeleton as a *memento mori*. The Vesalian skeleton contemplates the skull, Bidloo's has the baroque symbol of the hourglass, and Gamelin's is reading the *Dies Irae*. It has been said of Gamelin that the technical perfection of his plates in myology and osteology (Toulouse, 1799) places him between Callot and Goya. The anatomist who established a new method and who marks the beginning of a new era, Bernhard Siegfried Albinus (1697–1770), carried out all his investigations with scientific thoroughness and an artistic sense for illustration. The norm sought by Vesalius was perfected by the artist Jan Wandelaer (1690–1759) in Albinus' *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum*, Leiden, 1747.

In his efforts to combine the scientifically true with the artistically beautiful at the opening of the 19th century, with its multiplied means of scientific instruments and graphic reproduction, Samuel Thomas von Soemmering (1755–1830) was following in the footsteps of Albinus and the Leiden school.

At the end of the 17th century the first anatomical atlases for the use of artists appeared. Italy, France, and, in the 19th century, Germany produced atlases of this kind, some of which long remained in standard use. Mass-produced atlases of the 20th century still hark back to the ideal created in the 16th-century art academies (see INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS). Full bibliographical references for artistic anatomy are included in L. Choulant and M. Frank, *History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration*, 2d ed., New York, 1945, supplemented by A. Placzek in F. Schider, *An Atlas of Anatomy for Artists*, 2d Am. ed., New York, 1954.

*d. Ecorchés, manikins, wax models.* The artist's primary interest in anatomy is in the working of the muscles, and that is why in the graphic arts and in sculpture it was the *écorché*, or muscle man, that interested them most. Beginning with the 16th century, artists' ateliers were equipped with small statuettes modeled in the round in bronze, wood, wax, or plaster representing the superficial musculature of man. They were objects of study more for the artist than the anatomist, although they were also in use by the audience during dissection. They can be found in portraits of anatomists to identify the sitter and in paintings or engravings of artists' ateliers. Sometimes they formed the preliminary study for the sculptor's final work. Most of them are anonymous works, and few have survived from the 16th and 17th centuries.

One of the earliest examples is ascribed to Baccio Bandinelli and, because of its peculiar dancing movement, is usually called the "dancing *écorché*." It may conceivably have originated in his school for artists in Rome. Those of Prospero Antichi (d. 1592?), Pierre de Francheville (1548–1615), and Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613) enjoyed wide popularity; an example of the latter survives in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (PL. 384). The Royal College of Surgeons in London owns a notable one, previously in the possession of John and William Hunter and attributed to Marco d'Agrate (b. ca. 1500), whose life-size *écorché* in the Cathedral of Milan (1562) is a rather pretentious St. Bartholomew. The device of the raised arm found in most examples is probably a realistic remnant of actual dissection practices, for which pulleys and ropes supported the limbs. This particular posture survives through the centuries. Edme Bouchardon (1698–1762), author of *L'anatomie nécessaire pour l'usage du dessein* (Paris, 1741), probably executed an *écorché* based on one of his plates (Paris, Mus. de l'École des Beaux-Arts). The device of the raised arm was also used by Ercole Lelli (1702–66), whose two famous wooden *écorchés* were placed flanking the professorial chair in the anatomical theater in Bologna in 1733. Jean Antoine Houdon (q.v.) modeled an *écorché* (Rome, Villa Medici) in Rome in 1767, when he was given a commission for a John the Baptist (Rome, Gall. Borghese). It has the traditional gesture of St. John pointing toward the Saviour, and a copy of it may have accompanied the artist during his trip to the United States in 1785. It may have been the one that was presented to the National Academy of Design by James Fenimore Cooper and listed in the inventory of 1833.

Small anatomical figures in ivory, with movable arms and removable internal organs, have survived from the 17th and 18th centuries. It is not quite clear whether they were used for instruction, particularly of midwives, or whether they were just another experiment in anatomical illustration. They may have imitated the never very popular attempt of the graphic artist to superimpose layers of plates, revealing the several systems of the human body. Examples in the graphic arts are early fugitive sheets, Vesalius' hints of this method in his *Epitome*, and Johann Remmelin's engravings executed by Lukas Kilian of Augsburg (1579–1637).

Wax models were developed toward the end of the 17th century largely as a result of advances made in anatomical technique itself. Injecting vessels with various colored substances which subsequently hardened, and from which casts could be made, produced objects of extraordinary realism. They were coveted by anatomical theaters and curio collectors for their value in anatomical teaching rather than for artistic merit.

*e. The anatomy lesson.* Through the centuries there were illustrations representing dissections. The earliest surviving ones are in illuminated manuscripts, followed by those in printed books, and later in a surprisingly large number of paintings, mainly from the 17th century. They depict autopsies in the 13th and 14th centuries and formal or university lectures in anatomy from the 15th through the 17th century. Postmortem anatomies were usually conducted in hospital basements by two, rarely by three or more individuals, whereas university anatomies were public events and in the nature of festivities conducted by academic authorities. From century to century the crowd thickened, until in the 17th the paintings developed into formal guild portraits of Dutch physicians. In the 18th century at least one artist, William Hogarth (q.v.), used the formal

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anatomy as a cartoon of the medical profession, and in the 19th famous surgeons are portrayed in the middle of an operation or during anatomical demonstrations.

A 4th-century Roman catacomb painting, discovered in 1956 on the Via Latina (Via Dino Compagni), may prove to be the earliest known scene representing a public anatomy. In 13th- and 14th-century manuscripts there are scenes of autopsies; in one instance, following the various stages of disease (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ashmole 399, fol. 34r, 2d half of 13th cent.), the autopsy takes place when *rigor mortis* has scarcely set in. A 14th-century French manuscript (Montpellier, Bib. de la Faculté de Médecine, Ms. fr. 184, fol. 14r) represents the body on the dissecting table in the same room where death occurred, with the bed in the background and the family attending.

But what is now considered the formal lesson in anatomy had its pictorial beginnings in incunabula. Mondino's *Anathomia*, in its Leipzig edition, 1493, bears a title page of a professor in his doctor's robe sitting in his chair with an open book, from which he reads the passage referring to the organ under dissection. A servant or barber, known as *incisor* or *prosector*, performed the actual opening of the body, usually beginning with the abdominal cavity. The organs of the thorax were dissected, then the brain, and finally the vessels and nerves were demonstrated. As the scene became more elaborate, as in the *Fasciculo di Medicina*, Venice, edition of 1493 (often mistakenly referred to as the Italian translation of Ketham), a third member took part in the dissection itself, the *demonstrator* or *ostensor*, who with his cane (*radius*) directed the *prosector* in his work. The cadaver was that of a criminal and the book in the professor's hand a commentary on Galen or, after 1316, Mondino's *Anathomia*. Public disputes followed the dissection, often without any reference to the corpse on display. No more than one or two anatomies were performed each year, and every medical student had to attend at least one.

Up to the late 16th century dissections were conducted in temporary theaters. Padua had its permanent anatomical theater only in 1584, after Vesalius' time, and that depicted in the *Fabrica* and the *Epitome* is a temporary one with the customary wooden scaffolding erected under the open sky in the courtyard of a Renaissance building. A crowd of students and people from all walks of life watch the master start his dissection and demonstration of the abdominal cavity. It is possible that the personages around Vesalius are drawn from life, and it has been suggested that the bearded man turning away from the dissection represents Galen symbolizing classical medicine. The animals in the foreground too are symbolic, implying that it was no longer necessary, as in old times, to dissect animals.

The festive character of the anatomy lesson reached its peak in 17th-century Netherlands, where the solemn public execution of the criminal, the formal public anatomy, and finally the semiprivate guild banquet and torch parade were celebrated in the permanent portrayal of the chief living protagonists. The earliest of these portrayals is by Aert Pietersz., *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastian Egbertsz.* (1603; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.) and shows the portraits of all guild members. The next corporation piece of this kind is Michiel and Pieter van Miereveld's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. W. van der Meer* (1617; Delft, Hospital). The outstanding and best-known example is Rembrandt's *Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaas Tulp* (1632; The Hague, Mauritshuis), with its new concentration on the cadaver and the work at hand and lifelike portrayal of the anatomist during the course of dissection. Nicolaas Tulp gained immortality through Rembrandt. (Cf. Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Seyman*, II, PL. 209.) Other anatomists, who in their own right earned international fame, were not treated so well by their portraitists. Dr. Fredrik Ruysch, the eminent anatomist, was painted twice during an anatomy lesson, by Adriaen Backer (1670; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.) and by Jan van Neck (1683; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.). But these paintings, like those of the 18th century — Thomas van der Wilt's *Anatomy of Dr. Abraham Bleyswyck* (1727; Delft, Hospital), Cornelis Troost's *Anatomy of Dr. Willem Roëll* (1728; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.), and Tibout Regters' *Anatomy of Dr. Pieter Camper* (1758; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.) — are more interesting as period pieces and historical documents than as works of artistic merit.

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Lola L. Szladits

Visualization and representation of the figure. *Aspects of figure construction.* From the discussion above it is clear that at only a few periods in history did the relationship between the representational arts and the science of anatomy cease to be general and become direct and determining. In art, especially in cultures having a developed sense of style, the visualization of the human figure depends less on naturalistic imitation of the real than on certain purely stylistic modes of configuration similar to *Gestalten*; at their basis is a disparity with the real which changes a portrait from reproduction to transfiguration. These stylistic modes have both a practical function, which is operative in the construction of the image, and an idealizing function. At least in origin, they are products of an individual's creativity and can be modified to accord with occasion, taste, and personal fancy. Yet throughout history they reveal notable continuity. Their practical function, that which helps in the construction of the image, will be dealt with first.

*a. Proportion.* In the art of most great civilizations, proportion is the aspect of greatest importance. Proportion is precisely analogous to meter in poetry and especially to measure in music and dance, a fact of direct relevance to the representation of the human figure because of the extreme social and esthetic importance of music and dance, at least in ancient civilizations (see PROPORTION). When Plato declared that there is no beauty without measure (*Timaeus*, 87c), perhaps he meant not so much a mathematical correlation (a mutual relationship of lengths) as a geometric one (the mutual relationship of forms of the greatest regularity). If that point be admitted, the human figure fits into a geometric grid and does so, moreover, in accordance with age-old tradition. And what is still more important, the theory of proportion coincides, as Panofsky observed (1921), with a theory of construction.

Within the general framework of art that is strongly hieratic (in which "the movements of the figures . . . consist of purely local changes in the position of specific members, changes affecting neither the form nor the dimensions of the rest of the body") and in which there is no attempt at foreshortening or at optical adjustment, the most characteristic example of proportioning is furnished by Egyptian painting and sculpture, whose canons of construction were rigid and of the simplest kind. The height of the human body was divided into parts (18 in the old canon or 2 in the new canon) by means of a grid of ruled squares (IV, PL. 347) that established, through reference to fixed points, both height and width of the figure. Attesting to this way of working are surviving fragments of papyri with plans and projections of sculpture to be executed. It is known that for carving of a freestanding statue three very accurate scale drawings were made and transferred to three sides of the stone block, one for the front, one for the back, and one for the side view. Proportions varied only according to the size of the sculpture and not according to the age or type of the model. Children were constructed with the same proportions as adults (e.g., IV, PL. 365) but in reduced scale. (PLS. 357–359; see also plates of EGYPTIAN ART.)

Similar systems were probably at the basis of sculpture in the Near East. Isaiah (44:13) says of the makers of idols: "The carpenter stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it out with a line; he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man." Probably the sculpture of archaic Greece was similarly executed, since Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca historica* tells of two sculptors, Telekles and Theodoros, who supposedly made a statue in two parts while the first sculptor was at Samos and the other at Ephesus, without the statue's being thereby misformed or malproportioned. (PLS. 361–363; see also plates of ARCHAIC ART.)

The fixing of proportions in the classic period was, in contrast, based upon the relative ratios of the members and not upon preordained geometrical schemes. (PL. 364; CLASSIC ART, plates.) Galen described the famous canon of Polykleitos thus: "Beauty does not consist in single elements but in the harmonious proportion of the parts, the proportion of one finger to the other, of all the fingers to the rest of the hand, of the rest of the hand to the wrist, of these to the forearm, of the forearm to the whole arm, in short, of all parts to all others" (*Placita Hippocratis et Platonis*, v, 3). The end result is still quite abstract, for even when the aim is the greatest degree of naturalism, the sequence of proportional relations corresponds to a standard of naturally simple proportions. Classical proportional harmony is generally based upon an elementary division of the figure into either 8 parts, taking the head as unit of measure, or into 10 parts, taking the face as unit of measure. At the same time, even in the classic period interest continued in an extrinsic geometrization of the figure. Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, xxxiv, 56 and 65) mentioned the idea of the *tetragonos* or *quadratus*, in accordance with which the human form was divisible into

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four quadrants that were strictly matched two by two through correspondence and inversion, to form what the Romans called *aequilibrium*. Hellenistic art, on the other hand, introduced extreme freedom in regard to proportions and structure through its characterization of a greater number of human types and ages. (PLS. 365–371; see also plates of HELLENISTIC ART.)

The Byzantine system of construction retained the intrinsic principle of mutual proportioning of the various parts of the body (modular tables are furnished in the *Painter's Manual of Mount Athos* and by Cennino Cennini, according to whom the length of the face should be the unit of measurement, the torso should be three times as long as the face, and so on), but Byzantine art, as it developed, tended to immobilize the features and stress the formal elements of the face (e.g., II, PLS. 440, 461), which were in some phases calculated and described with compass and square. (PL. 272; BYZANTINE ART, plates.) In simplified form, this system was carried over into Gothic art, as evident in Villard de Honnecourt's patterns for constructing the face and figure. Significantly, Villard's method may have had a practical purpose in facilitating the work of the artist and hence have been more structural than symbolic in nature. (PLS. 376, 377; see also plates of GOTHIC ART.)

In the Renaissance the study of ancient writers, Vitruvius in particular, which from the very beginning had accompanied and stimulated the study of Greco-Roman sculpture and architecture, brought back into the limelight the problem of perfect proportion in the human body and did so in terms of relationships, not only simple but musical. Not only was the adoption of a general canon of proportion discussed (whether it should be 9 or 10 faces, and so forth) but proportion itself was understood both extrinsically and intrinsically; there was, for example, on one hand the geometric stylization of the human body as a whole realized by Cesare Cesariano (I, PL. 308), and on the other hand the minute system of reciprocal measurements for every body part (close in this respect to Polykleitos) proposed by Dürer in his *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*. In time the enthusiasm for proportion commingled with the interest in anatomy and thus even for some of the greatest theorists in the matter of proportion — Leonardo, Michelangelo, Dürer — the convention of an absolute correspondence between geometric canon, natural beauty, and antique sculpture was enriched by elements of scientific observation. (PLS. 378–383; RENAISSANCE, plates.) Though mannerism (q.v.) later destroyed this illusory convention, it was resurrected, though in a tame manner, by various classicizing revivals, that of neoclassicism in particular (see NEOCLASSIC STYLES). Caricatures by Daumier and others of mythological heroes represented as awkward and misshapen have satirized these concepts.

*b. Geometric schematization.* The conception of the human form as a complex of geometric lines, figures, and solids, or as the total or partial reduction of the figure to such geometric schemes, is part of the broader problem of the abstract mode of vision, or (to use a term that some scholars apply to primitive and children's art) of "conceptual realism." This type of schematization is different from that dictated by proportion and is rather more widespread, since it is present as an apparently spontaneous and instinctive manifestation in primitive, prehistoric, archaic, provincial, and folk cultures. It has been claimed and in some cases proved (proved, for example, in the "schematic art" of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods; see PLS. 351, 352; PREHISTORY) that the representation of a man reduced to geometric form or to an ornamental motif is the result of a coherent process of simplification and abstraction of natural forms.

There is no doubt that the imitation and repetition of figures and themes of even the highest art cultures, as executed in peripheral regions or in folk art (q.v.) often implies the adoption of geometric schemes for both drawing and modeling. This schematization can also be brought about by lack of interest in the form, by sheer lack of effort, or by lack of technical skill. Examples of such a process of schematization are also found, however, among the most evolved historic cultures, often in combination with naturalistic modeling of form. All the art of the ancient Near East (PLS. 353, 356) and Greece (PL. 360; GEOMETRIC STYLE) is permeated with geometric constructions of the human body and its parts, adopted not only for representational but also for expressive purposes, and therefore to be considered essential elements of style. Examples range from the Egyptian cube statues (so-called "block figures"; IV, PLS. 311, 354) to the refined schematizations of archaic Greek art, cylindrical (the *Hera* of Samos by Cheramyes; I, PL. 356), or panel-shaped (the *Nikandre* of Delos) — and from decorative conventions in drapery taking the form of small parallel folds to hair in the form of ropes, beads, or snails, to almond-shaped eyes, and to musculature in chessboard, wave, or diamond patterns. Even Greek art of the 5th century B.C. exhibits taste for monumental schematization, seen in human figures sculptured in the guise of columns or piers, and in the absolute regularity of faces. Indeed, all compositions in both classic and Hellenistic painting and sculpture tend to fit more or less clearly into schemes of geometric shapes and solids. Late-antique and Byzantine art (qq.v.) furnish well-known examples of this process, a process analogous in some respects to that at work in archaic art. In the Middle Ages Villard de Honnecourt reduced the human face to a triangle, a square, a circle, and even to a star. In more modern times, the principle of the reduction of the human figure to geometric shapes is seen to exhibit singular vitality, with instances ranging from the treatises of Piero della Francesca and the stereometric constructions of Dürer (revived by Luca Cambiaso in the late 16th century), through cubism (a movement in which, especially in the works of Picasso and Juan Gris, this process of reduction reaches a high point), to the manikin-filled paintings of Léger, Malevich, De Chirico, and Carrà, and to the figural compositions of Picasso, Klee, Miró, and others. (Cf. I, PLS. 119, 124, 127; V, PLS. 124, 129, 133, 135, 138, 139.)

*c. Pose.* The poses and gestures of the body and its limbs also have value as modes of construction in that they may give rise to a tradition and set up an iconographic norm (see CHOREOGRAPHY). Poses have their origin in real life. Examples are the gestures of those in battle and gestures of command, the ritual actions that accompany sacrifice, the act of prayer, certain dance movements, and so forth. Yet the very act of isolating them, of fixing them in time, permits these poses to function as model forms which undergo a series of repetitions and variations that, in turn, encourage an emphasis on the symbolic: the pose becomes an abbreviation or convention of its original self, and the way is thus open to geometric schematization. Such is the case, for example, of the elegant pose of Śiva Naṭarāja (PLS. 477, 488; III, PL. 300), of those small figures with open or raised arms seen on Peruvian textiles, of the orants (III, PL. 94) in the catacombs, and even, in a sense, of the motif of Christ crucified. Although an extensive catalogue is not appropriate here, several of the more typical poses found in Western and Far Eastern art may be of interest (as drawn, with some modifications, from a study by J. J. Tekannen).

In Western art there is the pose assumed by a person seated on a throne or high chair, with legs held close together. For thousands of years this pose has been the sign of royalty and sacred office and was valid even in the ancient East as the definitive attribute of rulers and divinities (PLS. 357, 361). In Greek mythology Zeus, Demeter, Kybele, and, in the kingdom of the infernal gods, Hades and Persephone are represented as seated. The pose appears in Christianity in the figures of the enthroned Christ of the *Majestas Domini* and of the Madonna and Child.

Another fundamental type of pose is that of the standing figure, seen frontally and immobile. This pose, because of its essentially symbolic nature and the ease with which it can be realized, dominates both large- and small-scale statuary in primitive art and later in the art of the great Mediterranean, Asian, and American civilizations. This standing pose was always an essentially hieratic device, one proper to gods and heroes. The type of the standing figure, almost always male, with legs apart, rare in antiquity, was used again in the Carolingian period to characterize not only the allegory of Patience in the illustrations to Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, but also David as warrior and,

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later, Samson and other figures. Beginning in the 14th century the pose was an attribute of virility and was used especially in historical portraits, funerary monuments, and representations of legendary warriors. Examples are found not only in Andrea del Castagno's *Pippo Spano* (I, PL. 245) and in Donatello's *David*, but in works by Lochner, Memling, Witz, Holbein, Dürer, and Burgkmair (qq.v.), as well as in the colossi of Baccio Bandinelli and Jacopo Sansovino. The pose is found also in the Orient.

The female nude, of prehistoric origin (PLS. 351–355) and universal as a representation of fertility, developed in Greek art as the Venus Pudica, a figure posed in the act of at once covering and indicating the sexual attributes that primitive art had realistically exhibited and emphasized. The first and greatest artistic embodiment of the Venus Pudica was the *Aphrodite* of Knidos (Cnidus) by Praxiteles. After nearly a thousand years in disuse, the pose reappeared in the late Middle Ages, in classicizing imitation — first in the figure of Eve after the Fall, and later in female allegorical figures and depictions of Venus. Since from the 12th through the 15th century the pose was understood merely as a gesture of modesty, it was used also for the figure of Adam after the Fall.

Very much favored in the West is the standing figure with one foot advanced, often so far that the weight of the body rests on only one leg. Seen in profile, this is the normal attitude of participants in retinues and processions, and is very often met with in compositions of historical and choreographic character in the ancient Near East (PL. 361). Seen frontally, this pose gives the impression of a movement of the god, king, or deceased person toward the spectator and is found in Egyptian art in the divine and royal colossi and in the funerary statues of the Old Kingdom. In the various successive elaborations of the *kouros* it is found in Greek archaic art, but only until the beginning of the classic period. At that time other experiments in weight and movement were made, and the uniqueness of the old type became a thing of the past.

New poses were realized and transmitted in classic and Hellenistic art, one being the figure with one advanced foot (PL. 365) resting on a support. Pausanias spoke of this pose apropos of the *Nekyia*, a representation of heroes in the Underworld, by Polygnotos at Delphi, and this pose appears too in contemporary Attic vase painting and on the Parthenon frieze. This is an attitude of repose and triumph and is not unbecoming even to the gods, through the representation of whom it entered into the typology of sculpture at the start of the 4th century. It was used also for female figures and gave rise to the beautiful pose of the girl lacing her sandal, a pose widely used again in the Renaissance. As an attitude of triumph it became an attribute of David as victor over Goliath, and in the theme, among others, of the Adoration of the Shepherds it even becomes confused with the attitude of prostration. A notable example of this pose in neoclassic art is Ingres's *Oepidus and the Sphinx* (Louvre).

With the figure still in a standing position, the legs close together, the foot instead of advancing can be moved to the side. This pose, popular among Tuscan painters of the Renaissance, passed north of the Alps at the beginning of the 16th century. There it may be found in the work, among others, of Peter Vischer the Elder, Gossaert, Dürer, Hans Baldung-Grien, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and even Rubens (qq.v.), who made great use of it. The great favor this pose enjoys can be explained in two ways: esthetically the pose brings about a general *déhanchement* of the figure, and symbolically the pose expresses modesty (Adam, the Christ of the Baptism), fear, and suffering (St. Sebastian bound to a column). In the 16th–18th centuries a similar pose was used, the only difference being that the legs are held slightly more apart. The pose is interpreted as an attribute of moral energy and kingliness [cf. the portrait of Maximilian II by Antonis Mor in the Prado, the figure of St. Liberale in Giorgione's Castelfranco altarpiece (VI, PL. 185), the statue of King Arthur (VI, PL. 133) by Peter Vischer the Elder in the Hofkirche, Innsbruck, and, later, the work of Velázquez, Van Dyck, and others].

A frequent pose is that of a figure standing with legs crossed. To be seen in the Alxenor stele (II, PL. 42), it entered into the mainstream of Greek art with the work of Praxiteles, being used especially for figures at rest and leaning against a tree trunk or herm. Later it is seen in figures of the Good Shepherd, of Abel as first shepherd, in funerary genii, and in figures of Eros and Psyche, in which embodiment it was adopted in 19th-century neoclassic art. This pose was also of frequent occurrence in late medieval art because of the influence of antique manuscripts. Rather more complex is the so-called "dancing master's step," in which the legs are crossed almost in X fashion and the feet are almost at right angles to one another. Precedents for it are found in antiquity, in the figures of satyrs and dancers and in Etruscan art. Very much in fashion in the Low Countries and Germany during the 15th century, it was adopted in Italy by Perugino, Lo Spagna (Giovanni di Pietro), Pinturicchio, Raphael, Piero di Cosimo, Lorenzo Costa, Cima da Conegliano, and others. It is the well-known attitude of those delightful figures of Venus, Lucretia, and Eve painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder, the same attitude that enjoyed a late flowering in 18th-century court art. Its role as a typical *galant* convention was caricatured by Goya. In antique and later art, legs crossed or overlapping appeared in the seated figure also, both as a natural pose and as a convention. In the Middle Ages this pose was solely an attribute of important persons and personifications. Rather curious is the complete crossing of one leg over the other — a posture assumed by seated princes, judges, and dignitaries as illustrated in medieval manuscripts, to indicate deep meditation, it later became an attitude of repose assumed by gamblers, musicians, and idlers (Frans Hals). Legs that are not crossed, however, but placed so that one overlaps the other (for example, the flutist of the "Ludovisi Throne," III, PL. 350) are taken as an indication of the *otium sapientis*, as almost an attribute of poets and philosophers, and hence, with the advent of Christianity, as an attribute of Apostles, Evangelists, bishops, and in the Romanesque period, of the personifications of the liberal arts. Thus it is in a similar manner that the Christ Child crosses his legs (perhaps in allusion to his *pueritia sapiens*) as he sits in the Virgin's lap in Tuscan and other examples of the Madonna Enthroned (11th–13th cent.).

The pose of the figure seated on the ground with legs either crossed or so folded that the knees come just below the chin, represented in ancient Egyptian sculpture in works of the highest quality (e. g., the Saqqara scribe, IV, PL. 342), underwent special development. It originated in a realistic pose based on a manner of sitting universal in primitive cultures, but it was later subjected to notable schematization and symbolic use. By and large foreign to the classical world, isolated instances of this pose are found along the entire length of what may be called the Eurasian art current, from the Celto-Ligurian sculpture of southern France (where it is typical of the heroic funerary statues discovered at Entremont) to Celtic and Gallo-Roman art (divinities), and to a statue from Koy-krylgan Kale (VIII, PL. 385), which has a curious resemblance to the Entremont works. It is most widely diffused in the cultures of Asia, where it is linked with the spread of Buddhism and its significance is enriched by Buddhist thought.

There are other poses whose histories are interesting and instructive: the kneeling figure, for example, was rare in antiquity but occurred frequently in Western art beginning in the Middle Ages. The posture of prostration in which ultimately the human body is given a very rigid, angular shape, became for hundreds of years an obligatory motif in sacred, historical, and other scenes to indicate, even from earliest antique times, submission, defeat, or even inferior class. In Roman art it became a favorite motif in historical and triumphal reliefs to indicate the conquered barbarian; in Christian art it is characteristic not only of the Three Kings but also of the shepherds who adore Christ at his Nativity. There are other more generic attitudes of the human body, such as torsion, that developed into a convention in Hellenistic art, or *déhanchement*, by virtue of which the figure, especially the female figure, arranges itself along an S-shaped axis and thereby creates very elegant and elongated forms. Such forms have enjoyed particular favor not only in Eastern art, where they are referred explicitly to the dance, but also in Gothic art and in

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16th-century mannerist art. Among mannerists there was much talk of the serpentine line, and the S curve was taken to symbolize spirituality.

*d. Color.* In ancient art, and especially in primitive art, the color of the skin (less often that of the hair and eyes) assumes definite conventional character in regard to both painting and polychrome sculpture. Racial differences may be indicated symbolically by black, yellow, red, and white, according to a simplifying convention that parallels linguistic usage and that on occasion totally dispenses with all other characteristic anatomical variation. It is possible, for example, to represent the Negro solely by use of dark skin color applied either to a generalized human figure or to a racial type familiar to the artist and his public, for instance to a "white." The most typical color convention, however, is that which contrasts the reddish brown of male figures with the white of female figures (IV, PL. 338). In Eastern and Mediterranean archaic art, this was a convention used with such rare exceptions that it offers the modern scholar an easy guide to the identification of the sex of a figure when other distinguishing elements are missing. This convention lasted until the beginning of the Hellenistic-Roman period, and it even reappeared several times later, notably in the Renaissance (cf. Lomazzo's theories on the subject) but in forms more or less moderated by the effort at realistic representation. Other color conventions may concern age, social class, and so forth, or even betoken the transformation of the human into the demonic or the supernatural, as in the case of the blue or green color of demons in antiquity, examples of which occur both in Greek art (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*) and in Etruscan art. This color convention is probably funerary in origin, inspired by the colors of decomposed flesh. Still other colors, gray, red, and so on, are given to demons in the Middle Ages.

*e. Physiognomy.* A discussion of schematizations and conventions is not complete without consideration of the importance of facial attitudes and features. Obviously, means of facial expression touch upon areas of consideration that lie beyond representation of the merely physical and, as is discussed below, invade the field of psychological research. But there do exist formal traditions linked to particular solutions of the artist's problem of rendering the head and face. These undoubtedly also originated in observation of nature but were transformed into symbolic conventions and later, with repetition of the image, degenerated into mere formulas. Such is the case with that facial type characterized by a triangularly shaped forehead, slanted and projecting supraorbital arch, and deep-set eye sockets which Skopas (q.v.) created to express the pathos of his statues. Thereafter in Hellenistic sculpture this type of face signified pathos. Later art, however, especially provincial art, derived from this special type a generic convention for the representation of adult divinities, giants, and so forth. In Western art the types of the warrior, the slave, and the hero in defeat are equally repetitious. The type of the raging warrior was set by the versions conceived by Leonardo and Michelangelo (surviving in cartoons and drawings) for frescoes (never executed) intended for the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

Another interesting aspect is the influence which certain religious traditions, esoteric beliefs, and scientific and philosophic doctrines have exercised on the conception of the face. There is, for example, the theory of characterization, the constructional aspect of which alone interests us here. Very important in this regard is the age-old relationship between the character of the individual and the animal world shown in such common terms as "an aquiline nose," "horse-faced," and so on. These ideas have been expressed on many occasions in serious treatises and have been of obvious practical use in the arts (see CHARACTERIZATION). There are, in addition to animal-human physiognomical studies, other systems used to determine the distribution and organization of individual parts of the body that are based upon presumed astrological influences. Not the smallest detail escaped astrological control. According to the Greek Melampos, a mole on the forehead of a man was supposed, astrologically, to be a sign of good fortune and happiness; on a woman it promised power and royalty. A mole at the base of the nose indicated lustfulness and prodigality; near the lips it meant gluttony, and on the chin, riches. From the Hellenistic age to the Age of Enlightenment these ideas about beauty marks were all discussed and variously modified. These ideas are not only of value as items of curiosity but, more important, they are a reminder that the patterns of configuration which serve as basis for the representation of the human figure in painting and sculpture are extremely complex and subtle in nature, touching not only upon the realms of science, culture, and tradition but also upon the still-mysterious realm of the magical and the unconscious.

*Idealization and transcendence.* Every stylistic process of idealization is based upon either the accentuation of a particular aspect of the model or upon a seeming reduction of some of the model's particular characteristics to an extrinsic norm. Since most representations of the human figure in ancient art (and in primitive art) had a sacred, devotional, celebrative, or commemorative function, the process of idealization has been widespread. Though reducible to a limited number of methods, this process develops within the various cultures and historical circumstances and it functions through means that are quite diverse. Often even the structural organization of the figure is determined with idealization in mind, but it frequently so happens that idealization is achieved by means that do not involve the figure's structure: the courtly grace, the smile, the elegance, and the ornamental richness of a Gothic Madonna are applied to a rigid structural organization that is technically of a geometrizing nature. Another such means may take the form of a geometric framework applied to historical scenes so rich in anecdotal, exotic, and realistic detail, as to seem smothered in the complexity of the scheme, as in the ancient Near East. Moreover, even the purposes behind idealization vary with the times, for they are connected with conceptions of society and with visions of the afterworld that are specific to each culture and that are sometimes meant to ensure reverence or terror, revulsion or fascination — even fascination of a sensual kind.

One of the most natural and psychologically primitive means of imparting transcendental value to a human form is to accentuate and multiply those attributes of it that are of greatest interest to a culture. This accentuation is frequently achieved by enlargement of part of the body (eyes, ears, belly, or genitals; PLS. 392, 354), an enlargement that becomes finally a habitual transformation. It must, however, be emphasized that this is not a question of deformation but a process of idealization (e.g., the open-eyed, intense, and spell-binding gaze of Byzantine icons), even though such accentuation, seen outside its original cultural milieu, may appear to be repulsive caricature (for example, Western precubist art criticism had difficulty in accepting African Negro sculpture). The simpler and more localized the cultural reference (the sexual parts of fertility idols, for example), the more extreme and more localized is this accentuation. In the religions of more advanced cultures, however, which have a more complex and less physical idea of the sacred or are founded on a more elaborate theory of influences, this emphasis lessens. In such cases idealization follows another path, which could be called geometric and literary. Another method of idealization, the multiplication of parts, which belongs to the realm of the conceptual and symbolic, is illustrated by such famous examples as the two-faced image of Janus; the three-headed divinities later used to denote the Christian Trinity; four- and seven-headed ones (the last bearing obvious cosmological allusions), of which there is even prehistoric evidence; as well as the small Sardinian bronzes with multiple eyes and arms; the many-armed divinities of India; and the Artemis of Ephesus, her chest covered with multiple breasts. Where there is doctrinal or allegorical significance, these images require literary interpretation; in the case of "cultural" enlargement of one or several body parts, however, even though the symbolic reference is generic, it is immediately comprehensible. A further level of idealization is to be found in the fidelity with which the entire figure adheres to a geometric or mathematical rule of style, a rule selected not by chance but presumed to be fundamental and basic to the cosmos, subsuming all individual differences and variations of age, sex, and race.

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When the human form is modeled upon a geometric norm, the process of idealization often ultimately coincides with the sort of geometrical organization of the figure's structure that was discussed above. Yet the idealization is not evident unless the geometric scheme is noticeable in the finished work. For example, in the heads constructed by Villard de Honnecourt, the geometric scheme is recognizable only in a few cases. Once the work is completed, the scheme constitutes an internal formal nucleus but not its expressive core. In other instances, however, a regular geometric scheme is not even necessary; rectilinear stylization, repetition, and symmetry are enough to create an extremely hieratic and ceremonial effect.

Modern art gives us even more explicit examples of these differences of purpose. The cubists' reduction of the human figure to squares and triangles, though often more a matter of program than of realization, is for the most part a method of composition, pictorial in nature. But if Mondrian, instead of decomposing and then geometrically recomposing a tree, had performed such an operation on the human figure in order to make the figure's pictorial structure correspond to that geometrical dialectic of cosmic forces which he had theorized, then he would have carried out not just a formal process but a conceptual one, intensely symbolic in effect. Even in the art of the Middle Ages, stimulated though it was by geometrical constructions, structural schemes became means of expression, symbolic only in esthetic theories such as that of Robert Grosseteste, in which "the universe is pictured as an immense structure of spheres and cones, of lines and planes, curves and angles" erected by the very law of energy (De Bruyne, II, 1946, p. 143), so that figures obviously constructed by means of triangle and square become thereby faithful reflections of the universe.

In the West, the theory of numerical proportion is founded upon the idea of Pythagoras (transmitted by Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A, 5, 985*b*, 29) that "the principles of mathematics are also the principles of things as they are." Any artist, from Polykleitos to Piero della Francesca, works in accord with this conviction of Pythagoras if he relates the human figure to a mathematical rule, or in other words, if he orders the human body in accordance with harmonious numerical analogies thought to be basic to the structure of the universe, even at the cost of an excessive schematization and of sacrificing the diversity of things in favor of the norm. The human figure when realized in this manner (see PROPORTION) is above all a symbol, a microcosm that reflects the macrocosm, the laws of which the figure shares and, at times, renders explicit. These laws are numerical and are based either on relations of the simplest kind or on constructions that have the most regular possible form. According to modern scholars such as Wittkower, the contribution of Greek thought is to be recognized in the simplicity and rationality of this system of structure, in contrast to the much older and more widespread symbolism of numbers. This older symbolism was, however, able to establish a module, to induce symmetrical repetition, and to set up a fixed and ideal scale of proportion.

When, to the detriment of individual characteristics, the human figure adheres to a rational norm within a cosmological system of great rationality, such as the Greek or the medieval, this adherence is equivalent to the divinization of man. Indeed, Greek culture, on the one hand, created a mythology of heroes and, on the other, developed to an extreme point the anthropomorphic realization of divine images. In doing this, it in no way acted differently from the great cultures of the Near East that had been the first to associate the idea of divinity with that of royalty (and hence of heroism). Yet the classic mode of procedure was different, for since it attempted to achieve a most careful balance between the natural and the supernatural worlds, it tended from the 4th century B.C. to bring together ever more closely those extremes that are the human and the divine, in other words, to reconcile a rational norm with the imitation of nature. Thus the art of Praxiteles and, above all, Hellenistic art came eventually to transform gods, heroes, victorious athletes, and mythological subjects into genre scenes and figures. In spite of all this, however, Greek portraiture, in contrast to Etruscan and Roman portraiture, retained even in its most intensely realistic efforts a glimmer of the old ideal balance of the human and divine. The revival of spirituality in late antiquity led to a readoption of geometric canons and to a mannered classicism. And there followed ever more extreme forms of stylization that strayed notably far from nature and aimed at emphasis upon the august or sacred image as the real embodiment of a superhuman presence. In contrast to the Greek norm that tended to a geometric, three-dimensional representation, the Byzantine norm reduced the figure to a supernatural manifestation, or epiphany, through the elimination of all reference to an actual body or place. While the classical statue "took the place of" the hero, thereby immortalizing him, the Byzantine sacred image "suggested a reappearance" and required devotional participation.

While for the oldest cultures it is possible to deduce the presence of ideal standards from the study of extant monuments only, the Middle Ages (which witnessed the reemergence of the magic of numbers within the Pythagorean system) furnish in addition very important documentation regarding both the influence of such standards on art and culture, and the immediate transcription of these standards into detailed preceptive teaching. A survey of a few examples will suffice here.

In the *Painter's Manual of Mount Athos*, which reflects practices of considerable antiquity, the basic module is the number 3 (perhaps by way of allusion to the Trinity), in accordance with which the face is divided into three parts and the arm and body equal three heads. According to a canon derived from St. Augustine, the numbers that ought to recur are 6 and 10, since upon them is supposedly based the proportional structure both of Noah's ark and of Christ's Body. Allegorical variations on the *homo quadratus* increased in number in the 12th century with Honorius of Autun, Hugh of St. Victor, and the mystics. The result was that the relationship between numbers and the human body became infinitely varied and complex (De Bruyne, 1946, II, pp. 348, 349). According to De Bruyne, using the head as the module implied that a figure 10 heads high would refer to 10, the perfect number of the universe; a figure 9 heads in height would relate to the Holy Trinity and one of 7 heads, to the tetrad that is the first principle of perfection — 7 heads would denote the synthesis of spirit (3) and matter (4). Five is the typically human number, since it expresses the five senses as well as the union of the two sexes, the male (as 3) and the female (as 2). Four symbolizes man in various ways because of the four elements, the four temperaments, the four complexions, and the four ages of life. According to Hugh of St. Victor, 3 is the number of the soul, which reveals itself in three stages, lives by three faculties, and sees by means of the three eyes of contemplation. Then, too, numbers give rise to geometric forms — pentagons, squares, triangles — within which the human figure is enclosed when understood in relation to the macrocosm, the latter interpreted usually as a circle or sphere.

In other cultures, and especially in the Far East, a symbolic relationship between figure and universe is brought about through use of poses related to the dance. Such a pose forces the figure, or group of figures, to obey a law transcending the body, but which the body ultimately represents through its personification of that same law. Often, moreover (as in the ceramic ware from Samarra, in vase decoration generally because of its spherical character, and in the circles of angels in Christian art), the choreographic attitude gave way finally to geometric schemes of a clearly cosmological order.

The nude, and especially the feminine nude, plays a prominent part in idealizations of the human figure. Nakedness is a prerequisite of participation in religious rites in many civilizations, and folk tradition also retains this characteristic, for example in rites of magic and fertility. The Western tradition of the feminine nude, as represented in the motif of the standing, crouching, or reclining Venus (PLS. 365 and 369, 366, 385), reached a culmination in classic Greek art and again in Italian Renaissance art. It has singular antecedents in prehistoric art, with widespread examples suggesting the goddess of fertility (PLS. 351–353, 355; V, 155–157; VIII, 235; IX, 247). The male nude — again with precedents in pre- and proto-



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historic art and with parallels in primitive art (PLS. 353–355, 397, 398) — also seems to have been connected from early times with sacred rite, as in Mesopotamian ritual scenes. It was next affirmed in the archaic and classic art of Greece: first as a funerary motif, but soon thereafter as the theme of the victorious athlete, from which it took final form as an expression of the heroic. Male nudity, including that of a specific part of the body, was also significant, as in the case of the feet (the Augustus of Prima Porta) and in figures of Alexander or Trajan bareheaded in battle, and became a symbol of the Hellenistic monarch-hero and of the Roman emperor. The nude thus became an essential element both in the representation of the sublime (thereby, as mythology teaches, capable of inspiring awe or terror) and in narrative painting.

The medieval concept of sacred nudity (*nuditas virtualis*), which may be interpreted as the symbol of purity and innocence, was revived and exalted, during the Renaissance, as the bond between man and nature; and the *nuditas criminalis* of the damned and of Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise had connotations that carried over to comic art and to genre. However, with the growth of the classical revival brought about by the Renaissance, medieval concepts were largely replaced (though not without serious moral objections) by an idealized nudity that was thought to be symbolic, in Neoplatonic fashion, of the divine. The nude then became an established subject within which such artists as Donatello, Pollaiuolo, Signorelli, Michelangelo, and the mannerists created some of the greatest masterworks of Western painting and sculpture. Michelangelo's approach to the nude thus reflected Neoplatonic theory; it is, in fact, above all in the male nude that God is reflected in the world, thus becoming visible to man. Leaving this highest level of spiritualization, during the 16th and 17th centuries the nude was increasingly and definitely sensual and expressive, and therefore correspondingly less idealized. At the same time its decorative use became ever more extensive. Yet treatises on symbolism continued to assign to nudity a most important role as a symbol of the higher virtues (innocence, truth, chastity, and so forth).

The Renaissance associated with the motif of the nude the motif of the giant, derived from descriptions by Pliny and others of enormous statues, some of mountainous size (like the Colossus of Rhodes). In Italy in the 15th century, what were called "giganti" are in general over-life-size figures painted in fresco. Later, with Michelangelo and his statue of David (PL. 383; imitated by other sculptors such as Ammanati), the motif of the giant was equated with a representation of the human figure that followed a specific, abnormal canon of its own, including an emphasized treatment of the musculature, in order to express with extraordinary intensity moral and civic virtues.

In both the heroic nude and the Renaissance giant, idealization is present also as the result of a form of symbolism that one could characterize as literary, since this nudity symbolizes a concept of human beauty elaborated previously on a philosophical, poetic, and at times theological level. Often there is only a generic correspondence due to an affinity of taste, but more often from taste one passes to a real style that ends by refashioning the figure. Certainly of literary derivation is the term "heroic," which the Renaissance used to describe its mode of idealization. The Renaissance makes the "heroic" expressive of a degree of perfection, nobility, grandness of soul, and physical and moral beauty that elevates the human person to an ideal plane, making him the equal of heroes and demigods. This presentation suggests both the divine, superterrestrial origin of the person celebrated and the lofty, sublime character of his virtues (G. Weise, *L'ideale eroico del Rinascimento*, 1961, pp. 44, 45). This heroic idealization is linked to a current of thought that can be traced from Petrarch to Coluccio Salutati and that permeated all the great historiography of Humanism.

Even the earlier and quite different manner of Gothic stylization, which was influenced by the worldly life of the late medieval courts and developed in an antiheroic direction (which was responsible for some delightful nudes, both male and female), absorbed the more idealized concepts of literature and symbolism. The idea of beauty, especially feminine beauty, as a reflection of the divine, was affirmed in many texts, even theological ones. It is sufficient to cite Nicholas of Cusa, who, in his *Excitationes ex sermonibus*, VII, stated: "Mulier pulchra ad admirationem pulchritudinis infinitae incitat." In late Gothic poetry the cult of the lady assumes aspects very close to mysticism, and it is not surprising that in Gothic art the female figure synthesizes numerous attributes celebrated in literature, since there has always been an intimate relationship between *pictura* and *poesis*. In later times, even such sensual and naturalistic womanly beauty as that in Titian's art is, according to Lodovico Dolce, modeled upon Ariosto's description of the nude Angelica. Even in the realm of Christian iconography, descriptions such as that of Albertus Magnus in Book V of his *Mariale* ("De corporali pulchritudine Mariae") remained the basis for folk and cult imagery for hundreds of years, inspiring Madonnas with faintly blushing cheeks, flawless skin, a nose of perfect regularity, red lips (because inflamed with love for God and neighbor), a neck round and straight as a column, and so forth. All these characteristics are found in representations of the Madonna in European wood and polychrome sculpture, in the art of the French and Flemish primitives, and later as well.

Another mode of idealization, one that avails itself of complex cultural associations, is that of the recollection (even by way of literal imitation) of a famous work of art, in other words, of the representation of a human figure modeled after a famous or antique work. Such models might be the *Apollo Belvedere* (III, PL. 383), the Farnese *Herakles* (IX, PL. 226), the *Aphrodite* of Knidos (and its Hellenistic variants), the Three Graces (PL. 386), and the fragmentary "Belvedere torso"; PL. 367). In such instances the model is looked upon not only as authoritative in matters of style and technique but also as an object conveying moral qualities which the artist does not feel that he can express by other means and which in any case, transcend the expressive possibilities to be derived from direct reproduction of nature (see ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY).

The idealization of the figure can also be achieved indirectly by using not the figure itself but the figure's context, its relationship to natural or artificial backgrounds, to landscape, and to the architectural setting in which it is placed. The mere act of placing a statue upon a pedestal betokens an exaltation. Giving a statue larger-than-life-size proportions and using unusual materials such as ivory or gold are also ways to exalt and idealize; so is calculating points of view to obtain particular emotional effects. Even light may have a unique idealizing function, which is why lighting has always been a calculated effect in religious art.

The figure of the chief protagonist may be made to stand out in the midst of surrounding figures either by means of its larger size [obligatory for figures of gods and rulers, both in the ancient Near East (VIII, PL. 134) and in the art of the late-antique period] or by accentuating its movement, its ornamentation, or its isolation. (See PLS. 374, 392, 394, 398; II, PL. 489; III, PLS. 345, 349; X, PL. 182.) The human figure either may loom as a giant dominating the landscape or may appear overwhelmed and minute in comparison. The first figure, in Western art typically, is lord of all he surveys; the second represents the romantic hero, afflicted with spleen, melancholy, and world weariness. In both instances the unnatural character of the relationship between figure and environment endows the human figure with more than normal expressive force. At times both these impressions coexist, notably in mannerist and baroque painting and sculpture, with compositions of scenographic and choreographic character, and with mural decoration in which the relationship between the one who sees and the one represented, who is seen, is so complex and intense as to produce real emotional shock. For instance, if it were dark and the only illumination came from the fireplace, anyone would be shocked who entered into that room in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua containing the frescoes of the Fall of the Giants from Olympus, for he would find himself, in unusual circumstances, face to face with images equally unusual both for their size compared with the viewer's and for their disposition within the room.

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*Movement and expression.* It is only with considerable difficulty that the theory of proportion, geometrical or naturalistic modes of construction, and the idealization of the figure itself can be reconciled with the representation of movement. This is all the more true of expression, since there has seldom been any reconciliation between the individualization of the face and the canons of symmetry and proportion. The representation of movement in the human figure is to be observed initially in prehistoric art, and there it may appear as the entire basis for the figure's construction — a complex of lines of force in which the limbs of the figure are identical with the action performed. Typical examples (e.g., II, PLS. 62, 66) are the rock paintings and engravings of France and eastern Spain, Africa, and Australia. (See AUSTRALIAN CULTURES; EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY; PALEO-AFRICAN CULTURES.)

However, with the development of those idealizing processes referred to above, the "ideal man," as manifestation of the divine, came to be nearly always represented in art as static and outside time to just that degree to which he does not act in real time (i.e. move). This ideal figure represents force in potentiality rather than in action, potential force being the very essence of that "ethos" attributed to the conception of the classical heroic image (see CLASSIC ART). In art and criticism the study of movement and theoretical concern with it are almost always the consequence of a crisis, even a religious crisis, in which the artist turns from the immutable and the divine to the transient and imperfect present. The result is a gradual gaining, or eventual regaining, of flexibility of representation, imitative skill, and virtuosity in execution. This process has occurred several times in history. Movement as literally an "actual" infringement on hieratic and symbolic formulas is also manifested in certain examples of the art of the ancient Near East, in the liveliness of certain scenes of daily life in Egyptian art of the 18th dynasty (IV, PLS. 366, 371), or in the unorthodox impetuosity of certain battle scenes (in this respect without subsequent influence) of the period of Ramses II (e.g., reliefs at Abu Simbel).

But any theoretical treatment such as this must be based primarily upon those phases in the history of art when stylistic development was accompanied by critical discussion. We are led thus to Greek art, whose evolution as exemplified in the statue is characterized, according to ancient writers, by many hard-won victories in the field of dynamics: the sculptor begins to raise a foot, to place the weight of the body forward, to move the arms better, and then to pose the body so as to give more dynamic equilibrium to all its members. Next he models it completely after the starting motion of an athlete (Myron; III, PL. 354). Finally, in Hellenistic art, the evolution ends with the introduction of dramatic contortion. Though the Greeks themselves were later to recognize this liberation of the statue from its hieratic bonds as their art's chief claim to greatness, the fact that it was a step-by-step evolution from one phase to another implies the presence of a stylistic and iconographic resistance to this development that must have been difficult to overcome.

In Europe the development from the Romanesque to the Gothic was similarly arduous, but because it took place in a greater number of centers and within a cultural milieu exceedingly rich in contrasts, the crises and reversals were less predictable. This development also was gradual; at first the statue was dependent upon its architectural setting; later, though the figure was still bound to the portal and façade, the artist began to show it bent, turned, and engaged in lively discourse with its fellows and the spectator; finally, it was revealed alone, fully in the round, so as to permit multiple points of view. Even here the change occurred first in spirit, then in style. It shows, indirectly, what must also have been true in Greece: development toward nature or toward abstraction has nothing to do with perfection of technical skills, even though it may be more difficult to execute a statue that exhibits movement than one that is stiff and blocklike. There was need of the courageous criticism of men like Hugh of St. Victor, who maintained the thesis, commonplace today but cultural heresy then, that the esthetic value of the human figure consisted not so much in its proportions as in the movement that animated it. And later, artists like Michelangelo and Dürer were needed, who endeavored to make the proportional system of Vitruvius more flexible so that painting might change from a reflection of the transcendental to a mirror of life.

The primary aspect of movement in the human figure is gesture. Gesture, however, has great variety, not only of movement but also of function, and these functions change and at times contradict one another. The late 18th-century discussions on dramatic mimicry may serve to illuminate this theme, especially since those discussions were conducted by critics highly versed not only in philosophy but, often, in art history. Lessing was one such critic, in works ranging from his *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766) to his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–69); J. J. Engel, in his *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (Berlin, 1785–86), was another. By paraphrasing their distinctions and applying them to the not very different field of figural representation, three categories may be set up. The first is of gestures that are naturally connected with the act performed by the figure. The second is of significant gestures that "imitate any object of which the mind can form a definite picture." These have emblematic, allusive value. The third category is of expressive gestures, and these comprise "any perceptible representation of an inclination of the soul, any representation of a nonintellectual interior state or condition." This tripartite division also corresponds in a certain sense to a distinction among naturalistic art (see GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS; MIMESIS; REALISM), art that is more or less sacred in character (see DIVINITIES; SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY), and art that aims at approximating tragedy. Examples of this last category range from representations of maenads with disheveled hair and bodies convulsed with passion, to the figure of the Virgin prostrate at the foot of the Cross, or to the imperious gestures of military leaders in historical scenes (see HISTORICAL SUBJECTS; TRAGEDY AND THE SUBLIME), and indeed to the figures of an entire style, expressionism (q.v.). The categories proposed are only indications of the polarities toward which imitative gesture may tend. These categories furnish immediate criteria for making general distinctions between, for example, classical art (in which the allusive gesture predominates) and baroque art (in which the expressive gesture predominates), or even between adjacent, more closely related styles, such as neoclassicism and romanticism (allusive versus expressive gesture) or realism and expressionism (naturalistic versus expressive gesture).

Put to the test of history, these categories prove notably effective, regardless of occasional contradictions, and indicate a certain uniformity of development in all Western art, from the sacred to the natural and from the natural to the expressive. One of the principal problems of the great civilizations of the Mediterranean basin, a problem of religious anthropomorphism in general, was that of combining hieratic gesture with an increasing emphasis on naturalism in the representation of the human figure. Synthesis between these two opposed elements was achieved on a high plane in Greek art, though the symbolic aspect of gesture finally was so obscured that the latent symbolism can be explained only by comparison with similar representations of earlier date. This latent symbolism remained almost a constant factor in early Renaissance art, which adopted the classical Greek examples (particularly in religious, historical, and allegorical scenes) even though this restricted the variety of movement possible. Mannerism and baroque art, deriving both artistic criteria and elements of iconography from Hellenistic art, experimented more freely with vivacity of pose, contortion, and even extensive use of lateral views, passing decisively from natural gesture (always elegantly stylized) to expressive and tragic gesture. Yet the movement of the arms, head, legs, or body, even when it appears "expressive," long preserved a didactic function in art and so became part of a series of established formal phrases that were often repeated.

This brings up the difficult and fascinating subject of the relationship between the human figure in art and theatrical gesture. Given the existence of cycles of theatrical subject matter in Greek vase painting, for example, or the frequency

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of dance scenes in Oriental art (e.g., III, PL. 253; VI, PLS. 16, 17; VIII, PL. 317; X, PL. 301), one asks: How much of the gesticulation represented in these scenes is definitely theatrical in origin? The wealth of documentation in Etruscan funerary painting is pertinent. More often than might be supposed the movements of the stage, and of ritual generally, supplied the basis for movement in art. Further confirmation is supplied by prehistoric and primitive cultures. Their objects reproduce (at times very faithfully) cultural events in which dance played an important part. Occasionally these objects were made during the course of an actual rite (X, PL. 239). In periods more ceremonial and hieratic, gesture itself reflects the general process of stylization, notably the Byzantine.

Interest in theatrical gesture is evidenced both by painters of the French baroque and by Rubens. The drawings of Rubens show that he elaborated the movements of his figures by means of a real study of gesture and gesticulation. In general, from the Renaissance on, the practice of scenographic design enabled many painters to give a particular interest to their figures by their theatricality. In the baroque, neoclassic, and romantic periods pictorial gesture was characterized by a strong theatricality and a lack of conventions. As regards the 19th century, it is illuminating to compare the personages in historical painting with figures from various treatises on acting.

In addition to the direct representation of movement, artists have also attempted the dynamic transformation of the figure as a whole. The means employed vary from the repetition of a gesture (a divinity in human form may even have more than one pair of arms; e.g. PL. 226) to such details as loose, wind-swept hair (seen in rock art), or wind-fluttered drapery (especially in Greek art), and from graphic or sculptural emphasis on hands and feet to geometric stylization of an outstretched arm or a raised leg (PL. 363). Another device is the displacement of the figure's center of gravity, generally to incline it forward unnaturally. Frequently found in Carolingian miniatures, this device is of Hellenistic origin, although earlier isolated Egyptian examples do exist. Still other devices belonging specifically to the arts of painting and sculpture concern not the figure itself but rather the manner in which the figure is defined in respect to the background or to space. These devices may take the form of superposition of several sets of contour lines, of contour serration (for example, the miniature representing St. Mark in the Ebbo Gospels, a product of the Reims school; III, PL. 59), or of emphatically curvilinear and irregular contours, as in 5th-century Greek vase painting (there inspired, according to R. Bianchi Bandinelli, by the "functional line" of Parrhasios, q.v.) and in the art of Antonio Pollaiuolo (q.v.), among others.

Because of the influence of stroboscopic photography, attempts have been made in the 20th century to reproduce movement in its successive phases by superimposing in one image the various views of a body in motion. The most famous example is Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* (IV, PL. 79), in which, as in similar experiments made by the futurists, what is brought to light is less movement than rhythmic repetition, less action itself than the space in which the action takes place.

Since the search for variety in movement was realistic in purpose, it was generally accompanied by a search for variety of type, character, age, and expression. It was in this respect that art was most closely related to the body of scientific knowledge, anatomical as well as astrological (see ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY). The resulting observations had extraordinary acuity (it is sufficient merely to recall the portraits of Jan van Eyck), some of them (as regards physiognomy, for example) foreshadowing or even going beyond positivistic theory on character and criminality and the study of behavior.

There are many formal means of achieving the variety praised by theorists of the Renaissance, especially in compositions with large numbers of figures. One way is the multiplication of movements: while one figure bends, another raises itself; while one sits, another runs, and so forth. Though the motivation is a little arbitrary, the results can be rather interesting. Artists used flexible manikins and, if those did not help, small clay figures, not only modeled but draped to suit the occasion. At times these figurines were subjected to artificial lighting effects (this was Tintoretto's method). At other times one model, perhaps even a statuette, was studied from various points of view, a method used in painting to demonstrate that, like its rival, sculpture, it has the ability to render an object from all sides. But the essential method is variation of costume and type — introducing Negroes and Orientals (e.g. Rubens, Veronese) and persons of diverse ages. It is this intent that sanctions the frequent presence of putti in scenes where their presence is otherwise quite unjustifiable. Greatly emphasized and praised by critics, these expedients became mannerisms and formulas that could be put down mechanically. Adherence to formula is also evident in every tendency to classify human development from the cradle to the grave into fixed phases such as the "four ages of man," for each of which proportional systems were proposed, or the "four temperaments," and so forth. Personifications and even allegorical figures were proposed for such phases. These formulas sometimes remain latent beneath even the most apparently realistic mode of painting. They have been singled out by Werner Hofmann in the painting of Courbet (*The Earthly Paradise*, New York, 1961). Although the study of nature, especially when accompanied by real human sympathy, helps greatly to weaken the power of these formulas, this has happened only rarely: in the art of the late Gothic, Bruegel, Caravaggio, the Bamboccianti (qq.v.), and in some genre painting of the 18th century and of the romantic era. It is as if the movement away from the idealization of man involved consigning him to the dark region of the demonic, for characterization has almost always involved the caricatural, the macabre, and the obscene (see CHARACTERIZATION; COMIC ART AND CARICATURE). The spontaneous, immediate change from character representation to character derision is significant in this respect. In the art of Leonardo, for example, it is rather difficult to distinguish between misshapen profiles that are documentary and those that are satirical. The study of individual, physiognomical features does not in itself have a negative, satirical character. Yet, as A. Parronchi has rightly observed in regard to Paolo Uccello, this artist, like many others, "seeks the exceptional, the monstrous, rather than the normal in expression." We thus find ourselves with great galleries of pathological portraiture — used mostly in scenes, such as the Flagellation of Christ (cf. III, PL. 418), where vices of the protagonists are accentuated. The history of physiognomical treatises, a subject still to be investigated, is extensive but intermittent. In purpose and plan these treatises differ from studies conducted with a moralistic purpose, such as the *Characters* of Theophrastus. The treatises are somewhat related to medical science and astrology. One of the standard texts is a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise called the *Physiognomica*. Copies were made of it in the 3d century, and it enjoyed great favor, especially in the early 15th century, prior to the advent of really scientific treatment. The wide diffusion of the *Physiognomica* is demonstrated by the fact that its influence can be found in a north Italian 15th-century fresco, the *Way to Calvary*, in the Abbey of S. Antonio di Ranverso, as well as in works by Paolo Uccello, Bosch, Leonardo, and others.

The interest, both for narrative and for expressive purposes, in mental abnormalities has produced an extensive iconography. Examples range from the maenads of Greek art, seen in the throes of delirium, to the Hellenistic "drunken old woman" (III, PL. 210), and from the scenes in Gothic art featuring epileptics and people possessed to Delacroix's portraits of insane persons, not to mention others in the work of Leonardo, Raphael, Rubens, Rembrandt, and Goya. Though madness and abnormal mental states are often characterized as "passion," even physical passion (in sculpture there are, for example, the ecstatic images of Bernini, that are also closely connected with the physical idea of ecstasy formulated by laxist theologians), the opposite idea (that physical illness is a sign of mental disturbance) is also valid. This is evident in representations of cripples, dwarfs, and hunchbacks (who, in addition, served to entertain, as court or palace jesters, PL. 384), as well as

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in the equally numerous, even rather realistic (as in Grünewald) representations of lepers and plague victims.

The connection between vice and physical degeneration that is extended to the lack of faculties — even for purposes of moral allegory (one thinks of Bruegel's *Parable of the Blind*; II, PL. 358) — finds its essential reflection in representations of the human cadaver. Save for realistic scenes of the laying out of the dead and mourning over the body, the cadaver is almost foreign to antique art, where instead the symbolism of rebirth flourishes in forms such as the image of the deceased as a hero seen riding, holding a pomegranate, feasting, or sleeping, in *têtes coupées* (III, PL. 111), and so forth; and the skeleton had a moralistic or even a humorous character. Christianity, in contrast, accentuated the negative aspect of the representation of the dead. On one hand, although granted the celebrative intent of painting and sculpture that is historical in subject, the dead man is defeated, physically or spiritually subjugated. On the other hand, the macabre conception of death, strongly affirmed in the late Middle Ages, presented death not as the end of life but as a moral alternative to life. Death became the emblem of eternal death; hence, a demonic fact. It is not by chance that this macabre concept of death is as antihumanistic as one can imagine. It insists upon the futility of life and immortalizes decay with representations not only of the contortions of the death agony but of putrefaction as well. It even emphasizes the motifs of the skull and skeleton in the splendid church and cemetery decorations of the period of the Counter Reformation (the appearance of such motifs here being only superficially justified by the moral and religious revival of the time). And yet this concept is contemporaneous with Humanism. It is as if both characterization and idealization, both the demonic and the anthropomorphic, were simultaneously presented to man in order to offer him the opportunity of choosing one among many possibilities, not just figurative but moral, that the universe allows him as the demigod of good and evil.

*Symbolism of the human body and its parts.* The philosophical, magical concept of a direct relationship, positive or negative, between man and the universe is one of the most important keys to symbolism in the Western world and has sources in remotest antiquity. Yet only sporadically has this concept given rise to any specific iconography for the human figure. Though it developed rather late (surviving examples are dated chiefly between the 13th and 15th centuries), the most important iconographic type to be mentioned here is that of the *melothesia* or zodiac man — the human figure placed in the center of one or more rings in which are represented the signs of the zodiac. Lines are drawn from these rings to those parts of the body thought to be under the influence of the various planets (cf. the miniatures of Clm. 19414, in Munich, Staatsbib.). Of similar significance is a miniature formerly in the Yates Thompson Library, London, which pictures a physician holding a bottle of medicine toward the surrounding zodiacal ring in order to gain assurance of favorable influences. In the compositional scheme (as explained by Baltrusaitis, 1939) one may note that man is put at the center of the circle as the nucleus of the universe instead of Mithras, the sun, the hemisphere, or the personification of the year. Perhaps the time of origin of this new motif is to be recognized iconographically in the *Liber divinorum operum* of St. Hildegard of Bingen, from which survive such magnificently illustrated manuscripts as the 13th-century codex, Ms. 1942, of the Rhenish school in the Biblioteca Governativa at Lucca. One miniature (PL. 375) shows, within a series of circles alluding to the elements, the image of man described as "a splendor of Beauty and Light." Above these circles is a head representing the superior force of fire, and the text comments: "And a voice said: God, who created the world with its elements — the circles — and strengthened it with the winds and circled it with stars to light it, has placed man at its center."

This theme was later developed in the Renaissance, but only in a proportional sense. Attempts were made to fit the human figure geometrically into a circle and thereby to combine two allusions to the cosmos — the idea of harmony and the circular scheme. But by the mid-16th century a more pessimistic conception of man was presented, at least in treatises on iconology. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (p. 121 of the 1645 edition), for example, there is the following allegory of the human body: "A man crowned with privet flowers, grandly dressed, will hold in hand a cloth-covered lantern that, raised or lowered, is without light and that bears this motto: *A lumine vita*." The crown of flowers symbolizes the frailty and transience of life, the grand dress the tendency to love pleasure, and the extinguished lantern the emptiness of body without soul. The rarity of symbolism for man in general may be explained by the infinite number of personifications and allegories which constantly carry the human image into the world beyond, so that even in this respect one might say that in the arts man places himself at the center of the universe.

The symbolism connected with the individual parts of the body is so extensive that it can be treated only in summary. Although this symbolism varies from civilization to civilization, there is considerable persistence. Often a single part of the body symbolizes the entire being.

The discussion that follows (limited to the symbols that have had important manifestation in the visual arts) proceeds from head to foot, since a hierarchy of members scaled in just that way has been traditional.

The head, as seat of the intelligence and of the higher sense organs, has long symbolized the whole body and even the divine nature of man. St. Paul wrote (I Cor. 11:3): "The head of every man is Christ." In funerary rites (see ESCHATOLOGY) the head is the object of special care. From prehistoric times it has been found separated from the body. It has been painted with red ocher to preserve the vitality of the blood, and, among the Melanesians, put in a special receptacle in the shape of a bonito (IV, PL. 449). In ancient Mediterranean civilizations the head was protected by a mask (IV, PL. 73), while the physiognomy has been preserved in both Egyptian funerary portraits (IV, PL. 449) and Italo-Roman *imagines majorum*. Thus there arose the concept of the separate head or bust as a representational type, one that, though abnormal from the mimetic point of view, became a familiar phenomenon in Western culture. As the severed head, or *tête coupée*, the type became a heroic funerary motif current in ancient Mediterranean and Celtic art (III, PL. 111). And later in France, England, and Ireland it was a widespread motif in legends in which it was related that the head, cut from the body, acquired singular prophetic powers. The motif of the severed head continued in Western painting as the representation of two ideas: one is victory over an adversary (David with the head of Goliath, Judith and Holofernes); the other, more diffused in folklore, is the prophetic severed head (that of John the Baptist). The severed head sometimes appears as a self-portrait of the artist, as in Goliaths by Giorgione and Caravaggio, for example. A frontal view of the head is often reduced to a significant geometrical form: a square, circle, or triangle.

The color of hair — blond, dark, or white — is an aspect of the general symbolism of color (see SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY). Hair was thought to have magical power and to be a source of strength (the Biblical story of Samson, ancient Greek myth, Western folklore). It was also considered a symbol of nobility and virginity; in antiquity, short hair indicated servile status. The hair is cut in ceremonies of initiation (the tonsure, the veiling of nuns). Hair loosened to the winds is related to wind symbolism and may be funerary in significance (the maenads) or erotic (a fertility symbol even in Renaissance representations of Venus). According to texts in classic literature, disordered, serpentine locks are attributes of the Erinyes and other demons. White hair indicates wisdom (the hoary Pelops, the Elders of the Apocalypse, and so forth).

The eye is an important symbol of the sun and the cosmos. In the Bible it symbolizes the omniscience of God and has been transmitted as such to the West. Inserted in a triangle, the eye becomes for Christianity the symbol of the divinity and Trinity of God (IV, PL. 230). Seen alone, the eye has for long symbolized the cosmos in apocalyptic and mystical rep-

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resentations. Since it can be represented by a circle inscribed within a circle, the eye is ultimately assimilated into cosmological schemes involving God surrounded by signs of the universe (as, for example, in Bosch's Berlin *Passion*). The representation of a head having only one eye has a short but illustrious history. Found early in Mesopotamia, this motif was carried over into the iconography of Polyphemus in accordance with the account in Homer. The all-seeing eye is the attribute of justice and the symbol of vigilance in Renaissance iconography (the shield of the Public Prosecutor of the city of Geneva). The evil-doing, protective, or apotropaic magical properties of the eye resided perhaps even in Egyptian amulets and in the miniature idols of Mesopotamia found at Tell Brak. Apotropaic eyes appear on many archaic Greek vases (IX, PL. 245) and on the prows of ships and are widespread also in folk art.

To the hand is attributed in both folklore and sophisticated cultures the ability to transmit legal rights and magical and religious powers. It is enough to recall in this respect the miraculous power of the laying on of hands in the Bible, the hand of God that protects the Hebrews in the Book of Exodus (frescoes of Dura-Europos; VIII, PL. 333), and the role played by the hand in the administration of the sacraments, episcopal investiture, the ritual of knighting, and the gesture of judicial decision or condemnation (derived from Roman Imperial iconography and extended to the *Majestas Domini*). This "Hand of Justice" is at times found at the end of the scepters of kings. The hand of God (X, PL. 74) symbolizes the Supreme Ruler and Comforter. In ancient Egyptian religious representations the rays of the sun as Aton terminated in hands, and in Christian art the hands or arms of God have been shown many times as descending from on high (IV, PL. 228). According to the Church Fathers, the hand of God is also the symbol of the Incarnate Word (cf. St. Cyril of Alexandria). These symbols and various ritual gestures aside, in almost all cultures the hand has also had an apotropaic function as a magical defense, an amulet, against the supposed effects of enchantment. This holds true for antiquity, for the Islamic world, and for folklore. Important but of uncertain meaning is the painted imprint of the hand in Franco-Cantabrian and Australian paleolithic art. Equally important are the gestures of the hand (benediction and so forth) in Western and, more especially, in Eastern art (II, FIG. 690).

The ear is understood symbolically as the inclination of the spirit to listen and obey. Thus the ear may be a sign of faith and devotion, and large ears are occasionally given to the Virgin Annunciate and to those who hear the words of God as, for example, in the tympanum of the central portal of the Abbey of Vézelay, according to the *De mirabilibus mundi*. It may also indicate God's hearing of prayers (Ps. 17:1 and 34:15; also Isa. 59:1). References to this idea are perhaps the many ex-votos in the form of ears that spread from Egypt to all parts of the world, and the Egyptian steles, which come for the most part from the Theban necropolis of Deir el Medineh and have two or four ears in bas-relief dedicated to various divinities. Cretan and Mycenaean objects feature eyes and ears as symbols of divinity. The ear may also indicate omniscience and justice, although in 16th-century European symbolism it is generally the attribute of curiosity and jealousy.

The lips have not been of much importance in the symbolism of Western art, although the adoption of exotic myths introduced examples of monstrous figures covered with lower lips presented as allegories of malice (cf. miniatures in bestiaries derived from the *Physiologus* and based upon Ps. 140:9, "let the mischief of their own lips cover them"). In the *De mirabilibus mundi* the extended lower lip is said to be a symbol of justice.

The breast seems to have had two complementary meanings: the first, more prevalent, is connected with the idea of fertility and with both physical and spiritual nourishment; the second is cosmological and relates to the hemispherical form of the breast. From the very beginning the first meaning has been connected with the idea of generation and rebirth. A vase of gold shaped like a breast and emitting milk is mentioned in a description of a procession in honor of Isis in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius. The breast as symbol of fertility (PLS. 64, 355; IV, PL. 217) is seen in depictions of mother goddesses with bared breasts or nursing children, a tradition that passed into Christian art in representations of the Virgin. Rarer, although not infrequent, is the portrayal of a woman nursing an adult, a symbol of adoption, regeneration, or immortality (Pharaoh nursed by a goddess; a representation, on an Etruscan mirror, of Juno nursing Hercules; the *caritas romana* story of Pero and Cimon). Similar in meaning is the Christian subject of the souls in Purgatory comforted by milk gushing from the breasts of the Virgin (one may compare the words of St. Paul on the Mother Church that nurses the faithful with her milk).

The heart was traditionally thought to be the seat of life and of the soul and was therefore always the object of worship and veneration. It was weighed in Egyptian representations of the psychostasia (IV, PL. 464), and represented in Egyptian amulets. Along with the other viscera removed from the body it was placed in the so-called canopic jars. The Aztecs of Mexico took the hearts of human sacrificial victims, burned them, and placed the remains in decorated stone caskets. The iconography of the heart remained rather elementary, however, almost to the time of the Renaissance, when it enjoyed a complex flowering in both religious subject matter and allegory. This development, which was aided by frequent allusions to the heart in the Bible (for example, over one hundred references in the Psalms) had its start in the theme of the five wounds of Christ, arranged as a kind of emblem. The visions of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque promoted devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus with notable effect upon the arts: the five wounds were symbolized as swords piercing the heart, which was crowned with thorns and circled by flames or an aureole (see SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY). The heart, generally burning, is the attribute of St. Theresa of Ávila, St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi, St. Augustine (in German-speaking countries), and St. Francis de Sales. From the 17th century there were similar representations of the Sacred Heart of Mary, related to a passage in Luke 2:19. Examples of non-Christian allegory found in Ripa include the heart amid flames representing the Egyptian symbol of incorruptibility (recalling a passage in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*); the heart aflame symbolizing love and charity; the heart surrounded by serpents symbolizing grief ("The cares and troubles of the world gnaw at the heart and inject the poison of wrath and rancor." Ripa, p. 119); the heart in the hand of conscience which watches over it, conscience being "the knowledge of our own acts and inmost thoughts" (*ibid.*, p. 123).

The navel has had an interesting iconographic history in antique and Oriental art as the symbol for the center of the body and, by means of an anthropomorphic transformation of the universe, for the center of the earth and cosmos. The most famous representation of the navel was at Delphi, where it appeared wrapped in the coils of a serpent, a unique piece of sculpture. The association of the navel with the serpent indicates the chthonian aspect of this symbol, almost as if it were the point of communication (even for purposes of divination) with the lower world.

Among primitive peoples, in the ancient Western world, and especially in Asia, both the male and female organs of generation had the broadest symbolic and even apotropaic meaning (see SEXUAL AND EROTIC ELEMENTS). Phallic symbolism had wide influence on certain architectural structures, and, ever since the diffusion of the Egyptian myth of Osiris, funerary phallic symbolism has expressed the ideas of resurrection and rebirth. Excavations in the ancient Near East have yielded amulets in genital form. Objects symbolizing the uterus are the shell (which in the Renaissance enjoyed an interesting revival) and the egg (with related mythical subjects, such as that of Leda).

The footprint is of notable importance in primitive cultures; those found represented in prehistoric cave sites seem to be connected with magic. Carved ritual footprints are widely found (PL. 412). In representations of some subjects, such as slave ownership and victory, the foot plays a specific role. The motif of the foot placed upon the conquered enemy, an aspect of pagan iconography, is transferred to images of St. Michael the Archangel (IV, PL. 170), and the Virgin of the Im-

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maculate Conception shown with a serpent. Swiftness of foot is indicated in representations of Mercury, angels, and other figures by winged feet or shoes. The washing of the feet, an ancient rite of hospitality, becomes a symbol of humility after the precedent set by the Gospel story of the Last Supper. In addition, in 16th-century iconology the feet are said to be symbols of the human appetites (Ripa, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

*Projection and assimilation of the human figure to other forms.* Though it has no symbolic value in itself but is rather the result of a symbolic process, the extension of the human figure into the world surrounding or beyond it may be related to the theme of the preceding paragraphs. The same may be said for the reverse process, the projection of the surrounding world onto the human figure, a projection that may lead almost to obliteration of the figure's distinctive characteristics and to its complete assimilation into the realm of plants and animals. This double process (being founded, occasionally, on the same *Weltanschauung*) is not very different from that which sometimes causes the human form to loom gigantically in the foremost plane, and, at other times, to conceal itself in shadow or in the landscape as a parergon.

It is in architecture that the first step in this outward extension of man's form is taken, since architecture was modeled on man, either on the basis of proportion derived from the human figure (by virtue of which man is the measure of all that he builds) or by incorporating the figure in various of its elements. This anthropomorphic proportion is ultimately religious in origin in that it presupposes the idea of identification of man with god. The basis is found in the concepts of Vitruvius, concepts which, moreover, summarize earlier theory. Vitruvius wrote: "Therefore if nature has planned the human body so that the members correspond in their proportions to its complete configuration, the ancients seem to have had reason in determining that in the execution of their works they should observe an exact adjustment of the several members to the general pattern of the plan" (*De architecture*, III, 1, 4). Similar concepts are expressed by Vitruvius in Book IV, where, in addition, various types of columns are related to the sexes and to the various ages. There resulted a curious type of symbolism by virtue of which, even in the baroque period, it was proposed, for example, that churches erected in honor of the Virgin have Corinthian columns. Belief in an anthropomorphic architecture was expressed in the Renaissance not only by Alberti but by various other writers of treatises as well. Perhaps the most imaginative of these was Filarete: not only did he affirm the necessity of proportional correspondence (by which a man nine heads tall would be of "Doric" height), but he thought of the building as a living being whose fortune was determined by the zodiacal sign under which it was founded. Thus the building could "live and die," and it was necessary that the building be "aided [by the architect] to live and die, just as time so aids man, or just as happens to man, or rather to his body." The process of construction is even compared to the development of the human embryo, with gestation lasting nine months, a birth in miniature in the guise of a model in wood, and a period of growth under the care of educators (specialized craftsmen).

The symbolic aspect aside, whether mystical or literary, the utility of a standard of measurement for architecture based on the proportions of the human figure (that is, on the proportions of the inhabitant and user) is justified for functional reasons, and the need for such a standard has become more noticeable with the disappearance from practical use of the old anthropomorphic standards of measurement — the arm, foot, pace, palm — which have all been replaced by standardized, mathematical measurements. The attempt to find again a direct metric relationship between man and building in the 20th century has had interesting results. One such is Le Corbusier's *modulor*, a canon of measure based on the human figure with arm raised.

Anthropomorphism in architecture has, however, an ultimately religious origin. It is the consequence of an idealization of man as the supreme aspect of creation and hence the symbol of God. This type of anthropomorphism is indeed most affirmed in the classical periods, the Renaissance, and the baroque, in which the divine is in general clothed in human form (see DIVINITIES), while at the same time every otherworldly being, heavenly or infernal, assumed human features (demons, angels), and even the intellectual faculties, the virtues and vices, were personified and placed upon the human scene as real actors (see SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY). Some of the best examples of this process are furnished by the great decorated vaults of the baroque period, which are allegorical in subject, and in which a historical personage is surrounded by a whole retinue of personified concepts that face him, almost as if to protect him, on a plane of perfect parity. A similar impression must originally have been conveyed by the great late Gothic cathedrals (especially those of Spain, which were full of wooden sculpture that often repeated over and over again the same iconographic type of Virgin and Child, just as in great Buddhist temples a sacred image is repeated identically dozens and dozens of times).

There is, however, a less conceptual type of anthropomorphism in which not the whole human form but only some of its parts are transferred to the extrahuman world or to the world beyond. One of the most typical examples, found especially in folk art, is the giving of a face to the sun or moon. From the 15th century there are also sporadic examples of the depiction of a cloud with a human face (as in Mantegna).

The human figure and its parts are often introduced into architecture and into the construction of furniture, containers, and so forth. Equally often, the body and its parts are made into direct substitutes for structural elements; for example, the supporting column or pier becomes a caryatid or telamon. In archaic and classic Greek architecture the caryatid was a woman carrying a basket on her head, in other words, a canephoros. Similarly, the telamon became identified with the giant supporting the vault of heaven, whereas the capital of a column is a "head" and was actually represented as such (as in the case of Egyptian capitals in the form of heads of Hathor). Walls flanking doors or passageways may be given the forms of animals or theriomorphic beings, as in Mesopotamian and Hittite art. The body of a vase may be thought of as the human body and anthropomorphized as such (see CERAMICS). Thus too the feet of cists, candelabra, urns, and the like assume the shape of the feet of wild beasts.

There have been many attempts throughout art to exalt man onto a plane of more-than-normal monumentality, of almost cosmic dimension, from the sphinx at Giza (IV, PL. 333) to the portraits carved in the sides of mountains (Alexander the Great, the Buddhas of Asia, Mt. Rushmore) and the gigantic figures placed at entranceways and in the center of public squares. The figure of the giant (with all the myths that relate to it) corresponds in a certain sense to a principle of divinization, though, in fact, these figures often have a meaning that is, for the most part, allegorical and political, such as the celebration of virtues that are largely worldly or civic in character. One may consider in this regard the popularity enjoyed by the motif of Hercules. Occasionally, it is the composition and its rhythm, rather than sheer size, which gives the impression that the figure is endowed with cosmic power. Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and Tintoretto's *Paradise* are the masterworks which best illustrate this. In them the human forms all join ultimately in one great cosmic reel. Other examples (following the work of Michelangelo) are the continuous and incorporeal spirals of angels and elect in the visionary illustrations of Blake.

The opposite process, that of giving to the human figure a form selected from the rest of the natural world, presents again the fundamental problem of the relationship between man and God. Whenever divinities are represented zoomorphically, the human body is given animal attributes, especially if the purpose is to indicate power, sacredness, and so forth. Generally, the attribute given is the head of an animal, as in Egyptian sculpture. But owing to the fact that the influence of the anthropomorphic religions brought about the degeneration of pagan divinities, animal attributes came ultimately, and rather often, to designate beings endowed with demonic powers (see DEMONOLOGY). The iconography of such divinities

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became ever more hybrid and complex. There were men with the legs of wolves, with claws, tusks, a tail, or lengthened ears (see MONSTROUS AND IMAGINARY SUBJECTS). Lack of sufficient knowledge about such matters as disguise or camouflage (see MASKS), deformations, and the tattoos of exotic peoples, and even more, literary accounts, misinterpretation of texts, and deductions from the writings of ancient geographers evidently formed the basis for such monstrous human forms. There was a vast multiplication of fantastic human types, first in miniatures, later in representations of larger scale. Sometimes vices were attributed to these figures, sometimes exceptional virtues. The cynocephali (dog-headed beings), introduced into Christian iconography in the 12th century, are interpreted as allegorical representations of preachers in the *De mirabilibus mundi*. In a 14th-century French translation of the *Liber de monstruosis hominibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré, these beings were understood as symbols of calumny because of their barking, among other things (Pavis, Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. 15106). In the *Gesta romanorum* the birdmen, endowed with very long beaks, were held to be excellent judges, since, because of their long necks, "it is necessary that much time pass before thought, coming from the heart, reaches the mouth." Instances of mutilation (at times imaginary, as in the rather widespread motif of the headless man) and of genetic deformation (as in Pygmies), as well as the "melancholy" lamias of antiquity, helped to create a veritable race of half-humans that, in direct contrast to the role played by giant figures, mediated between man and the demonic.

In the area of pure decoration, secular as well as religious, there is a process of stylization of animal and plant forms that often assumes considerable intensity and, at times, expressionistic character — a type of grotesque decoration, appreciated as early as the late 15th century, that is fashioned after the decoration of Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome (see FANTASY). There are also the medieval *drôleries* (to which, certainly, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* contributed). The process leads to the development of a kind of secular demonology that perhaps had its origin in opposition to the Renaissance notion of ideal beauty, and in a concept of organic life as something dynamic but not divided into biological classes. In this hybrid and arbitrary cosmos, the human figure often comes ultimately to have only secondary importance, since it tends to be assimilated into the general scheme and to become subservient to the laws of design (see ORNAMENTATION). In modern art a rather similar tendency appears. However, even in the act of destroying his own image, man in his art exalts his power to dominate the experiences and possibilities of earthly life.

Eugenio BATTISTI

EASTERN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE. *General considerations.* In Asian art the problem of the human figure assumes aspects different from those in Western art. However, there is some common ground, determined by the same essential character (East and West) of the human "condition," by the interest and pride that man has in himself and in his body. It follows that the same motifs and the same art genres that involve the human figure in the West are to be found paralleled in the vast complex of Asian civilizations, though with different significance, different frequency, and varying gradations.

While in some cases it is possible to establish the historic derivation of particular Asiatic figures from classic Greek and Mediterranean prototypes, in later times there were also examples of the influence of the Far East on Europe, especially in fantastic and monstrous human forms (figures of demons with bat wings, for example). On the whole, however, the Eastern and Western worlds remained distinct — divided by a series of factors that range from the different course of development undergone by the two worlds to the infinite variety of religious and cultural attitudes found in Asia. The development of the West has been characterized by profound and rapid revolutions that, while not altering the coherence of a culture, have generated serious conflicts within Western civilization. In contrast, development in Asia has been slower and less disrupted because of a greater readiness to compromise and adapt. The very position of man in the midst of nature, as variously envisaged by the many different religions, exerts a profound influence on the concept of the figure. It is enough to recall belief in rebirth and the fact that this belief, especially as professed in the religions of India, has led to a leveling of the values placed on human and animal life. Also of great interest is the relationship between man and the gods. The Asian gods can take human form and at the same time may assume multiple arms and heads. Moreover, in the Orient the divine images have double significance: on the one hand they are focuses of divine power, yet on the other, they remain iconographically on the level of symbolic diagrams by means of which the faithful can intuit the divine that has no form.

The relationship between man and nature varies. In Gandharan art (see GANDHARA), which is in part a derivation of Western classical art, the human form — whether clothing god or man — prevails over animal forms, over indications of setting, and over landscape elements. This it does by virtue of its size, frequency, and position. In contrast, the symbolism characteristic of Ch'an Buddhism in China and its Japanese derivative, Zen, reduces the human form in landscape to the very smallest size in order to express the overwhelming preponderance of nature over man (see BUDDHISM; CHINESE ART; JAPANESE ART). Various artistic traditions reacted to this "meditative" attitude of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Among these there was at first the so-called *i-p'in* (without constraint) tradition, that led to the use, exclusively, of ink on paper or silk, the purpose being to "rinse out" of the work every superficial, illusory element and leave only the essentials of the image. Moreover, in Ch'an and Zen thought, "form" and "formless form" are the same thing, once every diversity and antithesis has been overcome. Thus there are produced those ideal images of masters and monks whose features appear strongly characterized and yet also generalized (PL. 395), and whose bodies dissolve into "formless form" or into strokes that, from the metaphysical point of view, indicate the body's emptiness and unreality. The artistic traditions contemporaneous with Ch'an Buddhism at the time of its origin were probably expressions of another spiritual attitude, independent of, yet concordant with, that of the new religious development. It follows, therefore, that these expressions were basically a reaction against the emphatic realism of the T'ang period, and that the relationship mentioned above between figure and landscape (which reached a peak in the Sung period) is not only symbolic in itself but is also expressive of a mood inspired by the world of nature.

The significance given the human figure in Western art finds a somewhat closer parallel in the work done for the imperial Iranian court, in which the commemorative intent prevails. The convention of representing the figure either frontally or in profile here becomes complex, for the two conventions enjoyed successive periods of favor. The frontal representation of the human face is widespread in Luristan bronzes, whereas the profile dominated uncontested during the Achaemenid period, only to be succeeded in favor by the frontal image during the period of Parthian domination. The profile, however, does not disappear entirely; it is reaffirmed to a limited degree in the Sassanian period. The human image in Iranian imperial art has value not so much for its own sake as for certain external details that characterize and identify it. Arms, costume, individual symbols of royalty, fashion, and coiffure prevail over portrayal of individual physiognomic features. The Persian artist was sensitive to differences in the physique and costume of the various peoples that composed the empire, and he sought to express the social status of the individual, whose identity is fixed by heraldic and symbolic details.

Despite aniconic and antifigural tendencies (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM), the representation of the human figure in Islamic art seems more similar than the Iranian to that in Western art, especially since Islamic art attempts illustration on a large scale, though one may note the rarity of the nude (as in pre-Islamic Persia. However, the respective attitudes as to the value of man do not coincide completely. Even in illustration the human figure tends, like all Islamic art, to become simply another decorative element along with the arabesque and other

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designs created in obedience to that same aniconic canon that renders faceless the sacred images in miniatures (PL. 410). The Islamic artist, by employing all the possibilities of a *ductus* that overwhelms the figure, may succeed in transforming the actors in a genre scene, or the illustration of an episode, into little more than spots of color or arabesques. The interest in faces that is apparent in ceramic decoration and in miniatures (occasionally the face is characterized racially) may derive from the Parthian and Sassanian art of Persia, which did not shun decorative motifs based on detached heads, heads either projecting from the surface (the Parthian palace at Hatra) or floating in the void (the Sassanian mosaics at Bishapur). Another trend is the calligraphic transformation of letters into human figures in movement and the termination of upward strokes in human or animal heads in other forms of calligraphy (Wade Cup, III, PL. 7; Mosul bronzes of 13th cent.; so-called Bobrinsky "bucket"; brass tray in N. Heeramaneck Coll., New York).

Any discussion of particulars must note the sharp contrast between the strong sensuality of Indian art and the chaste aspect of Chinese art. The art of India celebrates a non-Aryan canon of florid, opulent feminine beauty, whereas the nude, both male and female, is strictly banned from Chinese art, with the sole exception of the ivory statuettes of female figures used by Chinese doctors in order to avoid actual handling of the female patient, and the illustrations in works dealing with sex techniques (see SEXUAL AND EROTIC ELEMENTS), in which the nude is limited to the female figures. With the exception of the art of India and of those non-Indian iconographic traditions which were inspired by the religion and symbolism of India (where the sex act and sex organs become symbols and subject matter for art), there certainly is no connection between many of the figural traditions of Asia and eroticism. Elsewhere, in Persia for example, scenes in which the erotic element is dominant receive a somewhat different treatment. They are characterized by the presence of female dancers and musicians, almost always clothed in heavy stuffs, occasionally in veils. Although they rarely appear seminude, their presence indicates with sufficient clarity the atmosphere of the scene. The whirling rhythm of the dance of Persia and Central Asia, apparent also in some Chinese works (see CHOREOGRAPHY), is based on the effect of garments, scarves, and sleeves that twist and fly with the motion of the dancer, an effect utilized also in late Turkish works (cf. the dance of the demons in the so-called *Album of the Conqueror*, 15th cent.). This rhythm differs greatly from that of Indian dance as it appears in the figure of Śiva Naṭarāja (PLS. 477, 488; III, PL. 300) and in numerous other compositions. In the figural art of Farther India (see INDIA, FARTHER) even historical narrative illustration adopts dance rhythms that dissolve the reality of the episode, casting it into a fabled, patterned, nonfactual atmosphere. This is again a reflection of the decorative value attached to the human body in the thought and taste of India, particularly as concerns the average level of craft production.

There remains the consideration of the figure in relation to aspects of style, social factors, and questions of taste, a subject as yet to be directly investigated. Despite the coherent development of the major cultures of Asia, style profoundly varied the definition of the human image, not only in the preference for the frontal or profile version of the figure (noted above) but in other ways, especially in respect to proportion. Thus Chinese Buddhist art of the Wei period, inspired by profound mysticism, dictated an elongation and stylization of forms that disappeared completely with the affirmation of what is termed T'ang "realism." Even earlier the multitude of human and divine images in the great monumental complexes of carved rock at Yün-kang (II, PL. 382; III, PLS. 240, 245) and Lung-mên (III, PL. 255) had shown progressive evolution toward a figure of characteristic proportions, which differed from the proportions in intermediate periods (Northern Ch'i, Sui) and became, ultimately, the squat images of the T'ang period, whose broad, serene faces were suffused with ineffable majesty. In Persian art, the dancers on the post-Sassanian silver cups from Tabaristan clearly contrast in the angularity of their bodies defined by broken lines, and in the flatness of the relief given their forms, with Sassanian embossed figures and with similar, nearly contemporary, wooden figures from Pyandzhikent in Sogdiana; the last are elongated and stylized in accord with the tendency toward decorativeness and the arabesque which characterized the third Sogdianan style. Persian art comprises a diversity whose full, exact significance is still to be determined. The elongation of faces in Japanese prints of the Ukiyo-e school (q.v.; IV, PL. 446) and the predominance of mannered poses accompanied by drapery movement reveal the use of calligraphic line to render figures that were inspired by the real world despite their idealization and almost unreal aspect. The very choice of subjects reveals factors of taste that correspond to the development of Japanese society along bourgeois, hedonistic lines. The influence of social factors, moreover, was equally reflected in the development of style and the attitudes expressed or symbolized by the human figure (PL. 396).

*India.* As indicated in the introduction, the human figure often assumes decorative value in Indian art, not differing in prominence from other forms, and a significance related to the cycle of repeated deaths and rebirths that is a characteristic unifying element in Indian thought. The figure is used frequently as an architectural ornament, especially in the form of the couple (*mithuna*; PLS. 393, 466). In some medieval monuments (Khajuraho, Konarak, among others), the couple clearly and shamelessly assume erotic poses that are endlessly varied and repeated. Such poses are related less to symbolism itself than to the celebration of the pleasures that life may offer to rulers and potentates, though there is no lack of explicit, secondary reference to metaphysical values and to the problems of the afterlife as they are faced in the period of decline that precedes old age and death. The couple has been a constant motif in Indian art. Later, the Tantric schools introduced the concept of male and female as a symbol of the fusion between divine power (expressed by the female figure of the *śakti*) and divine intellect (expressed by the masculine figure of the god) in a representation of sexual union achieved in the rhythm of the dance. At the basis of all this complex symbolism — which is expressed even in phallic images (*liṅga*, *mukhaliṅga*) that are at times clearly anthropomorphic, and in other images that refer to the female genitals (*yoni*) — lies speculation upon the human body as microcosm.

In the Vedic period, speculation concerning the supreme one, an anthropomorphic being who by means of his sacrifice and dismemberment gives life to the universe and to organized existence, suggested the idea of erecting altars in the form of human figures. In contrast, the great anthropomorphic towers (VIII, PLS. 372, 373) of the Khmer period in Cambodia (to remain within the field of anthropomorphic architecture) derive from various systems of symbolism that attribute three, four, or more heads to Hindu and Buddhist divinities (see INDIA, FARTHER). The representation of the human figure is also affected by the technique of Yoga, which involves both figure positions and gestures, as well as, especially in the late period, by certain anatomical notions that (mixing ideas about biological life, breathing, and thought) facilitate the attainment of various meditative states.

Yet Indian art, with the exception of the Gandharan school (see GANDHARA), which is only partially Indian, almost completely neglects detailed anatomical treatment of the human body for two different but concomitant reasons. The first is that what counts in respect to all forms is not the muscular or bony structure, studied with such attention in Western classic art, but the inner life of the being represented, vibrant with spirit, and without such tension and effort as is occasioned by willed movement of the muscles and tendons. The second reason is that the expressive value of the figure does not concern a particular individual so much as the type to which that individual belongs. Indian art is concerned above all with the idea or feeling that dominates the figure. In representing a king, the artist strives to express the quality of regal superiority that distinguishes the king and the majesty that animates him. From such a theoretical position as this there results, as corollary, a lack of interest in portraiture. The portrait flourishes almost exclusively under

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foreign influence (see INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS; KUSHAN ART; MOGHUL SCHOOL). Indian proportional canons, prescribed by texts and widely used, are based on a unit of measure called the *tāla* (from which *tālamāna*, proportion), which corresponds to the length of the hand. Considerable difference in norms of proportion may be noted in comparing one text with another, or one author with another. And it is especially to be noted that the treatises in question set up for certain gods proportions very different from those given others. Consequently, the difference in size of some deities may be explained by textual prescription. In the light of the theoretical tendency characteristic of Indian culture and the industrial and craft character of much Indian production, the influence of these texts on the persistence of certain iconographic and stylistic elements throughout the evolution of Indian art must have been considerable. On the other hand, the relationship between canons of proportion and the rise of the various currents, schools, and tendencies of Indian art is certainly rather close, even though codification follows some time later, after the appearance of innovations in style and iconography. Canons of proportion prevail most strongly in isolated cult images and in works of fair-to-middling artistic quality. There is much greater freedom in the bas-reliefs and the great wall paintings.

Indian systems of proportion are completely original formulations and have little, if any, relevance in regard to Gandharan art. Conditioned as it is by foreign influences, Gandharan art is even in this a thing foreign to the Indian esthetic. The great difference between these two traditions, the Gandharan and the native Indian, is most evident in an iconographic invention characteristic of the Gandharan school — the image of Buddha emaciated by the seven-year fast of his ascetic period (PL. 392). The minute, extremely elaborate anatomical investigation of a body ravaged by starvation, yet animated still by an interior flame and by indomitable vigor of spirit, is doubtless partly inspired by the observation of nature. This type, which in some interpretations achieves high artistic value, may be connected with the Hellenistic tradition. Nevertheless, on the whole, this image is to be considered an autonomous production of Gandharan art. The typical figure of the medieval Indian ascetic derives from this type of emaciated Buddha, although the vivid sense of horror and of the macabre inspired by the detailed realism of the Gandharan figures is less strong in these later forms. Related to this type of Buddha and to its classic and Hellenistic inspiration are the numerous figures of skeletons and skulls that abound in late Gandharan stuccowork, testimony to the presence of a still unexhausted vein of classical influence. The same may be said for the motif of the skeleton and the dancing girl that we find in Central Asian painting as part of a *danse macabre*. Two more things should be noted in discussing the differences between Gandharan art and what is, strictly speaking, Indian art: first, the characteristic exophthalmos of late stuccowork representing the Buddha and boddhisattvas; second, the incision of the circle of the retina and the aperture of the pupil in those stone figures that more closely reflect Parthian influence.

No study of the human figure in Indian art is complete without discussion of the figures having multiple heads and arms. Inspired by a symbolism concerned with the expression of superhuman power, these figures present extremely interesting solutions to problems of balance and verisimilitude. They evolved into complicated symbolic diagrams, interpreted by means of the various gestures, ornaments, and attributes proper to the deities themselves. Thus the way was opened for both the appearance of images with a veritable aureole of arms, such as the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, dear to Buddhist art of the Far East, and the appearance of whole pyramids of superimposed heads. More complex is the symbolism of the third eye that is placed vertically in the middle of the forehead of Tantric deities, especially the terrifying deities; the metaphysical vision implied is very difficult to define.

The depiction of the human eye in general is one of the problems of greatest concern to the artists of India. A whole gamut of solutions appear, both in painting and sculpture, and ranging from the elongated, almost serpentine, forms to be found at Ajanta to the formal conventions in the work of Jain miniaturists (who in profile images represent as projecting that eye which should be hidden by the profile itself). Only the hands, very much lengthened and tapering, receive equal attention and care from the Indian artist, the reason being that hands also express feelings and states of soul. This they do by means of symbolic gestures derived, initially, from imitation of the dance and later developed into a universally understood language of convention.

The plant forms that twine about the lower limbs of Jain saints symbolize, in this iconography, absolute immobility. In this context the plant as something associated with the immobility of the human figure is extremely expressive. In addition it constitutes a fusion of heterogeneous forms that other systems of iconography had previously tried in other ways and with entirely different results (Luristan bronzes, Islamic figures of demons, and so forth).

Mario BUSSAGLI

*China*. The first representations of the human figure in Chinese art occur on some earthen vessels of the late Chinese Neolithic period (ca. 2000 B.C.), which were found at sites in Kansu, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, Sinkiang, and Liaoning provinces. These representations are but crudely pictorial and are allied with other elements that are of a purely geometric, decorative character. Others are sculptural (as on mortuary urns), or, more rarely, take the form of small freestanding figures (the Hsiao-t'un culture; sites in Honan, Hupeh, the mid-Yangtze). These figures, especially those of the so-called "Pan-shan type," became more numerous in the mid-Yang-shao period (Honan) of the Neolithic era and may be dated in the 2d millennium B.C. Notable is the fact that under the Shang dynasty some animal figures in bronze and marble were placed in human attitudes and, in addition, several anatomical details were clearly rendered as human features. The human figure itself was rarely represented in the Shang period, and only in small size. It is possible, however, that there did exist large-scale works. Examples in point include the marble sculpture of a seated man (Hong Kong, Ch'ên Jên-t'ao Coll.), dated to the end of the 2d millennium B.C., and another fragmentary marble, also depicting a seated human figure, found at An-yang (Taipei, Academia Sinica). Both pieces suggest a preceding artistic period during which arose ideas of art that approached a genuine sense of esthetics and during which techniques were developed for expressing these ideas.

The linear decoration that is incised upon carvings of human forms is somewhat similar to the decorations on contemporaneous ritual bronzes, but this does not mean that the human figure is here a cult image.

In the more evolved forms of Chinese script, the human figure appears in several ideograms, at first clearly and later in simplified form. Yet in the inscriptions on archaic bronzes the human figure does not appear in the cursive, graphic, reduced form given it in the better-known types of Chinese calligraphy. Though minuscule in scale, the figure appears in entirely recognizable form and is variously posed.

Since animal and geometric decoration prevails on archaic bronzes, these works present us with rather slight evidence in regard to the human figure. The cover of a vessel of *ho* type, 12th to 11th century B.C., seems to be an exception. It appears to represent a complete human face, though with horns added and with other likenesses to animal form (III, PL. 221). A similar treatment of the eyes is seen in the image of a man-headed owl now in the Academia Sinica, Taipei. On a ritual ax of the early Chou period (Freer Gall.) there is the detail of a human head in profile. The stylized linear treatment of the hair is unusual; it gives this profile a curiously pre-Columbian air. This same peculiarity is also found in another work in the same gallery, a bronze face mask. A type of bronze ritual vessel for the offering of wine (*yu*), of which two examples are known (Musée Cernuschi, Paris; Sumitomo Coll., Osaka), presents a curious conjunction of human and animal form. A beast (a tiger?), with an enormous head and a body greatly reduced in size, holds in its wide-open jaws the figure of a man who leans upon the monster, his pro-

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tector. The complex symbolism of the vessel may allude to man's destiny: at birth he emerges from the dark realm of the subterranean regions and returns again at his death.

Another very rare example of a human face is on a bronze drum (Sumitomo Coll., Osaka), where it takes the place of the *t'ao-t'ieh*. Earlier, on an ax of the Shang period (Ch'ên Jên-t'ao Coll., Hong Kong), the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask is almost completely transformed into a terrifying human face. There are other examples of this transformation. With the advent of the Chou dynasty (1027 B.C.) there was a gradual turning to truly realistic human representation, to the depiction of even the most ordinary domestic activities and the life of the streets. The representation of the human figure was prominent in the Eastern Chou period (8th–3d cent. B.C.). There are numerous examples in bronze; often these are both functional and decorative (e.g., supports found in the Chin-ts'un tombs, Honan), or they serve as realistic notations of everyday life (the acrobat in the Freer Gall. is a prime example). In addition to these representations of the human figure in sculpture, in the 5th and 4th centuries lively hunting scenes were depicted in the rich decorations (in relief, incised, or filled with black paste) on the sides of bronze vessels. Some examples from northern regions such as the state of Yen show an obvious influence of the art of the steppes. At Ch'ang-sha, the ancient capital of the province of Hunan, funeral furnishings included some human figures carved in wood (*mu-yung*; PL. 352) — symbols of the belief in demons that survived, because of religion and custom, in Shang culture. In addition to these figures there are many others that relate to local cults and to popular Taoist mythology. In this sphere, the principal form of human representation continues to be either of the man endowed with supernatural power whose figure is isolated on account of its magical and ritual function, or of the single figure that serves as a substitute for a living person. The function of these figures is never ornamental. A bronze dating from the period of the Warring States found at Ch'ang-sha depicts a figure that is not bound to a rigid figural scheme but is rendered in a freely articulated gesture of supplication. Likewise free in expression is the figure from Lo-yang of the same period representing a tired man, whose joined hands are all but covered by the long sleeves of the robe that envelops him from neck to feet. Quite different, however, is the stylistic power achieved by a bronze figure of a demon (with human body and an almost bovine head — perhaps a divine protector of domestic animals) which resembles the lemurs of classical mythology; this piece from Lo-yang dates from the period of the Warring States.

A separate stylistic and iconographic problem is presented by those figures of lacquered black paste, often small in size and almost always in a dancing pose, which are called "Hui-hsien" after the place in Honan from which they were said to have come when they appeared on the Chinese art market in 1943. In some figures the face is given a ghostly look by the reduction of all features to just a sharp, rectilinear fragment representing the nose, while other examples bear a highly expressive facial mask with empty eyes and a large mouth open in cry or song. Unique in style, these figures are puzzling to the scholar.

The oldest known likeness of the human figure in Chinese painting dates back to the period of the Eastern Chou dynasty. Discovered in 1949 in a tomb near Ch'en-chia-ta-shan in the neighborhood of Ch'ang-sha, it shows a woman in festive garb, and in front of and above her, a dragon and a phoenix. The style differs from that of contemporary bronze figures in its rapid, cursive linearity, close to the "flamboyant" style of contemporary lacquerwork.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) the human form was represented in multifigured scenes which depicted history, myth, legend, martial adventure, and memorable examples of civic, military, and domestic virtue. This was in accordance with the Confucian spirit which dominated the culture of the time and required that all the arts, even music, serve custom. Typical examples are the slabs of low relief found in the chambers of the Wu family tomb at Chia-hsiang, in Shantung (2d cent.), and the slabs from Szechwan. Also characteristic are the stone and clay slabs, part of other tomb decorations, that depict hunting scenes and horsemen drawing their bows (Rome, Mus. Naz. d'Arte Orientale; III, PL. 231).

In addition to this major funerary art, there are also free-standing figures, which are mostly of small or medium size in a black to grayish clay and which show strong feeling for volume (several female figures are very beautiful). In view of the many uncertainties that surround the Hui-hsien figurines mentioned above, these figures may be considered the beginning of that extensive and varied production of funerary statuettes which gives a picture of many aspects of ancient Chinese life from the T'ang to the Ming dynasty. But from the Han to the T'ang dynasty it was especially in painting that the theme of the human figure dominated. Aside from the example of the single figure from Ch'ang-sha, the Han paintings are the earliest pictorial examples of the human figure yet known, and in them, despite resemblances to funerary reliefs, persons assume precise individual features.

In the slabs from Lo-yang of the 2d century of our era (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), the human figure was for the first time represented with realistic emphasis on life and action (III, PL. 234) and not after typological schemes. Likewise realistic are the figures of the so-called "Painted Basket" from Lo-lang in Korea (VIII, PL. 413), of the 2d to 3d century of the Christian Era. The wall paintings of a tomb near Pei-yüan (Manchuria, 1st–3d cent.) depict the lively movement of a train of dignitaries, in coach or on horseback, that recall somewhat similar figures on stone slabs.

Representations of human figures in a complex setting of multiple scenes, all subtly bound together by the idea of expressing a moral intent, were not made until the end of the 4th century, in the "Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies" by Ku K'ai-chih (q.v.), the first famous painter whose work has survived (III, PL. 235; VIII, PLS. 406, 407). The female figure is here embodied in a type of noble, sensual beauty, and the work affords a picture of the extremely refined court life of the period. These paintings attempt to express for the first time spiritual states and human passions — for man is not considered here solely as an actor against the sumptuous background of court life and of high official position. In some tomb paintings, such as those of Kao-kou-li in T'ung-kou, eastern Manchuria (5th–6th cent.), dancers, musicians, wrestlers, hunters, and even supernatural beings, celestial or demonic, are represented. The characterization of a specific person is more developed in the murals of a tomb excavated at Wang-tu (Hopei, 1st–3d cent.) that depict officials (their various positions indicated by the inscriptions) who probably belonged to the household of the governor of the province.

The foreign influences connected with the spread of Buddhism resulted in a greater emphasis upon realism in painting and more numerous representations of human figures, including mythological, historical, legendary, and ordinary persons, as in the rock temples of Tun-huang in Kansu (III, PLS. 237, 238). Notable examples include the pilgrim of Cave 147A (7th–8th cent.) and the Buddhist monk whose martyrdom is recorded in a scene in Cave 140 (9th cent.). Noble aspects of civic life are depicted in paintings of a knight with his groom (8th cent.) and of a donatress (dated 983), executed, respectively, on paper and on canvas. Both are in the Musée Guimet, Paris.

The earlier centuries of Chinese painting (particularly from the Han to the Northern Wei, which was more openly Confucian) employed the human figure as one of its principal themes. The figure was represented most significantly in character portraiture, the purpose of which was to record in the semblance of the person the heroic, military, civil, literary, and humane virtues. In accordance with the dictates of Confucian morality, this was done to furnish example and admonition for the generation of the sitter as well as for the generations to come. This intent is very well expressed by the two Chinese terms applied to portraiture: *ch'uan-shên*, "the transmitting of the spirit," and *hsien-chên*, "the writing down of truth." This conception was modified by an esthetic theory expressed for the first time early in the 6th century in the famous *Ku-hua p'in-lu*, by Hsieh Ho, a declaration that inspired landscape painting and affected the representation of the human figure. Its basic

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principle, which became standard in Chinese esthetics, may be interpreted thus: "The harmony (of the artist) with the spirit (of the universe) generates vitality (in the work of art)." Thus the artist's aim was to reach beyond the merely human to achieve a meeting of the mental image with the universal.

In the sculpture of the Ch'i dynasty (550–77) and the Northern Chou dynasty (577–81) the human figure, derived from Indian prototypes, especially of the Gupta period (q.v.), is found predominantly in the sphere of religious art. As is well known, the extremely literary Chinese esthetic considered sculpture a handicraft, not an art, and thus secular themes offered fewer rewards to sculptors who, unlike painters, worked for gain rather than to satisfy their spiritual needs. Nevertheless, at the end of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535) the representation of the human figure in the person of a divinity lost its original solidity of body and became an intensely lyric expression. Numerous excellent examples include the rock sculptures of Yün-kang (5th–11th cent.) and Lung-mên (6th–10th cent.), funerary steles, and small Buddhist votive bronzes. In the short Sui dynasty (581–618), the depiction of the human figure, chiefly for religious ends, assumed the elegant rigor of a geometric schematism. In the T'ang period (618–906) the solid forms of figures in motion were depicted with elaborately sculptured faces (Lung-mên, T'ien-lung-shan). The custom of placing little clay figures in tombs was widespread in every class of society. These figures had to be realistic (PL. 394) because of their function as "doubles" of the persons that had accompanied the deceased while living, and this stimulated investigation of expression and of distinctive details of race and costume.

The art of painting the figure flourished in the T'ang dynasty as in no other period. Emperors (the paintings of Yen Li-pên, q.v.; PL. 394), ladies of the court (in paintings by Chou Fang, active ca. 780–810; Chang Hsüan, active ca. 714–42; Chou Wên-chü, active in the 10th cent.), and famous persons (Li Chên's portrait of Amoghavajra, ca. 800) were depicted in the noblest manner. There were also divinities conceived in the guise of a human species made beautiful and majestic, and a divine, ideal type of feminine beauty was depicted with elegant refinement (see WU TAO-TZŬ). Finally, strange deformations of the human figure appear in the lohans painted by Kuan-hsiu (PL. 395).

After the prevalence of the human figure in T'ang painting, there came a period in which landscape, the noblest form of Chinese painting, dominated. In landscape, man is no longer the lord and master of the world surrounding him; he is its subject, and from his subjection he derives beauty and spiritual significance. For this reason man is almost always represented as very small, so that he nearly disappears from the scene. Yet in his intense contemplation of the scene, man possesses it and makes it, ultimately, into the very image of his own mind. This is true for those pure landscapes that are real representations of "states of soul," but not for other, merely descriptive, landscapes (by Li Ch'êng, Li T'ang, Hsü Tao-ning, and others). In some pictures, a single human figure, though only a minuscule detail, by placement and idealization can be made the protagonist and focal point of a vast panorama. Such a picture is the tumultuous landscape painted by Wang Chien (see WANG SHIH-MIN, CHIEN, HUI, AND YÜAN-CH'I) that shows exaltation in the height of its sharp, forested peaks and repose in a calm flow of water at the center. On a small rock that juts out over the stream a person stands in contemplation, his hands crossed behind his back.

In Buddhist and Taoist painting, the human figure is of necessity prevalent, both in the form of divinities given human shape and in the form of human beings who have been immortalized, exalted to superhuman status, and made almost divine. Figure representation ranges from the Buddhas of Tun-huang to the bodhisattvas of later periods to the Taoist Immortals, often depicted with great realism and artistic mastery, and to other illustrious personages of religious history. Moreover, in the real or imaginary portraiture of the best period of Chinese art there is evident not only a power of style that, had the theme been more widespread, could have given a different, special accent to Chinese art, but above all an interpretive, intellectual force that confers upon some of the portraits biographical significance and moral meaning.

In the subsequent periods of Chinese painting there survived a tradition still closely bound to esthetic and structural ideas of the past, particularly in landscape. At the same time, however, new forms developed, in part as a result of contacts with Western art and in part as a response to new social and political conditions. Thus, the human figure has been depicted in different relationships to landscape (e.g., Lin Feng-mien's *The River*, 1906), and as a completely independent subject treated in accord with Western canons (e.g., the same artist's *Nude*, modeled after the work of Matisse).

In the sculpture of the dynasties following the T'ang period (the Five Dynasties, 906–60; the Northern Sung, 960–1127; the Southern Sung, 1127–1279), the human figure was treated in one of two ways. At times the depiction followed the traditional religious canons of iconography (Yüng-kang, Lung-mên); at other times the human figure was depicted in realistic interpretations that attempted to break altogether from the hieratic fixity of precedent (T'ien-lung-shan).

The sculpture of the last two dynasties (Ming and Ch'ing) is marked by a tired attempt to recreate the great works of the past, particularly in religious sculpture.

The human figure in works of jade, ivory, small wooden carvings, and the many other forms invented by the skill of patient craftsmen often reflects the characteristics found in sculpture of larger scale. The value of the material, the skill and minuteness of the execution, frequently make of these pieces exquisite works.

Alberto GIUGANINO

*Islam.* The representation of the human figure in the Islamic world was subject, for religious reasons, to severe restrictions, which applied to a lesser extent to animal forms. Where figure motifs actually appeared, it was mostly in a decorative context. In Persian miniature painting, however, the rendering of the human body did achieve importance and variety; the same generalization also applied to the Baghdad school of painting from the 11th to the 13th century because of its Manichaean Iranian basis. In these schools human form was well observed, and efforts were made toward expressive characterization and appropriate movement in accordance with the meaning of the text to be illustrated. But this was not generally the case in later Persian miniature painting. Only a few outstanding artistic personalities at various times were able to produce especially effective representations of the human body in naturalistic terms.

Anatomical studies were a part of the domain of the natural scientist, not of the artist, and the nude human body never achieved the status of a suitable artistic subject. Exceptions were the occasional representations of an obscene character, which, needless to say, were not intended for the general public. Foreign influences accounted for some of the instances of representations of the nude or seminude body, as, for example, in scenes of Adam and Eve in Paradise, which reveal little awareness of the knowledge of anatomy. Human figures were otherwise shown more or less fully dressed and always in contemporary costume. When historical, narrative, or legendary events within a national epic were illustrated, as a rule dress conformed to the fashion in vogue at the time of the execution of the manuscript, although exotic characters were sometimes indicated by a costume of animal skins. Such exoticism was especially pronounced in Persian painting of the Mongol school in the 14th century, in which costumes had a distinctively Far Eastern flavor, shown by cut of garments as well as the ornamental embroidery. In the 16th and 17th centuries, heroic figures from Iranian legend were shown in fashionable Safavid attire.

The use of the human form, or parts thereof, for symbolic purposes ran counter to Islamic attitudes. Nevertheless, the persistence of older popular traditions in various lands dominated by Islam may account for the acceptance of such symbolic motifs into the mainstream of art. This applies, for example, to the ornamental design which was understood to represent the human eye, a motif popular in the ancient Near East as well as in classical antiquity and subsequently employed by

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Islamic artists for symbolic ends, such as protection from the "evil eye," or for purely decorative purposes.

A more important figural element in Islamic art was the motif of the *khams*, the open hand with outstretched fingers, which also embodied the idea of warding off evil. In the ancient Near East this motif had become the symbol of various divinities, being represented on Sassanian seals and figuring in Christian art as the "Hand of God." Its use in Islamic art was not, however, connected with the "Hand of God" often mentioned in the Koran. In the 11th century, within the sphere of Shiite influence, the motif of the outstretched hand appeared imprinted on stone as the "Hand of 'Alī," and in Iran it was used as the crowning element on standards in memory of a son of 'Alī who lost a hand at the battle of Karbala. It was occasionally employed by the Ottomans and by the Moghuls in India. As an apotropaic device, the *khams* was especially favored in Maghrib, where it was known as the "Hand of Fatima." It was often shown on Hispano-Moresque ceramic ware and metalwork, appearing above entrance portals (Puerta de la Justicia in the Alhambra, Granada), and in the form of gold or silver amulets was frequently worn by women.

Other instances of the use of human forms in a symbolic context are not known, although there occurs a sort of calligraphic play with human faces as well as the use of "talking epigraphy," a highly popular device in Persian metalwork of the 12th century, wherein individual letters within Kufic or Naskhi inscriptions were terminated by or composed of anthropomorphs (III, PL. 7).

Islamic art offers little of interest from the viewpoint of eschatology. Anthropomorphic representations of divinity were entirely unthinkable, and there existed no symbolic equivalents. Representations of Paradise, which are common, were given an earthly setting, with streams, flowers, fruits, as well as angelic hosts. Angels played an important role in various aspects of Islamic art. They were shown in human form without indication of sex, with ample garments and wings (VIII, PL. 143), and in addition demonic creatures (*div*) were often shown, especially in miniature painting. They were given anthropomorphic characteristics but in combination with certain animalistic attributes such as horns, claws, tusks, or even entire animal heads. Such demons, characterized partly as good, partly as evil spirits, were handled with much fantasy. Their conception was probably based upon older forms of nature worship.

Various types of fabulous beasts, partly human in appearance, are also found in Islamic art. The four-footed sphinx with a female head, and the siren (bird with a human head) were undoubtedly taken over from antique art as purely decorative motifs. The miraculous mount with a female head, Burāq (VIII, PL. 143), which carried Mohammed on his mystical ascent to heaven, was surely from a similar source. The Islamic motif of a horned man (Dhū'l-Qarnayn) was connected with Alexander the Great; the motif itself is of pre-Islamic origin. Other legendary figures appear occasionally in Persian art, such as the Iranian tyrant Zahhāk (Azhi Dahaka), out of whose shoulders two serpents grew, and the giant Og (Ojj), who was so tall that the Great Flood could not prevail over him and whom Moses first overcame. The seven planets were usually represented as anthropomorphic personifications, each with its particular attribute, while Sagittarius in the iconography of the zodiac was shown most often in the guise of a centaur.

It is noteworthy that the tendency to show individual figures with a circular nimbus, a tendency manifested in various branches of art from the 12th century on, may be attributed to the desire to give the human body additional authority and to separate it from the background. But such haloes did not have the connotation of sainthood and were, in fact, devoid of religious significance. On the other hand, the flame-shaped nimbus, which was shown in representations of Mohammed, 'Alī, and other saintly persons of Islam, as well as earlier prophets such as Abraham, Solomon, and Jesus, has a more substantial claim to the connotation of holiness. Mohammed was generally shown with veiled face; only rarely was it uncovered.

Representations of ordinary people, although never frequent, were produced in various periods of Islamic art, especially in the form of ceramic sculptures, such as lute players or seated figures with drinking cups. Similar figures were also, though more rarely, made in metal, glass, or stone. These were devoid of historical or symbolic significance and, like animal sculptures, were purely decorative.

In representations of specific personalities, fidelity to individual traits was not required. In general, an ideal type dominated each period. During the Seljuk period, for example, round, moonlike faces with small mouths and hair in plaits or thick bundles prevailed (VIII, PL. 153). In the 14th and 15th centuries, strong Mongolian features adorned with variegated jewelry dominated, and in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, a rather decadent type, with low-slung shoulders, arms of exaggerated length, curly hair, and other effeminate traits came to the fore. In contrast to the prevailing schematism, a famous illustrated edition of the *Shāh-nāma* dated about 1330 showed an uncommon expressive portrayal of movement and characterization of faces (X, PL. 88). Again, toward the end of the 15th century, compositions with an unprecedented variety of figural types sharply differentiated and individually characterized by body color occurred in the works of Bihzād (q.v.) and his school. Truly lifelike portraits, often with an inclination to caricature, were executed in Persia beginning in the 16th century. Grotesque and expressively deformed renderings of the human figure, however, were primarily a specialty of Turkish miniature painters.

Miniature painting of the Moghul period in India, because of its outspoken preoccupation with reality, occupies a somewhat peculiar position beyond the confines of the Islamic esthetic. Moghul artists attempted to achieve a direct identification with the model through a naturalistic approach and were highly successful. Emperors, however, were always shown with haloes and occasionally also crowned by genii or in other types of compositions representing apotheosis.

Ernst KÜHNEL

ART PROCESSES APPLIED TO THE HUMAN BODY: DEFORMATION, PAINTING AND TATTOOING, HAIRDRESSING. The esthetic values of the human body have been discussed above in relation to the visual arts; that is, the body has been considered as a form in itself or as the inspiration for other forms. In a different but no less legitimate manner, esthetic treatment may also be imposed upon the living body. The perception, admiration, and evaluation of "natural beauty" in a generic sense may lead out of the field of art and its problems. However, ideals of natural beauty depend upon the taste of individual epochs and cultures; and there is an almost universal attempt to emphasize, harmonize, and heighten natural beauty either by work upon the body itself or by the creation of an esthetically complementary framework for the body. It is this last which touches directly upon problems of art.

There exists an intermediate realm in which an object of art may at the same time constitute representation (external projection) of the human figure and esthetic enhancement of the body itself. This is true of the mask (see MASKS), which may be considered both as a mimetic object and as an adjunct to the body of either a living or dead person that qualifies his personality. The qualification may be permanent or temporary, as when for a specific occasion the person actually "equals" his mask. Especially in primitive cultures there is often an intimate connection, a lack of distinction, and even an actual identification between image and reality for many and varied reasons associated with magical concepts and iconography (see MAGIC).

The mental transfer of an actual human reality to a representation, on an antological plane, so to speak, takes place not only in the realm of the magical (as in figures that are objects of sympathetic magic) and within the sphere of eschatological concepts (portrait-images as substitutes for the body of the deceased), but also outside the domain of magic and religion, on a symbolic plane, as in seals and money bearing the image of a sovereign. Similarly, a divine or demonic spirit may be transferred into the body of a living man; its presence is marked by means of well-determined signs (painting, coiffure, masks,

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costumes, attributes) that modify the natural form as, for example, in the case of victorious Roman generals whose faces were painted red to indicate a resemblance to Jupiter.

Esthetic qualification of the human body concerns, on the one hand, the body itself and its natural parts (in so far as these are partially alterable), and, on the other, elements that are not of the body but that may help to modify its aspect, in other words, framing elements. But it is impossible to make a clear distinction between these factors because of the close relationship of the many operations, all with one purpose, that range from anatomical deformation and the various treatments of the skin, eyes, and teeth to hairdressing and costuming.

Such phenomena as these are met with everywhere, at all cultural levels, and at all times, from prehistory to the present day. Their esthetic significance is closely connected with hygienic, sexual, magicoreligious, or social demands imposed by fashion and tradition. In primitive societies tradition strictly dictates in these matters; in the more advanced civilizations, it is fashion that dictates, but more freely and variably.

The consciousness of "natural beauty" in the human body depends in part on racial factors. Yet imposed upon these are interpretations, intentions, and symbolic aspects of a reflective or conceptual order, such as the idea of the reproductive potency implicit in the steatopygous woman (evidence: the paleolithic "Venuses"; PL. 351; IX, PL. 247) and the strength of the warrior or leader as expressed by his height, bearing, and muscularity. Fashion operates in a similar manner when it follows literary, scientific, theatrical, and other ideas, as happens particularly in the modern Western world. Ideas of fashion tend toward the artificial accentuation (by altering or complementing) of idealized natural characteristics, and these processes are primarily limited to the face and hair without permanent modification of facial features or anatomical characteristics save in the rather rare case of plastic surgery. Yet among primitive societies, outstandingly conservative as they are, the ancient forms of body decoration and deformation still persist in many places, despite increasing acculturation. This is not surprising, for even in 19th-century Europe the bodies of women were constrained at the waist by rigid stays, and in China, up to the fall of the empire (but with sporadic instances in mountainous and rural areas up to the present day), ladies of quality were accustomed to bind their feet so tightly that permanent deformation was produced. Mutilations and deformations attendant upon rites of initiation are most widespread in primitive cultures but are also found in advanced civilizations (for example, circumcision in ancient Egypt, among the Jews, and in Islam, which is, however, unrelated to art).

Perhaps the most singular of all types of deformation is that of the cranium, of which there are three varieties: straight tabular, oblique tabular, and round tabular. Skull deformation is very frequent in primitive cultures. It was practiced in pre-Columbian civilizations and by the ancient Huns, and among the rural population in Crete, France, Lapland, and Finland, it continued in practice up to recent times. The origin of the deformation was sometimes incidental; in North America, for instance, it was occasioned by carrying the child in a special cradle placed upon its mother's back. In other cases it was practised for supposed reasons of health (artificial closing of the fontanels). Generally, however, the practice seemed inspired more by racial esthetics. This singular custom is manifested in many works of art, especially among the Maya (PL. 398), the Huaxtecs (X, PL. 49), and the Mangbetu (see SUDANESE CULTURES; III, PL. 126).

The features and the ears may be deformed or decorated by the use of pendants for the nose and ears, by nasal bars, and by plates and other ornaments for the lips (PL. 398). The origin, also in this instance, of such singular decoration is not to be sought in the realm of costume and fashion, but in motives of a magicoreligious and sociopolitical character. In Aztec Mexico a nasal bar of turquoise was part of the king's regalia, and earrings and labrets were widespread among all strata of the population, the material used varying with social position. In pre-Columbian Peru, on the other hand, in both the Chimu kingdom and the Inca empire, earrings (I, PLS. 176, 193, 201, 202, 215) and the gold nose pendants called *narigueras* (I, PL. 209) were reserved for the aristocracy. Such ornaments are notably current among peoples in primitive cultures. For example, the labial plate is still used in Africa, in the Ubangi-Shari basin, among the Tirma of Ethiopia, and among the Makonde of the Mozambique-Tanganyika border. Such ornamentation is very likely to find a reflection in art. The masks used by the Makonde reproduce the typical deformation of the mouth that results from the use of a labial plate (II, PL. 129). The use of labrets among the Haida of the Northwest Coast is depicted on furnishings and utensils and appears in masks (IX, PL. 357; see also V, PL. 5).

To deformations modifying the face must be added mutilations of the teeth and artificial squinting, the latter being limited to the ancient Maya, who developed it by suspending a little ball between a child's eyes. Dental mutilation occurs frequently, often in connection with initiation ceremonies (the removal or sharpening of the incisors). There are some works that reproduce dental mutilation (II, PL. 131). In Pre-Columbian Mexican and Andean cultures, the teeth were often covered with gold or incrusted with gold and precious stones; in other cases, the teeth were tinted.

The most widely known form of permanent deformation is undoubtedly tattooing, either by scarification (current among dark-skinned peoples) or pricking (practiced among fair-skinned peoples). Works of art frequently present evidence of tattooing by scarification, and such scar patterns can help in determining the provenance of otherwise unidentifiable styles of work (PLS. 111, 118, 122, 123, 129; II, PLS. 100, 102, 103, 107, 110, 112, 119, 123, 127–129). The same is true for tattooing by pricking of the skin, a practice known to Aegean cultures and to Europe during the Bronze Age, as is proved by excavated finds of instruments for the purpose. In antiquity such tattooing was widely practiced by the barbarians of the Black Sea and the Danube regions, as well as those of the British Isles, and its use survives up to the present in remote areas of the Balkans and elsewhere. The pricked tattoo attains a high degree of art in Japan and Indochina, in the Marquesas Islands of Oceania, and among the Maori of New Zealand. Among the Maori a tattoo motif, the elegant double volute, is the most frequently used element of surface decoration in wooden sculpture (PL. 398). Indeed, Maori carved work can easily be identified by means of this motif.

Skin painting or staining (PL. 398) is a dynamic art, one which attains a high development among the Indians of the South American tropics, among whom clothing is traditionally very limited or completely lacking. That such painting, however, does not represent a substitute for clothing is well demonstrated by their use of festive and religious garb and by the presence of clothing among other peoples who paint the skin, such as the abundantly clothed Eskimo. Skin painting was also widely practiced in pre- and protohistoric periods, to judge from representations which survive and from the presence, among archaeological finds, of stamps known as pintaderas, which, as has been observed among living primitives, make the process of decorating the skin with paint much easier and more rapid. The accentuation of facial features by means of lines (in the case of warriors, to inspire terror) and the beautification of women's eyes, cheeks, and lips (common to all cultures) are both partial aspects of the practice of body painting, more specifically intended to emphasize the natural or acquired qualities of the body. The practice of painting cadavers red has essentially magical, symbolic significance (see ESCHATOLOGY).

Another very important form of bodily adornment is the dressing of the hair and beard. Though of particular meaning among primitive peoples, this practice concerns all cultures, at all levels. The greatest variety and elaboration of coiffure coincides with the area in which curly hair is found — the areas inhabited by the dark-skinned peoples of Africa and Oceania. Unlike body painting, which is in some cases an art in itself and not always shown in sculptured figures, the dressing of the hair (at times so complex as to be redone only once a month or even more rarely), plays an important role in wooden sculpture. The exact reproduction of coiffure is an element of noteworthy

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importance in determining the provenance of certain pieces of sculpture (PLS. 110, 111, 117, 122–124, 129, 130; see also BANTU CULTURES; GUINEAN CULTURES; MELANESIAN CULTURES; II, PLS. 97, 98, 100, 106, 108, 110, 112, 118, 122, 123). Tribal artists faithfully reproduce the coiffure used in the tribe. In the absence of more precise anatomical traits, in certain cases the coiffure constitutes the sole realistic aspect of the sculpture. In many instances, the use of a certain manner of dressing the hair seems to be connected with special political, social, and religious functions in such a way that from it can be determined the rank of the person represented. Coiffure also offers historical and esthetic indications in the art of the great civilizations of the ancient and modern world. Especially in the realm of feminine fashion, it may represent a type that is traditional among certain peoples and cultures, or in some periods it may represent a rapid evolution marked by fantastic variation (as in Rome during the first centuries of the empire, or in modern Europe from the 16th century on). In this last case, coiffure provides valuable clues to portrait chronology (see PORTRAITURE). Allied to the art of hairdressing is the use of wigs. An added element, yet one generally made of human hair, the wig has undergone notable developments in several civilizations, for example, in ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom (IV, PL. 364), and in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In addition to coiffure (often combined with floral ornaments, precious objects, and so forth, and used in connection with veils and other headgear) and the wearing of diadems, earrings, necklaces, bracelets for the arms and legs, rings, and other articles (see especially GOLD- AND SILVERWORK), there is that basic factor in the esthetic adornment of the human body which is costume (q.v.). In the modern world, the enhancement of the body has become an auxiliary of costume, though care of the body has given rise to special industries and services — to the arts of the hairdresser, cosmetician, beautician, and so forth — which though largely of technical interest, are not without esthetic importance. To them may be added, as an essential complement, the element of individual taste.

Ernesta CERULLI

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Illustrations: PLS. 351–398.

**HUMANISM.** Among the great and influential achievements of the Renaissance period must be included the scholarly and cultural activities of the humanists, chiefly carried on in Italy, although important contributions were made in northern Europe as well. The term "humanism," used historically and empirically, will refer to the Renaissance humanist movement as such, without any of those preconceptions as to its doctrinal content which are present when it is defined as a universal philosophical position. The word itself is of early 19th-century origin (coined by the German pedagogue, F. J. Niethammer, in 1808), and it has acquired such a range of meaning since then that, as it is used today, its meaning is extremely ambiguous. Neithammer originally used it to designate a philosophy of education favoring classical studies in the school curriculum, a meaning literally closer to the Renaissance phenomenon than subsequent usages. It was linked early in the 19th century with the humanitarian attitudes that were a heritage of the 18th-century Enlightenment. It has subsequently been identified with such diverse political tendencies as the libertarian ideas

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of John Stuart Mill and Marxian socialism. In the 20th century the term, which seems to have connotations inherently pleasant to the contemporary temperament, has been variously associated with the attempt to develop a nontheistic religio-ethical movement, with currents of Roman Catholicism which favor the study of classical philosophy (including Neo-Thomism), with a trend of literary criticism deploring emotionalism and romanticism, and with other points of view almost ad libitum. The conceptually chaotic character of this usage stems primarily from the tendency of the modern self-designated "humanist" to identify the Renaissance humanist movement with his own particular brand of humanism, a practice which can only generate distortion and confusion. In so far as possible this discussion will be confined to what occurred in the Renaissance, taking humanism to be the sum total of the activities, ideas, and direct influence of the Italian humanists, eschewing all notions of it as the forerunner or counterpart of any modern movement or philosophy labeling itself "humanism."

SUMMARY. Humanism as a literary and philosophical movement (col. 703): *Medieval antecedents; Scholasticism and the historical purposes of the humanists; Historical origins of Italian humanism; Petrarch as chief founder of humanism; Boccaccio, Salutati, and the consolidation of humanism; Representative humanists of 15th-century Italy; Moral and religious concerns of humanism; Humanism and Renaissance Platonism.* Humanism and Renaissance art (col. 721): *Preliminary definitions; Alberti and his influence; Humanist themes in Renaissance art; The Medici and Neoplatonism in Florence; Italian humanist centers outside Florence; Humanism and art outside Italy.*

HUMANISM AS A LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL MOVEMENT. *Medieval antecedents.* Renaissance humanism did not spring forth full-armored from the head of Zeus. Necessarily, as it developed out of, as well as in reaction to, certain medieval cultural traditions, it had to correspond to needs and find support in the general historical conditions of late medieval Italy. Essentially centered around an interest in the literature of classical antiquity, the humanist movement had its (for the most part) unacknowledged predecessors in previous medieval movements of antique revival (q.v.). The Carolingian renaissance through its zeal for transcribing works of classical authors provided the Italian humanists with copies of many ancient works they were to seek so eagerly half a millennium later when the originals were no longer available. It was, however, the 12th-century renaissance (now a thoroughly accepted historical concept) that provided the more immediate historical antecedent. Although its influence continued through the 13th century as a latent, but almost moribund, tradition of classical studies, a gap of almost a century and a half separated the declining days of this northern French enthusiasm for the old pagan authors and the stirring of Italian activities in this field.

As Jean Seznec, Erwin Panofsky, and others have shown, there were significant differences between the intellectual content of the earlier medieval "renascences" and that of Renaissance classicism. It will be essential to examine these, however briefly, in order to understand the actual nature and significance of Renaissance humanism. Moreover, there were equally important differences between the environment and professional attachments of the medieval scholars and those of the humanists of the Renaissance. It is well to remember in an age when universal education is the ideal that during the Middle Ages and much of the Renaissance, literacy and learning were marks of specialized professions. And, indeed, if the ideal of general education was itself a product of Italian humanism, this may well have been due to the fact that the acquisition of culture was already becoming a goal not only of the lay professional but of the well-to-do laity in general.

Perhaps the strongest motivating factor in the Carolingian effort to revive the study of the classics was the need to provide an administrative staff for the centralized regime that was Charlemagne's aim. It was natural enough that with his notions of restoring the Roman Empire the attempt to establish an educational program for its administrators should look to the Latin rhetorical tradition. The abortive character of Charlemagne's efforts, imperial and cultural, left literacy and learning once again in the care of the monasteries, whence he had drawn the leaders of his program. For the next three centuries in northern Europe a feudal monarch who sought to establish some sort of centralized administration in place of the universal feudal tendency toward localism had necessarily to find support from the abbeys, a support both material, in the sense of being financial and political, and intellectual, in the individuals sufficiently educated to act as administrators. This was the case in the so-called "Ottonian," or 10th-century renaissance. The 12th-century renaissance (which had its beginnings in the 11th and extended into the 13th century) was primarily an urban and episcopal affair, having its chief centers at such cathedral schools as Tours, Chartres, Laon, and Orleans in France, and (to a lesser extent) Canterbury in England. It may be considered a part of the restoration and consolidation of the episcopal administrative hierarchy that was one of the accompaniments of the Hildebrandine reform and strengthening of the papal monarchy within the Church. Latin literary classics, late-antique grammars, and the Latin rhetorical tradition were still the principal educational resources at hand, and the study of the humanities through the *auctores* and the *artes liberales* was the usual method of training the host of clerical administrators needed by an expanding ecclesiastical hierarchy. The cathedral chapters, whose Canons Regular (Augustinian Canons) were supported by agreed shares of the episcopal revenues, maintained schools and supported scholars and teachers. John of Salisbury, the outstanding figure of this movement, was bishop of Chartres at his death in 1180.

The scholarly and intellectual achievements of these 12th-century centers of rhetorical and classical tradition were by no means slight. While the movement as a whole did not have the exact shape nor the same impetus as later Italian humanism, it ventured into several areas that roughly parallel later developments. John of Salisbury maintained the traditional rhetorical emphasis on "civil philosophy" in the *Policraticus*, an outstanding example of medieval political thought. Thierry of Chartres, in his *De sex dierum operibus*, found a basis in Chalcidius' 4th-century commentary and translation of Plato's *Timaeus* for a consideration of the physical aspects of the divine creation. Bernardus Silvestris of Tours put forth the notion of man as a microcosm mirroring the universe in his *De mundi universitate*, an allegorical-philosophical work based on the *Asclepius* attributed to Apuleius, thought to be a Platonist.

The literary and rhetorical studies in the classical tradition of the 12th century never became the full-fledged *studia humanitatis* of the Renaissance, however, despite John of Salisbury's belief that the liberal arts serve *ad cultum humanitatis*. Subordinated strongly and ultimately to the study of theology and the education of clerics, their practitioners could not help being drawn toward the new logic of Aristotle and the canon law. As a consequence this movement was overwhelmed by the rush toward the higher faculties of theology and law at the emerging universities. The trivium and the classics were relegated to preparatory grammar school subjects; new, more practically oriented textbooks of grammar and rhetoric replaced the classical and late classical ones that had prevailed until then. Dialectic and logic, together with the naturalistic emphases of the quadrivium prevailed among the arts faculties in the north.

Thus medieval humanism, which was centered in northern France and radiated into England and Spain, and to a lesser extent into Germany and Italy, was eclipsed and forced into temporary oblivion by the new university organization of learning and scholasticism in the late 12th and 13th centuries. What remained of the written texts of this movement had only a limited influence on the revival of classical studies by the Italian humanists in the 14th century, but some of the manuscript copies that it had produced of works of classical authors were to find their way into the hands of Petrarch and other humanists.

*Scholasticism and the historical purposes of the humanists.* The revival of humanistic studies by Petrarch and Boccaccio in the mid-14th century had its immediate roots in an Italian protohumanism, but it was also a reaction against scholasticism. That, fundamentally, this reaction was against contemporary 14th-

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century Italian tendencies in scholasticism, Paul Kristeller has made abundantly evident. It is equally apparent that the major development of the great 13th-century scholastic theologies at the northern universities of Paris and Oxford tended to cut off Italian humanism from the medieval classical and rhetorical traditions. Both factors contributed to the self-awareness of the early humanists and led them to regard themselves as having something particularly significant and revolutionary to contribute to civilization in their time. However persistent and intermittently strong the Latin rhetorical tradition had been in the Christian Latin west from the 6th to the 12th centuries, it was the consensus of the humanists both that they desired and that they could establish a more genuinely antique program of studies.

Certain historians have with reason regarded the great influx of Aristotelian and other Greek scientific, logical, and metaphysical texts into the Latin west during the 12th and 13th centuries, together with the establishment of the universities and the development of scholastic procedures, as the true, or first, revival of learning and the only cultural renaissance of major significance in European history. In part this judgment has been evoked by the seeming excesses of the Italian humanists' apprehension and evaluation of their own historical role. Thirteenth-century scholasticism, nourished by the translations from Arabic and Greek and centered in the universities, did, indeed, lay the foundations of systematic, orderly, logical, and internally self-correcting thought, establishing the principal communities of organized intellectual activity that together have been so vital in highly organized, scientifically oriented modern civilization. By mid-14th century, when the humanist movement was on the threshold of a rapid and solid development, university-centered intellectual activity and professional research and training were already well-established, powerful institutions and enduring elements of culture.

In the face of this preexistent situation, the humanists, beginning with Petrarch, sought to bring about and, in fact, accomplished four essential aims: First, they wished to establish literary and historical scholarship (the humanities) as a respectable and valued learned profession with a place in the scheme of higher education and organized intellectual activity. Second, they wished to assert the importance of their kind of studies in the education of the layman, as distinguished from the highly trained professional; as professionals themselves they wished to maintain a close and friendly relationship with the educated laity. Third, and closely connected with the second aim, they wished to claim for their disciplines a special moral and civic importance by the eloquent presentation of broad truths of human experience as gathered from the study of literature and history and from esthetic inspiration. Moreover, this moral vocation might best be effected through the active employment of their particular learned skills in the service of the community or the body politic. Fourth, they themselves possessed in varying degree a sense of historical and cultural identity, which they wished to propagate among others, feeling that men should be conscious of their own time and culture in relation to their own past traditions and to the cultures and traditions of other peoples and religions. Along with this went an insistence on the importance of an individual's own sense of identity and of his achievement, his striving after fame.

It is impossible to say exactly why these underlying purposes, so vaguely held during the time of quickening medieval interest in classical studies, came to fruition with the Italian humanists. The period of high scholasticism was marked (as Panofsky suggests) by a "passion" for clarification combined with synthesis, or "concordance of opposites." The Aristotelian logic of classification embodied in the very schema of organization and procedure of the scholastic *Summae*, together with the use of dialectic to explain away apparent discrepancies by consideration of time, place, speaker, occasion, purpose, and so on, were the effective instruments of this passion. The resulting image of the universe, with its clearly defined, hierarchically subordinated and articulated place for every type of being and activity, denied the status the humanists sought for themselves. More important, it was the encyclopedic, abstract, logic-based, unhistorical, and impersonal character of this image that most seemed to offend the humanists.

It is perfectly true that such medieval Franciscans as St. Bonaventura and Duns Scotus sought to reassert an Augustinian mysticism that would leave scope for personal spirituality, and subsequently some of the humanists expressed themselves in ways more sympathetic to St. Augustine. It is also true that the logical-analytical procedures of the scholastics had more in common with the grammatical-syntactical analysis of texts by humanists than the latter cared to recognize. The Ockhamists in the 14th century not only disintegrated the vast Thomistic synthesis by their demonstration that the universal categories essential to its metaphysical structure could be examined primarily as problems in terminology, but they also focused discussion on the analysis of language and on a syntactical logic, thus dealing with philosophical texts in a way that was analogous to the humanists' treatment of literary, rhetorical, and historical texts. Moreover, the effect of nominalism was to reduce all intellectual activities and theories to the same level, since a metaphysical hierarchy of values could no longer have a logical or an epistemological status. In Ockham's view religious knowledge rested ultimately on the individual's own faith. Although these late scholastics never expressed it, there was in nominalism an implied historical and cultural relativism of the sort the humanists came to favor. It was without doubt the highly technical language and mode of discussion of these *moderni* that kept Petrarch from becoming aware of these implications and which led him to regard the influence of Ockham and the British "barbarians" with such disdain.

The highly specialized and professional character of the university curriculum in Trecento Italy was in itself an additional incentive to humanistic studies. There was no theological faculty dominating the scene, as in the French and English universities. Some theological courses were offered in the arts faculty, but theological training was largely in the hands of provincial schools established by the two leading mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who utilized the *Summae* and other writings of their great 13th-century brothers as texts for study. The dominant university faculties at such centers as Pavia, Padua, and Bologna were those of arts and of law. Medical education was under the jurisdiction of the arts faculty, and part of the course of training involved the study of Aristotelian logic and natural philosophy, the chief occasion for laymen (though as part of a course of professional training) to study philosophy. Prominent among the texts studied and analyzed were the writings of Avicenna and of Averroës, particularly the latter's commentaries on such Aristotelian works as the *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *De anima*. It was this practice that gave rise to the charge of heresy and "Averroism" on the part of Petrarch and other humanists. It was in fact the highly intricate methods of the Aristotelians' discussions of questions involving the nature of man and the goals of human existence as well as the "pure" character of these discussions (i.e., not applied to theological and ethical exposition and doctrine), which offended the humanists. The very great historical importance of these Italian Aristotelians (misnamed "Averroists") of the 14th through the 16th centuries is becoming increasingly recognized through the work of Bruno Nardi, John Herman Randall, Jr., and other scholars. Moreover, the views of the Aristotelian Pomponazzi in the early 16th century concerning the nature of man were such as some humanists might have reconciled to their own if they had accepted the source.

*Historical origins of Italian humanism.* It is in the context of the study of law at the Italian universities, however, that the historical origins of Italian humanism become most concrete. The enormous importance of the legal profession in the economic and political life of the expanding Italian communes cannot be exaggerated. The quickening legal studies from the time of Pepo in the late 11th and Irnerius in the 12th centuries had not only drawn a flood of ambitious young men away from other professions and studies (including literature) to law courses, but had made possible an organized and orderly regularization of the burgeoning commercial economies of the cities. The



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law courses had provided a corps of trained civil servants for the expanding governments of the cities to draw upon, and leading legal commentators had ultimately adapted the precepts of Roman law (both private and public) to the needs of a different civilization. The autonomous self-government of the cities, achieved "illegitimately" from former feudal overlords (usually the Holy Roman Emperor), was given legal justification by such jurists as Bartolus of Sassoferrato. Adjunct to the advocate and judge was the notary, trained also by the law faculties of Bologna and elsewhere, who had important functions in drawing up legally viable contracts and instruments, both commercial and governmental. The influence and prominence of the legal and notarial professions are attested by the fact that the guild of Giudici e Notai (Judges and Notaries) was among the seven dominant guilds (*arti maggiori*) in Florence by the middle of the 13th century. Physicians trained at the arts faculties and lawyers and notaries trained at the law faculties of the universities were the first learned lay professionals of the Middle Ages. Moreover the legal profession developed a branch within the Church in the parallel emergence of a canon law utilizing concepts and procedures of the Roman law, a response to the increasingly organized, bureaucratic character of the expanding ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not only in Italy but also in northern Europe, the popularity of legal study contributed to a decline in rhetorical-classical studies in the 12th and 13th centuries.

An important subject that traditionally had been closely associated with law, indeed had been the mother of law in the earlier Middle Ages, was the *ars dictandi*, or *ars dictaminis*, the rhetorical study of letter writing. Under the influence of the strongly practical and professional bent of the 12th- and 13th-century emergence of Roman law and the medieval jurist and notary, the *artes dictandi* as taught at the universities were reformed by purging them of their emphasis on classical Latin style in imitation of Quintillian and Cicero. Because of men like Buoncompagno in Bologna, this originally humanistic subject was subordinated to the practical needs of the legal professions. On the other hand, the study of the Code and the Digest could not help prompting an interest in Roman civilization and moral philosophy on the part of many jurists.

The birth of humanism in the 14th century was in a sense a rebirth of literary and classical rhetoric as a profession — a rebirth that recognized the aegis of the legal profession, out of which it was emerging, while it criticized and rejected the strongly utilitarian and anticlassical character it had acquired during its tutelage to the law. Among the so-called "prehumanists" of Italy were men of the generation born about 1260, active in the closing decades of the 13th and in the first quarter of the 14th centuries. Centered in Padua, Verona, and Vicenza in the north, and at Arezzo and Florence in Tuscany, many of these men were students of the *ars dictaminis*, or notaries, lawyers, or judges. Many were active in governmental affairs — Lovato dei Lovati (1241–1309), Albertino Mussato (1261–1329) and Geremia da Montagnone (ca. 1260–1321), all of Padua; even earlier Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220–94), notary, communal orator, commentator on and translator of Cicero's *De inventione*, and Dante's teacher at Florence; Francesco da Barberino (1264–1348), Florentine jurist; Geri d'Arezzo (ca. 1270–ca. 1339), *advocatus communis* at Florence. Their reputations and their surviving writings reveal a revived interest in the classical authors, with attempts to write letters, moral dialogues, Latin poems, tragedies modeled on Seneca, and histories, all in imitation of antiquity. In 1321 Giovanni del Virgilio of the Paduan circle, who exchanged poetic epistles with Dante and wrote his epitaph, was appointed to lecture on Latin poetry at the University of Bologna. While these men, and others like them, were not full-fledged humanists, it is significant that they were laymen, not clerics, and that they aroused the interest and support of prominent lay circles and of ruling families such as the Carraras in Padua and the Angevins in Naples.

The newly developing taste for the study and imitation of classical Latin poetry, history, and morality within the legal professions may well have been stimulated by the very nature of attempts to interpret and apply the Roman legal Code and the Digest of the Roman jurists to the juridical problems of their own age. At the same time there was a renewed interest in classical studies in certain ecclesiastical circles. The cathedral chapter at Verona, whose library possessed a superb collection of 9th-century classical manuscripts, was the setting for the activities of several scholars. The outstanding figure in the first quarter of the Trecento was Giovanni Mansionario, who made a critical use of corrupted classical texts in composing his *Historia imperialis*, and whose most striking work was the *Adnotatio de duobus Pliniis*, demonstrating the existence of and differences between the two Plinys who had previously been confused as one.

The papal court, removed to Avignon in 1309, was the most important ecclesiastical center for reviving classical studies. Among those drawn to this interest were certain Italian clerics who had close connections with the Angevin court of Robert, king of Naples, which was in turn linked with the Florentine circle of legal humanists during the sojourn of Robert's son Charles, the duke of Calabria, in Florence as Signore in 1326–27. The father of Petrarch, Pietro di Parenzo, or Ser Petracco (a Florentine notary before he was forced to flee in 1302), who had himself been interested in Cicero and had commissioned the famous Milan manuscript of Vergil later possessed by his son, settled in Avignon in 1312. Petrarch acquired many friends and patrons with a taste for the classics among the Avignon clerics: such men as Raymond Subirani, Giovanni Cavallini, and most importantly Cardinal Giovanni Colonna. Another Avignon churchman, who commented on Boethius and Seneca, was the English Dominican Nicholas Trevet. Moreover, the Augustinian Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, whose gift of Augustine's *Confessiones* Petrarch treasured, composed important commentaries on Latin authors such as Valerius Maximus and traveled back and forth between Avignon and Naples. A further important feature of this Franco-Italian connection in the development of humanism was the link with the earlier 12th- and 13th-century French tradition of humanistic studies, particularly through the accessibility of library collections of classical authors, such as the Sorbonne library utilized by Petrarch. Moreover, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro lectured at Paris prior to 1329, and another friend of Petrarch, the Florentine Roberto de' Bardi, was a professor and subsequently chancellor of the university from 1336 to 1349.

*Petrarch as chief founder of humanism.* The historical origins of Renaissance humanism were multifarious and obscure, with definite roots in the medieval past. Its basic character, however, was established not by these anticipatory currents and lesser forerunners but by the strongly defined character, single-minded energy, genius, and inspiring influence of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304–74). Although some of those who came shortly after him were aware of the importance of men like Mussato and Geri d'Arezzo, to most humanists he alone was founder of their studies and chief reviver of antique literary eloquence. Unlike most of his successors, who were teachers in schools or universities or held established positions in the service of republics, princes, or the papacy, Petrarch (along with his friend Boccaccio) was a free-lance writer, only on rare occasions performing a service for a patron, able to devote himself fully to his studies, discovering and propagating the texts, literary styles, and notions of the classical Latin authors. A student of law at Montpellier and Bologna, he abandoned this profession at his father's death. His income, which was considerable, derived from a number of ecclesiastical benefices, which he did not personally serve. Ordained to minor clerical orders, he lived and thought as a layman. His success despite the lack of a profession is evidence not only of the great impression his devotion to humanism made on his contemporaries but of the high value that classical studies already had among churchmen and the lay rulers who sought his friendship and supported him.

Unable or unready to appreciate Dante, his great predecessor as an Italian poet, Petrarch himself was not primarily valued for his Italian lyrics until the late 15th century. He regarded his historical study of the achievements of the Romans, *De viris illustribus*, and his Latin epic poem on Scipio Africanus, *Africa*,

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as his most important writings. When he was crowned with laurel at the Capitol in Rome in 1341, it was as a Latin poet and historian. His search for works of the classical authors for his collection was important as a future example, although the Paduan and Veronese protohumanists had also looked for classical manuscripts. The fact that these humanists "discovered" not originals but medieval copies of the classics in medieval and monastic libraries should not detract from the importance of these finds, since it was in this way that long-forgotten works were restored to circulation and many copies were made, ensuring their transmission to the modern world with their incorporation into the extant body of ancient writings available for study and enjoyment. Petrarch also contributed significantly to the spreading interest in humanism in his letters.

His outlook on life was fundamentally Christian and in many respects medieval. By no means a profound thinker or in any strict sense a philosopher, Petrarch was, nevertheless, a man of uniquely independent and original mind, whose attitudes, developed and elaborated by succeeding humanists, typified Italian humanism. He himself was heavily dependent on Livy, Cicero, and Seneca and on those late-classical, Ciceronian-Christian, Roman thinkers, Lactantius and St. Augustine. But, as is true of all humanists, his thought cannot be tightly linked with a single school or tendency. Even where there was a close identity, as with those influenced by Neoplatonism, Renaissance humanists used their sources eclectically in their synthesis of classical and Christian elements.

Perhaps it was the completeness of Petrarch's self-revelation which made his life and thought so much a model for emerging humanism and which has led modern historians to find in him in so many ways the key to understanding the Renaissance. Although there had been strikingly acute analyses of moral motivation on the part of medieval Christian thinkers such as Gregory I's *Regula pastoralis*, Bernard of Clairvaux's *De gradibus humilitatis*, Bonaventura's *De triplici via*, these treatments were general in nature rather than highly personal and autobiographical. Petrarch's *Secretum* properly went back to the late-classical Christian work, the *Confessiones* of St. Augustine. Yet Petrarch departs from both the classical and the medieval Christian spirit by viewing himself as confronted by the demands of both Christian religious authority and classical moral authority, blended together in the dialogue in the role of Augustinus, who is not the saint of the *Confessiones* (whose vicissitudes Petrarch more closely identifies with his own in the role of Franciscus) but the voice of Christian orthodoxy speaking in the language of Seneca's stoicism and preaching rational control of one's emotions, on the model of the *De tranquillitate animi*. Petrarch was able to view himself in a highly subjective way, in detachment from history and culture, which he viewed objectively. He saw himself faced with the problem of making an intellectual and artistic achievement worthy of the admiration of posterity while at the same time living in accord with both classical moral wisdom and Christian revelation. This characteristically modern outlook, which combined a strong sense of subjective selfhood (a result of the Christianization of European culture) with an externalized conception of history and society, was manifested in his *Epistle to Posterity*, letters to classical authors, *De vita solitaria*, and elsewhere.

Petrarch originated the concept of the "Dark Ages," viewing European history from the 5th century to his own time not as the transfer of the Roman Empire to German-Christian successors, but as the residue of a decline and fall of a once great civilization. It was the task of his own day to recapture the virtue, and thus the glory, of the Roman past. Whatever romanticism about antiquity and distortion of plain facts of medieval history may be involved in this value judgment, in it must be recognized the humanists' conception of their own age as a renaissance, attained, or programmatically to be attained, through the recapture of a true understanding of classical antiquity and through a reshaping of the present in accord with antique esthetic, moral, and political values.

Consistent with a more objective consideration of history — more objective despite Petrarch's admiration of the antique and censure of the medieval — was a new view of man as striving to attain virtue on the antique model although faced with the vicissitudes of fortune. Indeed, history in different ages has been the result of striving or not striving for virtue. But for Petrarch virtue is not merely moral and is no longer the Christian state of grace as Augustine and the Middle Ages viewed it; it is, rather, the sum total of the individual's resolve to leave his mark on his time, to combat fortune with his achievements, whether military and political, as in the case of his hero Scipio Africanus and other illustrious Romans; literary, as in the case of Vergil, Livy, and Cicero; or piety in living, as in the case of St. Augustine or even Petrarch's own brother Gherardo and his fellow Carthusian monks. These ideas permeate the treatises and letters (setting the style for his successors), but they were especially emphasized in Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, *Africa*, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and *De vita solitaria*.

It is essential to stress, moreover, that Petrarch, however much he admired the classical Roman, or Ciceronian, outlook, never failed to recognize that it was not Christian. His view of the relationship of the Roman pagans to Christianity, in fact his conception of the historical role of the Renaissance humanist, is most clearly expressed in *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*. Here, turning the slur that was so wounding to an old man's retrospective image of himself — "Petrarch is a good man but not very learned" — into a defense of the moral earnestness of humanism and an attack on the amoral erudition of the contemporary Aristotelians at the universities, he again set the pattern for subsequent humanist polemic against the study of natural philosophy in the medical course. (Petrarch also composed an *Invectivarum contra medicum quendam libri*.) Charging that Aristotle may give an intellectual comprehension of virtue but cannot produce a motivation for a good life, and averring that "it is better to will the good than to know the truth," Petrarch asserts: "He teaches what virtue is, I do not deny that; but his lesson lacks the words that sting and set afire and urge toward love of virtue and hatred of vice . . . . He who looks for that will find it in our Latin writers, especially in Cicero and Seneca, and, what may be astonishing to hear, in Horace, a poet somewhat rough in style but most pleasing in his maxims." He wrote, "If to admire Cicero means to be a Ciceronian, I am a Ciceronian . . . . However, when we come to think or speak of religion, that is, of supreme truth and true happiness, and of eternal salvation, then I am certainly not a Ciceronian, or a Platonist, but a Christian."

Petrarch's relationship to and influence on the visual arts in his own lifetime was small but significant. He was a friend of Simone Martini, owned a painting by him, and commissioned from him a neoclassical scene including Aeneas, Vergil, and Servius to illustrate the frontispiece of the Vergil made for his father (IX, PL. 337). An ardent admirer of the paintings of Giotto, Petrarch possessed a Madonna by the painter. In subsequent generations Petrarch's works, especially his *Trionfi*, were to inspire numerous representations; one of the writings from the last years of his life provided the theme and the details for a large fresco, which was actually executed under his direct supervision. Toward 1367 he was commissioned by Francesco Carrara (il Vecchio), duke of Padua, to complete his *De viris illustribus* and to prepare a compendium of it. The figures of Roman statesmen and military leaders whom Petrarch felt worthy of emulation were then represented on the walls of a room of the palace which was known as the Sala Virorum Illustrium. Beneath each figure was a scene from Petrarch's biography in which antique Roman buildings formed the background. The figures in the scene, however, wore 14th-century costume. In these paintings the combination of classical form and content present in some of Petrarch's writings was only partially manifested. By 1379 Petrarchs' history was completed by Lombardo della Seta, whose portrait was included along with Petrarch's in the Sala. The paintings, variously attributed to Altichiero, Jacopo Avanzo, Guariento, and Ottaviano Prandino, were destroyed by fire about 1500; knowledge of them derives from a contemporary manuscript copy (Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, Cod. 101). This series made a decisive break from the medieval-feudal tradition of representing the *Neuf*

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*Preux* (Nine Worthies), an assortment of classical and medieval heroes, on walls and tapestries in the houses of the prominent and set a precedent for other Italian examples of halls of famous men of a more strictly classical and humanistic provenance.

*Boccaccio, Salutati, and the consolidation of humanism.* The most important link between Petrarch's pioneering phase of humanism and its later development as a widely diffused, increasingly favored cultural movement in the Quattrocento was Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75). The fact that both Petrarch and Boccaccio were equally important as authors of vernacular literature and as humanists (i.e. classical Latin scholars and authors) contributed enormously to the influence and prestige of humanism itself. The relationship between authorship in the vernacular and in Latin was complex and, as Petrarch's attitude toward Dante shows, sometimes hostile, but it no longer seems possible to emphasize, as historians once did, the opposition between the two traditions. Instead there is increasingly convincing evidence of the continuous association and mutual support of the history of Italian literature and the development of the humanist movement.

Boccaccio's Italian tales and *novelle*, and especially, of course, *The Decameron*, indicate the growth of a secular outlook in a lay audience of the middle and upper classes in urban Italy. It was the same social element whose enthusiastic acceptance of the values and activities of the humanists and whose taste for a revival of classical antiquity ensured the great vogue for humanism and its penetration into almost every aspect of culture including, most significantly, the visual arts. Both Petrarch and Boccaccio made contributions of specific and practical importance to the artist who was called upon to depict a classical scene or an antique deity. Although the writings of Vergil and Ovid as well as various late-classical and medieval collections were available as iconographical sources, the third canto of Petrarch's *Africa* (verses 138–262) gave a succinct and visual description of the pagan deities with a concentration on essentials that especially appealed to the artist. Boccaccio's lengthier and more encyclopedic *De genealogia deorum*, with its literal, moral, and allegorical interpretations, its undiscriminating dependence on classical and medieval compendiums, was, nevertheless, the most important handbook of mythology until the appearance in the mid-16th century of L. G. Giraldi's *De deis gentium*, Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, and Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini degli dei*. Equally popular and influential were Boccaccio's collections of biographies, *De claris mulieribus* and *De casibus virorum illustrium*, which repeated in a less profound way Petrarch's theme of the conflict of virtue and fortune. Boccaccio also contributed to the restoration of ancient texts, most notably a manuscript of the *Annals* and the *Histories* of Tacitus, which he found at the monastery of Monte Cassino.

It was Boccaccio's prestige as a citizen and resident of Florence that led to the appointment of Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) as chancellor, or Latin secretary, of the Florentine Republic in 1375. Salutati, trained as a notary at Bologna, by his signal contribution as a humanist to Florentine public affairs created the precedent and demand for appointing humanists as chancellors, secretaries, and writers in the employ of the major states of Italy. With the great prestige that accrued to Florence through the state papers and official correspondence written by Salutati, particularly in connection with the struggles with the papacy and with Milan under the Viscontis, Florentine rulers saw the value of continuing to employ humanists as chancellors after the death of Salutati. In the course of the Quattrocento, Milan, Naples, Venice, the papal *curia*, and many of the lesser signorial courts followed suit. While the entrance of Ciceronian Latin into the major Italian chanceries, and the vogue for stating the case of a particular power in terms of Roman precedent must assume the prior growth of a state of mind to which such appeals would seem persuasive, this development was strategic for the further influence and cultural dominance of humanism. Not only did the prestige and emoluments of office make a humanistic career seem a lucrative one, but even more attractive was the fact that humanists were placed in positions to advise the powerful and wealthy to undertake major scholarly, educational, architectural, and artistic programs. The major impact of humanism on the arts may be dated from the establishment of such connections.

The advancing influence and prestige of humanism during the generation of Salutati may also be seen in the provision of facilities for the education of humanists and for the propagation of humanism. While the minor practitioners of the *studia humanitatis* in the generation of Petrarch and Boccaccio and in that of Salutati may not be discounted, even though they have not been adequately studied, certain more important figures formed a link between the work of Petrarch and Boccaccio and the brilliant generation of the first third of the Quattrocento, particularly in the two centers of Padua and Florence. Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna (1343–1408), wandering teacher of the humanities, was professor of rhetoric at the University of Padua in 1392 and twice chancellor of Padua (1379–82 and 1393–1404). His pupils included many leading humanists of the early Quattrocento. Gasparino da Barzizza (1359–1431), professor of rhetoric at Padua (1397–1421), was succeeded by his protege, Vittorino da Feltre (1373–1446). Barzizza maintained an important private school for humanists during these years. Giovanni Malpaghini da Ravenna (1346–1417), Petrarch's copyist, who was active as a teacher in the north, was appointed professor of rhetoric at the University of Florence (ca. 1395). Luigi Marsili (ca. 1330–94), Augustinian monk as well as correspondent and friend of Petrarch, established a circle for the discussion and study of the humanities at the Monastery of Sto Spirito in Florence. A similar but more distinctly lay and social group met at the villa of a leading Florentine, Antonio degli Alberti. Such men as these propagated the learned skills and spiritual enthusiasm which sustained the new generation.

The striking fact is that several means of giving practical support to a new profession, linked to the medieval past but distinct in character, were well established by the beginning of the 15th century. Humanism, as a profession, had now been permanently established in four institutions: in the civil service and emerging diplomatic service of the Italian states (the common word for envoy was *orator*); in education, with university appointments in poetry, eloquence, and sometimes moral philosophy, as teachers or directors of communal or private schools, or as private tutors; in ecclesiastical or monastic centers, where churchmen enamored of the humanities studied or gave support and blessing; in princely courts and private households, where the wealthy and powerful frequently were not only patrons but practitioners of these studies.

Another fundamental achievement of the generation of Salutati was the establishment of the study of ancient Greek on a sufficiently solid basis for it to become part of the normal education of a humanist and for the study and translation of Greek literature to be a normal activity of the Italian humanist. Facility in Greek in the Latin west during the Middle Ages, and into the 14th century, was perhaps more widespread than was once assumed, but at its best, it was regarded as (and in fact was) an exceptional feat, thanks to which a considerable number of Greek scientific and metaphysical texts had been translated directly from the Greek by westerners, mainly Italians, although some came from the north (William of Moerbeke).

With the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras to the University of Florence in 1397, his subsequent teaching in northern Italy, and the advent of a long series of Byzantine Greek teachers in the first half of the Quattrocento (as well as after 1453), the linguistic barrier to full knowledge of the extant works of classical antiquity was breached. While this was to have its initial impact on the literary, historical, and moral-philosophical interests of the humanists, and on humanistic circles of both clergy and laity who eagerly translated the Greek patristic writings, the more traditional university subjects of logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy also benefited from the spreading capacity to study original Greek texts. Near the end of the Quattrocento, Politian, introducing his university course on Homer, boasted that the Attic tongue, torn from its own soil by barbarians, now echoed in the mouths of youths of the most noble families of Florence. Between the faltering efforts of Petrarch and Boccaccio to acquire the language and

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the common study of Greek literature as a university subject, the appointment of Chrysoloras was the most important step.

By the 15th century humanism had evolved, not into an old profession with new style, tastes, and standards, but into a new group of scholarly and creative literary activities which was based on a tradition of learning and education that reached back at least to the Greek Sophists but which had also acquired an outlook and contemporary flavor that distinguished it from all historical precedents. The men who carried on these activities, which they called *studia humanitatis*, did so for the sake of literary creation and advancement of learning in these fields as well as for carrying on their several professions. Their motives were both pure, in devotion to their disciplines through which they hoped to contribute to moral or civic well-being, and impure, in seeking and welcoming rewards for creative efforts or paid employment for particular learned skills. In the fluid situation during the Renaissance, these elements were continually changing. Beginning with the new generation of the early 1400s, ideas concerning the content of the *studia humanitatis* underwent a change. In the 14th century the *studia* comprised a varying list, but it was mainly thought of as poetry and eloquence, or rhetoric. University appointments were usually for studies titled "Poetry and Eloquence," and such listings continued into the 15th century. Moral philosophy was occasionally designated as a subject. History also was mentioned, as when Petrarch was crowned poet-laureate. Paul Kristeller, who perhaps wishes to emphasize the traditional professional character of the *studia humanitatis* more than their diffuse practice seems to justify, has cited the license granted to Petrarch by King Robert of Naples: "for reading [or teaching], disputing and interpreting the ancient writers both in the said poetic discipline and in the said historical discipline *and* [italics added] for himself composing new [or modern] books and poetry," a document which is accurately descriptive of the activities of the humanist. Thus there was, and there continued to be, an important distinction between the interpretation of classical literature (in this case poetry and history are specified) and the composition of modern works in these genres. Both activities, the scholarly and the creative, are comprised in the *studia humanitatis*. Ordinarily history was subsumed as a branch of rhetoric, following Cicero's conception.

From the early Quattrocento frequently not two but five *studia*, which may be taken as ultimately definitive of humanism, were specified: grammar, including not only usage and sentence structure of the Latin language and of Greek, but philological and historical interpretation of all texts; rhetoric, the study of stylistic and literary aspects of all genres of texts by ancient authors as well as composition of orations and letters; history, increasingly separated from rhetoric and including both study of ancient historians and the writing of historical works about the classical and the recent past; poetry, study of Roman and Greek poets and composition of Latin verse; moral philosophy, including study, exposition, and interpretation of the moral thought of Cicero, Seneca, Aristotle, and other ancient writers and composition of numerous treatises on the ethical domestic, and civic life of man. Thus by the Quattrocento it is possible to arrive at a full definition of humanism according to the professional activities in which the humanists engaged and the disciplines they claimed. This definition, as was proposed, is historical and empirical, but while it is fundamental, it is too formal to be completely satisfactory. However, efforts to go beyond this, although essential, inevitably become involved in the controversial character of the historical and philosophical interpretations not only of Renaissance humanism but of the Renaissance itself. The interpretations which follow are based on recent studies which seem most significant to the author as well as most relevant for an understanding of the relationship of humanism to art. It must be borne in mind that humanism was a most complex historical phenomenon: not only did the humanists attempt to combine in shifting patterns their pursuit of scholarly and creative literary disciplines with their employment in both traditional medieval and newly developed institutional situations, but they also attempted to apply a variety of classical moral-philosophical and literary-esthetic positions to the problems of their times. All this made for polemic and controversy within the humanist movement and between its members and other groups and individuals — that was begotten not only by jealousies and professional rivalries but also by genuine intellectual and artistic disagreement. Moreover, there was quite clearly a vitality among the humanists, a sense of mission that related itself in a complicated way to the many other historical currents of the Renaissance. Furthermore, the relationship of humanism and humanists to religion, so firmly established both as an institution and in popular conviction in western Christendom, was inevitably highly controversial, however daringly new or devotedly pious a humanist considered his ideal to be. In addition to the question of how the *studia humanitatis* agreed or clashed with religion and clergy was the question of the humanists' relationship with the increasingly powerful lay forces of their time. What should be remembered, though frequently forgotten, is that humanism must inevitably be studied individual by individual, generation by generation, region by region, and aspect by aspect.

*Representative humanists of 15th-century Italy.* It is beyond the scope of this discussion to deal in detail with the subsequent history of humanism; certain broad lines only can be suggested. The 15th century marked its high point, and its development falls into three roughly defined periods corresponding loosely to the period of maturity of three generations. The first generation, initiated into humanism under the influence of the contemporaries of Salutati, included many notable figures. One such was Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), the wealthy Florentine collector of manuscripts and antiquities, who left no writing himself but had nonetheless a profound influence on the cultivation of a taste for the literature and art of antiquity among the upper classes of Florence and created an important library of classical works. Another, Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444), was a student of Conversino, Chrysoloras, and Malpaghini and a friend of Salutati and Bruni. Vergerio was active in Florence, Padua, and Verona, serving as secretary to Innocent VII, and to Cardinal Zabarella at the Council of Constance. Later he was court orator to the emperor Sigismund. Vergerio died at Buda in 1444. Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona (1370–1460), as founders of important humanistic schools at Mantua, Verona, and Ferrara, were responsible for the spread of humanism at the courts and in lay circles of northern Italy. Vergerio, Vittorino, and Guarino's son Battista wrote important treatises delineating the humanist educational ideals. Perhaps of greater stature was Leonardo Bruni (1374–1444), who gave long service as chancellor of the city of Florence, and whose works included important translations from the Greek (Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Aristotle, St. Basil), historical writings that ranged from plagiarizing quasi translations of the ancients to histories of his own time that were outstandingly original, treatises on the *studia humanitatis*, and defenses of Florentine republicanism that prove him unquestionably the principal so-called "civic humanist." Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), long apostolic secretary and at the end of his life Florentine chancellor, was the most important discoverer of classical manuscripts, principally in European monasteries. His moral treatises show a sharp and critical view of the institutions and mode of life of his time. Most important to art historians is the description of Roman ruins in his *De varietate fortunae*. Poggio was apparently one of the few humanists to be genuinely sensitive to the esthetic values of antique monuments rather than prizing them as historical and literary documentation. Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) became prior of the Camaldolese Convent of S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence and turned it into a center for humanistic discussion of the sort Sto Spirito had been. He was the most important humanist translator of the Greek fathers and an active spirit in the attempt to reconcile the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches at the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence. Krautheimer has shown the influence of Traversari's iconographical and religio-historical ideas in Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise. Traversari probably prepared the program of this Christian-humanist masterpiece.

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The generation active in the middle years of the century overlapped, of course, with the older humanists of the preceding generation, which included many outstanding figures. Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454) was among the first of the prominent Venetians to become a classical scholar. Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli, 1391–ca. 1457) was not a scholar but a merchant and adventurer with a passion for traveling, who collected inscriptions and made remarkably accurate descriptions and drawings of ancient Roman and Greek monuments in the course of his wanderings in the eastern Mediterranean — Greece, the islands, and Asia Minor. His notebooks, which were of great importance for Renaissance artists, remain so today for classical archaeology. His depiction of the remains of the polyandrion in Delos, dated 1445, is among the earliest examples of 15th-century pictures of ruins. An archetype of the Renaissance explorer, "I go," said he, "to awaken the dead." The historian, geographer, and commentator on Roman antiquities, Flavio Biondo of Forlì (1392–1463), is also remembered for his attempts to collect Roman inscriptions. The Milanese humanist Pier Candido Decembrio (1392–1477) served for many years as chancellor of Milan under the Viscontis, the republic of 1448, and the Sforzas. Antonio Beccadelli, called "Panormita" (1394–1471), a Latin poet and historian, worked in many centers of Italy but especially in Naples. Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), of a prominent Florentine family, had an outstanding reputation as an orator, was active as a statesman and diplomat, and was the author of important treatises revealing a combination of piety and thorough pride in human achievements, including those of his contemporaries. Manetti's *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* was a striking statement showing both a positive evaluation of the life and actions of man and a dependence on the views of Cicero and of Lactantius, the so-called "Christian Cicero." Manetti was an early Hebrew and Biblical scholar who translated the Psalter as well as the Greek New Testament. His life of Nicholas V is an important record of the building projects of this humanist pope.

Of even greater importance to the arts was, of course, Leon Battista Alberti (q.v.), who was not only the most influential art theorist of the 15th century and an outstanding Renaissance architect but an important exponent of humanist moral ideals. Alberti's role as a mediator between humanism and the arts will be dealt with below. Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) had a long and checkered career as manuscript collector, translator, teacher, impetuous polemicist, and philologist. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–64), known as Aeneas Sylvius, after a career as historian, geographer, orator, and diplomat became Pope Pius II (1458–64). An outstanding figure was Lorenzo Valla (1407–57), who wrote the most influential philological treatise of the Quattrocento, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*. Valla challenged traditional approaches to law, logic, history, theology, and ethics. His *De voluptate ac de vero bono* long gave him the reputation of being an epicurean and sensualist and therefore antireligious. Today however, despite its antirational and its historical emphasis, his philosophy is regarded as unquestionably Christian but uniquely original in its affirmation of the moral autonomy of the individual. Finally, there were three spokesmen of the Florentine ideal of the humanist civic-patriot: Carlo Marsuppini (1398–1453), Florentine chancellor after Bruni; Matteo Palmieri (1406–75), author of the *Della vita civile* and admired orator, who revived in his *Città di vita* the Origenist heresy, that mankind was created to replace the fallen angels; and Benedetto Accolti (1415–66), Florentine chancellor after Poggio, who maintained the superiority of his contemporaries over the ancients in his *Dialogus de praestantia virorum sui aevi*. There were, of course, hosts of other less important or little-known figures in both of these vigorous generations of humanists.

The last four decades of the Quattrocento saw humanism thoroughly established in court and literary circles in all parts of Italy — not only in Medicean Florence, the papal *curia*, the court of Alfonso V at Naples, in Sforza Milan, and at Venice, but in the minor princely courts of the Gonzagas at Mantua, the Estes at Ferrara, the Malatestas at Rimini, and the Montefeltros at Urbino. Humanists were active as private tutors and as teachers in the schools and universities; as secretaries, orators, and diplomats; as consultants on classical mythology, tombs, inscriptions, and architecture; as court poets and historians. They were active in the service of states and of powerful individuals; they were available to assist men of lesser rank and wealth. Their methods and their historical and philological understanding of classical antiquity had become increasingly firm and professional; in many instances their standards approached those of modern scholarship.

In late Quattrocento humanism there were three chief developments. The first was the increasing integration of humanism, that is to say, classical scholarship, with literary composition in the vernacular. Politian, whose real name was Angelo Ambrogini (1454–94), was an outstanding scholar and commentator on Greek and Latin philosophical and literary texts and was highly regarded both as a Latin and as an Italian poet. Another such figure, active at the Neapolitan court, was Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), whose Latin verse achieved a fusion of classical with modern Italian lyrical style. A similar figure in Naples was Jacopo Sannazzaro (1456–1530), author of the *Arcadia*, which was to inspire representations of pastoral life in late Renaissance art, and of *De partu virginis*, a poem in classical form and language on the life of the Virgin. The mingling of the traditions of classical scholarship and popular literature found such figures as Politian and, later, Pietro Bembo frequently serving as bridges to the visual arts.

The second, and almost dominant, development was the translation of Plato and the principal Neoplatonists by Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), with the penetration of his characteristic version of Platonism into humanist circles not only in Florence but elsewhere in Italy. Prior to the vogue for Platonism there had been an interest in Aristotelian moral philosophy in Florence following the appointment of the Byzantine Aristotelian John Argyropoulos to the university in 1457. His pupil and follower Donato Acciaiuoli (1428–78), became a venerable image to the humanists of Ficino's day. Another Florentine Aristotelian, Alamanno Rinuccini (1419–99), who acquired a reputation as an orator and civic humanist, composed an anti-Medicean dialogue *De libertate*. Ficino's Neoplatonism will be discussed below in its relationship both to humanism and to the arts. In general the impact of Platonism, which Kristeller distinguishes from humanism, was to bring about not so much a literal adoption of Ficino's philosophy as a free adaptation of his allegorical interpretations and of many individual ideas. For instance, Cristoforo Landino (1424–1504) and Politian, who professed to act as humanist spokesmen of Neoplatonism, drew encouragement for the construction of a sort of Neoplatonic philology rather than a complete adherence to Ficino's philosophy. In some ways a more daring thinker than Ficino but in other respects less of a humanistic scholar and less important as a founder and expounder of Renaissance Platonism, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) followed the precedent of Giannozzo Manetti both in his interest in Hebrew and in his pronouncement on the dignity of man (*De hominis dignitate*). Both Ficino and Pico, who were exposed to scholastic Aristotelianism in their youthful studies, supplied, or attempted to supply, a much needed bridge between humanism and traditional scholastic and Christian thought.

The third development was the spread of the new invention of printing to Italy, and the rapid employment of the philological knowledge and skills of humanists as editors of classical texts. Not only did this provide a new means of support for the humanists, but it led to a further diffusion of humanist thinking and scholarship through their commentaries, which were frequently included with printed editions of the ancient writers. Printing also led to a shifting of the leading center of humanism from Florence to Venice toward the end of the century, because of the preeminence of the new printing trade in Venice and the particular encouragement given to humanists by the great Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius (see GRAPHIC ARTS).

In the 16th century Venice, which managed for some time to maintain its prosperity and its grandeur despite the cataclysmic changes elsewhere in Italy, in Europe, and in the trade routes, came into its own as a center of art, literature, and humanism. But it was symbolic of the fate of Italian humanism in the age

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of its decline that the career of Venice's outstanding humanist and poet, Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), led him to the society of the Este court at Ferrara and the Montefeltro at Urbino, as well as to the Vatican. Not only was he an important literary exponent of the Neoplatonic doctrine of love, as in *Gli Asolani* and as portrayed by Baldassare Castiglione in the last book of *Il Cortegiano*, but he became perhaps the most ubiquitous humanist adviser of painters such as Giovanni Bellini, Raphael, and Titian. Bembo, like Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547) and Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542), was one of the humanists whom Leo X, the first Medici pope, dignified as cardinals. Under the worldly rule of Alexander VI, Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII, until the Sack of Rome (1527) and the onset of the Counter Reformation, Rome was a powerful magnet for humanists, who found themselves favored and in demand as advisers on the great artistic programs.

By 1500 humanism had become a European phenomenon. It is not possible to discuss the history of northern humanism here, except to indicate that after the great generation of Erasmus, Budé, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Colet, More, Reuchlin, and Vives, all intimately involved in the religious crosscurrents preceding the Reformation, there was a continuation of the humanist tradition in Europe at least into the 18th century. By reason of the similarity of their ideas and activities to those of Renaissance Italian humanists, many oustanding figures in the history of European culture may properly be thought of as belonging to the same tradition as the humanists, even though they are not ordinarily so designated: men such as Michel de Montaigne, Justus Lipsius, John Milton, and the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Because the Italian humanists of the late 14th, the 15th, and the early 16th centuries constituted a self-conscious movement of innovation, because they were centrally important in Renaissance culture, society, and politics, and in their influence on Renaissance art, and because of the formative character of their ideas and intellectual activities, the following discussion will concentrate on the humanist movement in the Quattrocento.

*Moral and religious concerns of humanism.* There is more to humanism than is revealed in a historical consideration of the intellectual and professional activities of the humanists, more also than the extensive additions to western European knowledge of ancient Latin and Greek culture contributed by the humanists through their "second revival of learning." Almost to a man the humanists regarded themselves, or their studies, more as making a general contribution to the well-being of mankind than supplying an expert, encyclopedic knowledge of antiquity. In their emphasis on "letters" and "speech," on accurate and elegant diction, on precise historical and philological understanding of textual meanings, they were not merely asserting that the beauty and precision of what was said might sometimes render the statement more graciously acceptable or factually clearer. They were, or maintained they were, as interested in *what* was said as in *how* it was said.

It has been suggested that properly the humanists fall into the western rhetorical tradition that began with the Greek Sophists, was sustained by the Hellenistic rhetorical schools, was expanded by Cicero into the theoretical basis of Latin culture, and, adapted and adopted by the Latin Fathers, was passed on by medieval grammarians and rhetoricians in a series of renascences. But the principal spokesmen of this tradition rarely considered it to be concerned with forms alone. Definite claims to wisdom along with eloquence had been put forth from Protagoras on; Cicero had placed the knowledge of philosophy within the sphere of the orator; rhetoric in the Middle Ages had frequently been associated with "civil philosophy," and as late as the mid-14th century Jean Buridan in his commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* considered moral philosophy to be closely connected with rhetoric, which he called *logica moralis*. Thus the humanists' assertion that the student of letters and eloquence was properly concerned with moral philosophy coincides with this tradition, and not only because ethics involves action to which eloquence moves men, as Petrarch suggested.

Besides the prose text, which could, as in orations and letters on the model of Cicero and Seneca, be directly rhetorical and persuasive; in histories, exemplify moral and political virtue and convey wisdom drawn from past human experience; or in treatises, bear directly upon man's ethical life; the humanists were deeply concerned with poetry. The medieval *ars dictaminis* had recognized both poetic (metrical and rhythmical) composition and prose, as well as a composite of the two. There had been a tendency toward a rhetorical conception and practice of poetry, which the humanists were to carry even further. But what seems most significant in the Trecento were the series of defenses of poetry by Mussato, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutati, all setting forth an exalted conception of poetry as theological writing. In part this may have been a defense against clerical criticism of the study of pagan authors. In the case first of ancient Latin, and later on of Greek, poetry with their references to pagan deities and to amatory episodes (as well as modern Latin poetry composed in imitation of the ancients), the resort to theology through allegory may well seem necessary to escape censure. But it should also be remembered that the notion of a poetic theology, classical in origin, had prevailed throughout the Middle Ages until poetry was downgraded into a "lower discipline" by Thomas Aquinas and other scholastics. Thus, as E. R. Curtius has shown, the humanists sought to restore poetry's lost status.

Not only a reassertion of a traditional position was at stake, however. A wider claim was asserted: that divine knowledge and divine insight should be not a technical speciality of the university theologian but, as poetic theology would make it, accessible to others. According to Hans Baron, the humanists of the early Quattrocento turned against this "medieval" conception of their literary activities to a more worldly, direct service of the civic community. In fact there were two concurrent developments. In one, poetry and the *studia humanitatis* generally were assimilated to the Ciceronian rhetorical notion of letters as the instrument of civility or of *urbanitas*, with poetry serving the same utilitarian functions of persuasion, edification, and pleasure that writing in general possessed. In the other, as Dante's *Divine Comedy* became increasingly the subject of humanist study, the vernacular (and vernacular poetry) acquired equal acceptability with Latin, and Dante's opus, in accord with his own view of it, attained recognition as the classic example of poetic theology. In line with the first of these tendencies Horace's *Ars poetica* came more and more to be interpreted according to rhetorical canons from Cicero or Quintillian, a practice possibly not too alien to Horace's poem itself. Thus the 15th century would seem to have converted the earlier *theologia poetica* into *theologia rhetorica*, only to return later in the century (with Landino's *Commentary on the Divine Comedy*, as well as his study of Vergil, and with Pico's project of a *Poetica theologia*) to a viewpoint not too dissimilar to that of Pierre Bersuire, in his *Ovide Moralisé*.

There are today three broad tendencies in the interpretation of humanism, each of which brings out a highly significant aspect of the movement but at the same time seems to place too severe restrictions on the other interpretations. One group of scholars (Douglas Bush, Augustin Renaudet, Giuseppe Toffanin, and their disciples) tends to see a primarily religious meaning in the rise of the *studia humanitatis*, emphasizing the reconciliation of Greek and Latin culture with Christianity and finding support for this view in the humanists' revival of patristic Christian thought and in their opposition to Aristotelian natural philosophers. In Toffanin's extreme view the humanists are the forerunners of the Counter Reformation. Another group strongly emphasizes what its members (Hans Baron, Eugenio Garin) call "civic humanism," or the placing of the *studia humanitatis* at the service of the community, but they wish to confine this very important aspect of humanism to Florentine and Venetian republicanism, considering the fact that humanists also served in papal and princely courts in something of a perversion of their true vocation. To the humanists is attributed "the conscious design to break with tradition for the sake of a renewal which takes antique culture as the model which incarnated in paradigmatic form the ideal of the free man in the free city." (Eugenio Garin, *Il pensiero pedagogico dello umanesimo*, p. xviii.) The third group (Paul Oskar Kristeller, Walter Ruegg)

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prefers to see humanism rather strictly as the practice of the learned disciplines legitimated as *studia humanitatis*; but in its restraint, generated by the inclination of the first two to include only those aspects of humanism which fit their particular images, it risks a failure to grapple with the question of the broad significance of humanism in Renaissance culture generally and in the arts in particular. A broader view of humanism sees no necessary contradiction between these three tendencies and the possibility of genuine synthesis. For humanism did consist of the devotees of the *studia humanitatis*, who laid claim to special importance in a Christian culture where the ecclesiastical, legal, and medical professions had become technically proficient and overspecialized at the very time that laymen were acquiring a taste for learning and culture. This fact underlay the combination of religious, moral, and civic interests that humanists variously found to be coherent aspects of their literary and rhetorical studies. As Salutati replied to the criticisms of Giovanni Dominici, "Connexa sunt humanitatis studia; connexa sunt et studia divinitatis, ut unius rei sine alia vera completaque scientia non possit haberi" ("Both the *studia humanitatis* and the *studia divinitatis* are so connected that true and complete knowledge of one cannot be gained without the other").

In understanding Renaissance humanism the significant distinction is between theory and practice and not between the contemplative and the active life. Much of the trouble and disagreement that exists in the interpretation of humanism derives from the fact that some humanists espoused the *vita contemplativa* while others urged the *vita activa*. Moreover, certain humanists saw the value of each as dependent upon circumstance, and certainly in their dialogues many of them were able to state the arguments for each very effectively. Petrarch, as has been seen, admired the illustrious Roman men of action, who were models for moral emulation; on the other hand, no humanist more eloquently and sincerely praised the values of contemplation than he in his *De vita solitaria* and *De otio religioso*. But in both cases it was the attainment of moral wisdom, or prudence, for the sake of the good life that concerned him.

This sense of a moral vocation to guide their contemporaries in making the proper practical decisions on how to live virtuously was what drew men to the tradition of the *studia humanitatis* and attracted them particularly to the most thoroughgoing statement of the values of a philosophy of practice embodied in rhetoric, namely the writings of Cicero. Renaissance humanism cannot be understood without accepting as historical fact the genuine need of a more informal and practical basis for making decisions of a domestic, civil, or even spiritual nature than was afforded by the inherited institutional machinery of the Middle Ages. In the Renaissance towns, whether the government was republican or despotic, men of leisure or those engaged in business, administrative, or political activities found various images of life with which they could identify in the study of classical literature, oratory, poetry, and history that the humanists urged on them. The moral-philosophical aspects of humanism were therefore an essential ingredient in the emergence of a lay culture.

It was also essential that the emerging culture of the laity find a *modus vivendi* that did not stand in contradiction to the Catholic faith. The evidence is strong that, except during the religious upheavals of Savonarola and of the 16th century, the humanists were convinced that there was nothing intrinsically antireligious, heretical, or contrary to Christian morals in their studies and activities. But at many points, particularly when they were accused or challenged, they felt compelled to defend this view, to indicate the special moral role humanism might play, to criticize the inadequacy of traditional means of meeting the moral needs of the laity of the middle and upper classes. It was not accidental that they so consistently favored patristic statements of Christian views over medieval and contemporary scholastic and mendicant pronouncements, nor that both Leonardo Bruni, the most explicitly "civic" humanist, and Lorenzo Valla, who served under despots, could criticize the mendicant conception of moral behavior as living up to (or hypocritically seeming to live up to) ascetic vows and could advocate, instead, individual responsibility and reliance on conscience. Lorenzo's oration praising the historical role of the Roman Catholic Church in transmitting the Latin language and facilitating the revival of the *studia humanitatis* reveals his conviction that the Church and the humanists had a like responsibility for the moral and cultural conditions of mankind.

*Humanism and Renaissance Platonism.* It was conceptions such as these which, fusing classical ethics and the Biblical tradition, lent themselves to artistic representation. In many instances the programs of art works of the late Quattrocento and the early Cinquecento have been attributed to Neoplatonism; the existence of some of these ideas even in the writings of humanists prior to the publication of Ficino's works should be carefully examined to determine the relationship of Platonism to the purposes of the humanists. Particularly relevant is the often exalted conception of both the earthly achievements and the heavenly destiny of man that evolved among the humanists. It is quite clear that, while the humanists could not and did not separate their philosophies of man from the Christian revelation of his ultimate destiny, the tendency from the mid-Quattrocento on was to view human destiny as exclusively and ineluctably heavenly and glorious. Instead of an emphasis on the human in place of, or in preference to, the divine, there was a decided tendency to emphasize not only that human dignity rested in the fact that man was created in the image of God but that the perfection of humanity would be realized in equality with divinity. Valla in the third book of his *De voluptate* described the Christian's entry into the celestial life in the image of a triumph, and in his sermon *De mysterio Eucharistiae* he declared, "Nor is it only that He himself is more similar to us than to the angels. From this it may also be known that God reveals to pious and believing minds that, as he transforms that bread, so he will transform us in the day of judgment, into God." Giannozzo Manetti in *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* proclaimed that the incarnation would have occurred even if Adam had not sinned, "so that man, through this humble assumption of human flesh, might be miraculously and incredibly honored and glorified." It was not without precedent, then, that Ficino, thirty years after Valla and twenty after Manetti, said in his *De Christiana religione* concerning the incarnation, "the divine sublimity was not depressed to the human, as if by some defect, but rather the human was elevated to the divine."

From the time of Petrarch the underlying motive of the humanist movement, to achieve recognition of the *studia humanitatis* for the benefits they might be expected to confer on mankind, found expression in the defense of poetry for its allegorical-theological content and in the praise of rhetoric for its inherently moral or civic content. Both arguments implied, and were accompanied by, criticisms of scholastic subject matter and methods. When humanism had gained solid recognition at least from the established social, political, and ecclesiastical authorities by the mid-Quattrocento, the need to discover a doctrinal reconciliation with both the traditional scholastic Aristotelian outlook and with Christian theology — a reconciliation that would grant the fullest value to the classical studies of the humanists and to their views on the nature of man and society — became more pressing than the need to defend and criticize. Some, such as Acciaiuoli, sought this reconciliation in a new but not entirely unscholastic approach to Aristotle; to many, Ficino's approach to Platonism proved more acceptable.

Whatever richness and complexity Ficino was able to gain for his own thought from his monumental humanistic achievement of translating Plato, the philosophy which he elaborated as a "Platonic theology" contained many elements that had been anticipated by humanists before him or that they had long hoped to discover in Platonism. In its relationship to humanism Ficino's Platonism had three important characteristics. First of all, as a philosophy it sought, as the 13th-century scholastics had sought, a synthesis of Christianity and pagan thought, but between the broad range of pagan moral and religious anticipations of Christianity and the teachings of the Church and not, as in the 13th century, between dialectic and revelation. With

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the acceptance of the oracular nature of the Greek mysteries, and of Plato and the Greek and Latin poets, any estrangement between Christianity and humanism could be bridged. Moreover, the emphasis on the universality of truth, whatever its source, reflected the fundamental eclecticism of humanism if, indeed, it was not identical with it. And this synthesis included those of the earlier medieval scholastics.

The second feature of Ficino's philosophy which appealed to the humanists was the clear recognition of the value of beauty alongside of truth and goodness. This gave the esthetic aspect of the humanist interest in poetry and rhetoric the prospects of sanctification and could provide a bridge between the literary vision of humanism and the sensibility of the visual artist. Intimately connected with the valuation of beauty as a revelation or intimation of divinity was the adaptation to Christian purposes of the Platonic love dialogues, the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*. Moreover, Ficino's assertion of the divine madness of the poet, based on the *Phaedrus* and *Ion*, reaffirmed the prophetic and theological character of poetry which Ficino especially recognized in Dante.

Third, by the reinstatement of the allegorical mode of interpretation it became possible, in combination with the two previous conceptions, to deal with classical themes in literary compositions or to represent them visually in such a way that the more strictly humanistic emphasis on historical validity, preserving classical form and classical content, could be retained, while at the same time, by placing the themes in a Christian-Platonic philosophical context, a Christian meaning could be read into them. It was possible to treat a pagan literary *topos* or philosophical statement in its own historical perspective and with scholarly precision and yet see it as part of a movement of the spirit toward the subsequently revealed Christian truth. Ficino's philosophy was thus compatible with humanist values.

The Ficinian synthesis was not formal and methodological, as 13th-century scholastic syntheses had been, but was philosophically more coherent and spiritually more profound. Despite a capacity to comprehend and include Aristotelian viewpoints, it was fundamentally Augustinian in strategy and values. Its success within the Church was for the most part limited to the period of humanist influence in the papacy and was greatest at the Fifth Lateran Council, during the pontificates of Julius II and of Leo X (son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and, of all popes, the most favorably disposed to humanism). Ficino's ideas (and Pico's), although reduced to lay status by the lack of interest of the Counter Reformation, had a pervasive and persistent influence, in close association with humanism, on literature, art, and philosophy, both in Italy for the remainder of the Cinquecento and in the rest of Europe from the late 15th century on. Renaissance Platonism was, however, a culmination of many basic tendencies that were stimulated by humanism, and whatever its importance in the general history of Platonism, it must be regarded historically as most influential through its intimate involvement with humanism. It was not "the philosophy of humanism" as such, since humanism by its rhetorical nature more easily operated on antimetaphysical, eclectical, and skeptical premises similar to Cicero's. But it satisfied the humanists' underlying desire for a metaphysical justification of their activities, solved many of their disturbing conflicts, and, as St. Augustine had, accepted rhetoric within a religious context.

Humanism and Renaissance art. *Preliminary definitions.* The relationship of humanism to the visual arts during the Renaissance was complex and necessarily problematic. Yet art historians have been tempted to apply the term "humanist" to artists and their works as loosely as have intellectual historians to phenomena in the history of thought. Discretion, precision, and restraint are necessary qualities for valid discussion of this question. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the developing intimacy of humanism and the arts during the Renaissance was a fact of major importance. Mediators between the Quattrocento and a revered antiquity, the humanists were instrumental in transmitting the spirit of the antique to their own times. However, as Richard Krautheimer (1956) has noted, a distinction must be made between the literati — scholars, orators, poets, rhetoricians, philosophers, historians, and antiquarians — and the artists and collectors of art. A literary approach to antiquity permeated the former group in contrast to the artists' visual approach to antique works of art. The former regarded the antiquities of the Eternal City as relics of the past, as testimonies of the lives of great men, and, above all, as a source of inspiration and guidance, providing an affirmation of the humanist belief in man's potential. On the other hand, the artist found in antiquity models of craftsmanship and excellence, standards of beauty, and a repertory upon which he could draw to enrich his own work. As Giovanni Doldi says of antique figures in a letter to Petrarch, written in 1375 from Rome: "... if they had but the spark of life, they would be better than nature."

Frequently it is not possible to document the influence of a humanist, although it seems evident in the work of an artist; indeed, it may often be equally possible to assume that the artist arrived at the point of view he expressed without the influence of the humanist. Although it has generally been inferred that certain Quattrocento paintings are based on programs drawn up by humanists — the most notable being Botticelli's mythologies — documentation is often lacking. Paride da Ceresara's instructions to Mantegna and Perugino (qq.v.) for the painting of Isabella d'Este's *studiolo* are among the few recorded. In the absence of documentation, a direct influence can be assumed only in the presence of a particular fact or symbolic meaning, such as would be known only to an accomplished classical scholar familiar with a literary text or an inscription. But one must always bear in mind that humanists and artists shared in and expressed many ideas, attitudes, and purposes simply because they were common to the age. The development of a style *all'antica* with classical forms and classical motifs took place in the history of art independent of but parallel to the focus on antiquity that was an integral part of the *studia humanitatis*. There can be no doubt that the two movements each stimulated interest in the other, that contacts and mutual assistance between artists and scholar-writers were plentiful, and that in given settings both groups shared a common outlook, but it would be a misconception to make either responsible for the other.

Humanism was deeply concerned with the dignity of man, giving new importance to human values while taking full account of human limitations. This approach, which was central to the Renaissance, gave expression to a renewed interest in man in his historical setting and to a heightened appreciation of the qualities and achievements, the "wonders" of man, without any repudiation of the Creator in whose image man was wrought. The fact that a special concern for the nobility and affective eloquence of the human figure in an increasingly natural environment was a central characteristic of the paintings of Giotto (contemporary with the protohumanists of the time of Mussato) led later humanists (Boccaccio, Aeneas Sylvius) to suggest that, as Petrarch had revived the study of letters, Giotto had revived the arts. But this should not lead to the conclusion that Giotto must in any sense have been connected with the literary humanist movement. Just as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes of Good Government and Bad Government (1337–40) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (IX, PLS. 194–196) utilized current Thomist notions of justice and the common good — at the same time providing evidence of the absorption of antique artistic elements — so Giotto's humanizing tendencies had reflected contemporary Gothic developments. But when in 1414 in the Siena Palazzo Pubblico, Taddeo di Bartolo executed a fresco cycle emphasizing the same civic virtues as had Lorenzetti, his program of Roman military heroes and statesmen, defenders of the Republic, was clearly of humanist devising. And, though undocumented, a connection is rightly suspected between the late Trecento work of the Hercules Master executed in a definitely antique manner on the Porta della Mandorla of the Florence Cathedral, and Salutati's *De laboribus Herculis*, which included the first complete modern treatise on the ancient hero and helped make the Labors of Hercules a favorite theme in Renaissance art. In the solidly established Florentine humanist circle of the early Quattrocento there were definite but rather aloof relationships between Bruni, Niccoli, Traversari and other humanists and the striking group of artists working in the new

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antique manner — Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, and Masaccio. Both groups were supported by elements of the leading citizens but moved in essential independence. It should be noted, however, that their lack of social standing tended to put the artists at a disadvantage in Florentine humanist circles. Bruni, in his introduction to the program for the Florentine Baptistery doors, emphasized the eminence of those learned humanists and theorists who has charted the program for the artist to follow. However, a somewhat different attitude was evidenced by Poggio Bracciolini, who was interested in the esthetic aspects as well as the content of the art of antiquity — so much so that he sought Donatello's judgment on the quality of a piece of ancient sculpture.

The account of possible connections between humanism and art which follows is meant to illustrate the impact of the humanist movement, especially as conceived by Alberti, on Renaissance art. It will be concerned chiefly with Italy between 1430 and 1530 and will not attempt to provide more than a sampling of the artists who showed classical, rhetorical, or allegorical elements in their works.

*Alberti and his influence.* With Leon Battista Alberti (q.v.) appeared a humanist with artistic yearnings, who developed, moreover, a fully humanist theory of art, as well as an interpretation of the nature of ancient art. His knowledge of the art of the ancients was based to a great extent on his reading of Greek and Roman works, such as Seneca's description of the Three Graces and the *Imagines* of Philostratus the Elder. But it was primarily because he had studied surviving monuments in great detail that Alberti's notions of antiquity have such visual force. Although the humanist treatises of Alberti have been most effectively dealt with by Eugenio Garin, as those on art have been by Luigi Mallè, the decidedly humanist character of Alberti's approach to art needs further stressing, since it illuminates the way in which Renaissance humanism penetrated into the arts.

In his *Della pittura* (1435–36) Alberti emphasized three necessary elements in a painting: the evocation of spatial and historical actuality by a combination of artificial perspective and a system of proportion and scale based on the human figure; the invention of an *istoria* (theme, dramatic situation, or historical episode to be depicted); and its elaboration through the use of appropriate color, light, proportion, composition, and affective movement in such a way as to communicate a living, moving visual drama that would edify, terrify, instruct, or please the viewer. In advocating a knowledge of geometry and optics to achieve perspective (which, as will be seen, springs from a viewpoint analogous to the humanists' new attitude toward history), in expressing the notion of a transformation of poetic into visual beauty, and in urging the goal of moving the viewer to appropriate insight, emotion, and action, his treatise embodied a historical, literary, and rhetorical — in short, a truly humanist — conception of art.

Panofsky has emphasized the analogy between the development by the humanists of a new view of history (in which time, the moral and cultural character of men, and men's actions are seen as objectively detached from the present) and the creation by Renaissance artists of a new "historical" notion of space (viewed in linear perspective, like a stage setting populated by seemingly real, three-dimensional human figures). There are further parallels between the artists' search for a mathematical and "scientifically" valid method of creating an illusion of reality on a two-dimensional surface and the humanists' pursuit of scholarliness and accuracy in historical and philological interpretation. Alberti's desire to achieve a literary, narrative quality in painting, the effectiveness of which could be measured by its emotional and moral impact, and his detailed and resourceful suggestions for accomplishing this (such as acquiring a knowledge of history and poetry and associating with poets and orators), clearly demonstrate that he was trying to point a way by which painters could lift themselves from the status of craftsmen and mechanical artists to practitioners of an intellectual discipline. To this end he thought that the education of the humanist artist should be based on a study of both antiquity and nature. Moreover, Alberti clearly felt that this new "liberal art" should have the scholarliness (or mathematical precision), the rhetorical persuasiveness, and the sense of high moral purpose of the humanist. He reinforced this conception of the artist by references to ancient art drawn from Pliny, Vitruvius, and Lucian, and even more by his constant citation of anecdotes concerning ancient artists, drawn from Cicero and Quintillian, to instruct the painter, although they were originally intended for the orator. Although his emphasis was more rhetorical and Ciceronian (his definition of painting as *circumscriptio*, *compositio*, and *lumina* may be compared to Cicero's *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*), it was manifested in terms of the formula adapted in reverse from Horace's *Ars poetica*, *ut pictura poesis* ("as is painting, so is poetry," was to be understood: "as is poetry, so is painting"), which, as Rensselaer Lee has shown (1940), became a central tenet of art theory in the 16th–18th centuries.

Alberti's views, although by no means universally known or observed by painters, did establish a new, increasingly accepted concept of art and of the purposes of the artist. He directed attention to the rapprochement between humanists and artists that was already in the process of developing. Whether or not Alberti's thoughts on art were largely original — a question which has been frequently debated — he forged tangible bonds between the new trends in the arts and humanism by supplying a purely humanist interpretation and rationale.

Perhaps the most immediate reflection of Alberti's ideas can be detected in certain panels of Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise in which Alberti's concepts — the handling of space based on mathematically correct perspective, the human figure *all'antica*, the handling of drapery and over-all composition within fantastic architectural settings — seem to have left their mark (II, PL. 290; VI, PLS. 172–174). It has been suggested (Krautheimer, 1956) that there is strong evidence here of an interchange of ideas between the two men. In 1435, the year in which *Della pittura* was written, a distinct change took place in Ghiberti's style, evident in some of the panels of the Doors of Paradise executed in that year. Probably the change was conditioned both by the art of ancient Rome — he became a noteworthy collector of antiquities in the late 1430s and 1440s and, with other enlightened artists like Brunelleschi, probably took a keen interest in Roman studies — and by the theories set forth in *Della pittura*. Ghiberti's exposure to the humanist thinking of Alberti may have taken place as early as 1429, the year in which he is believed to have traveled to Rome. The evidence points to a meeting of the two men some years before the writings of *Della pittura*, and the young Alberti was probably in Rome about 1429.

Ghiberti's literary work, the *Commentarii*, was an important result of his new humanist leanings. Accepting the humanist division of history in which antiquity and modern times are separated by the "Middle Ages," he treated ancient art in Book I and "modern" art in Book II. Although they fall short of their goal both in conception and scholarship, these two books evidence a genuine humanist aspiration. Book III, compiled in a fragmentary and disorganized state from works of various ancient and medieval authors, expounds those disciplines (aside from the major problems of craftsmanship and execution) necessary for the training of the sculptor, namely, a knowledge of optics, taken from Alhazen, Avicenna, Witelo (Erazm Ciolek), John Peckham, and Roger Bacon; a knowledge of anatomy, taken from Averroës; a system of human proportions, taken from Vitruvius; and a knowledge of history, taken from Pliny. In both historical and theoretical emphasis the *Commentarii* reveals a humanist point of view. Technical problems are only touched upon, while the more academic aspects of art are emphasized by stressing a humanistic education for the artist.

One of the most striking examples of an art which manifested the ideas of Alberti was that of Piero della Francesca (q.v.). A direct contact between the two artists in Florence at the time of the appearance of *Della pittura* is highly probable, and a later one is nearly certain in connection with the decoration of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini. In his old age Piero wrote *De prospectiva pingendi*, a work based on Alberti

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which proposed a system of perspective for the use of painters, and *De quinque corporibus regularibus* (a neo-Pythagorean treatise based on the *Timaeus* and plagiarized in Luca Pacioli's *De divina proportione*) a further fusion of mathematics and art which develops the modes of Pythagorean speculation for the use of painters and architects.

In Piero's paintings Albertian concepts are realized not only in his compelling use of "historical" narrative but also in his serene and majestic figures, which embody principles of decorum and classical harmony advocated by Alberti. The historical qualities are present especially in the *Legend of the True Cross* (XI, PL. 159), the latter, in the *Madonna of Mercy* (XI, PL. 157) and the *Resurrection* in Sansepolcro. The *Flagellation of Christ* in Urbino (XI, PL. 158) is an exquisitely calculated exercise in perspective and human proportion. Piero's attitude contrasted with the atmosphere of Florence in the period from about 1445 to 1465, marking a certain shift away from humanism. Led by the Dominican, St. Antoninus, the movement exercised a marked influence over a number of artists, including Donatello. But, toward the end of the century, some of the characteristics that Alberti had voiced were reasserted strongly in the work of Florentine painters, culminating in Botticelli's blending of medieval and classical grace. Botticelli and his atelier, the *accademia di scioperati*, represent a new type of artist who is both rational and passionate, intelligent and caustic, has literary pretensions and great sensibility, and manifests a definite independence of spirit. In keeping with the new status of these artists among the humanists, the humanist poet Ugolino Verino eulogized Botticelli as a new Apelles, the equal of the ancient artists.

*Humanist themes in Renaissance art.* The impact of humanism on Renaissance art can be traced not only in the style and attitude of Quattrocento artists but also in the choice and treatment of the themes which they developed. The new interest in man and the world in which he lived strongly affected the outlook of the Renaissance artist. Paralleling the humanists' composition of biographies of their contemporaries, portraiture became very popular in the 15th century, developing generally in two opposing trends. On the one hand, there was concentration on portraying the specific physical characteristics of the model; this tendency is exemplified by the work of Ghirlandajo (q.v.), reproducing in precise detail and with great fidelity the individual peculiarities of the figure portrayed. Ghirlandajo filled his religious frescoes with accurately delineated portraits of contemporary personalities, thereby calling forth the sharp rebuke of Savonarola who fought against a development which seemed to him to place art in the service of vanity. The opposing trend placed less emphasis on physical, surface qualities and used the portrait to present man as an ideal type exemplifying certain human virtues. In the work of Michelangelo, for example, the model was only a point of departure for the final image and was completely transformed. In Raphael's work, the individual features of the model were preserved but were generalized and made universal, so as to emphasize more strongly the moral qualities.

Another humanist trend which influenced the content of Renaissance art was the new interpretation and interest in history first manifested in collections of *exempla* of great men, such as Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* and the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, in which famous men were presented according to a moral and philosophical order which transcended a more objective historical order or evaluation. There was a resulting tendency to combine historic heroes of the secular life with saints and other figures revered by the Church. In 14th-century painting, figures from antiquity, viewed as national heroes, were given places of honor in civic buildings (as, for example, in the already mentioned Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua), and often personified Christian virtues.

The popularity of the gallery of heroes died out in the course of the 14th century but revived in full force toward the middle of the 15th. Paolo Uccello (q.v.), in the years 1445–48, adorned the walls of the Casa Vitaliani in Padua with monumental figures of celebrated men. In Florence in the 1450s, Andrea del Castagno (q.v.) painted a series of famous men and women (I, PL. 245), drawn from antiquity and the life of his own times, in the Villa Pandolfini in Legnaia near Florence (now in S. Apollonia, Florence). Uccello and Castagno each painted an equestrian portrait of a Florentine *condottiere* on the walls of the Cathedral of Florence, Uccello of Sir John Hawkwood and Castagno of Niccolò da Tolentino (I, PL. 246). In the Hall of the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia in 1500 Perugino painted a gallery of heroes derived from the works of Livy and Plutarch.

Together with the new interest in man expressed in humanist painting, there was a new delight in the visible world. Landscape painting was markedly affected by the humanist culture. In Florence especially, there was a vital interest in cosmic order, in the workings of nature. The Florentines, however, adopted neither the astrological landscape dominated by celestial symbols, common to the Ferrarese, nor the pure and luminous landscapes of the Venetians. Their brilliant innovation came in the development of portraiture with a landscape setting, in which nature functions as an expressive complement to the human form and its activities. The problem of landscape development was given special attention between 1470 and 1480 in the workshop of Verrocchio (q.v.). His pupil Leonardo tried to recreate in his landscapes the cosmic life which envelops man and of which he is an integral part. But in landscape paintings, as in portraiture, there was an opposing trend. Botticelli, for example, was strongly antagonistic to Leonardo's view and developed in his work a symbolic, primarily decorative landscape, in which he did not attempt to express the order of nature and its relation to man directly but rather through the allegorical meaning of his mythological subjects.

Humanist influence is reflected in the architectural backgrounds of such artists as Piero, Mantegna, Filippino Lippi, and Jacopo Bellini, as well as in the work of the young Ghiberti (qq.v.). On the whole they reflect studies of the antique, as for example, Mantegna's frescoes in Mantua (XI, PLS. 328, 329). The Renaissance was vitally interested in a passage from Vitruvius (Book V, chap. 6) which discusses the three types of stage scenery: tragic, comic, and satyric. This passage seems to have provided inspiration for such architectural paintings as the Urbino and Baltimore panels, often attributed to Luciano Laurana, and for illustrations in Serlio's architectural treatise and in the 16th-century editions of Vitruvius.

The tendency of Renaissance artists influenced by humanism to view man as the measure of all things is strongly illustrated in the architectural concepts which dominated in the late 15th century and into the 16th. In Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, completed and dedicated to Nicholas V in 1452 but printed for the first time with a dedication to Lorenzo by Politian in 1485, a guiding principle was put forth which expressed the preoccupation of many Florentine artists with man's perfection. In Book IX, chapter 5, Alberti stated that the "beauty of all edifices arises principally from three things, namely the number, figure and collocation of several members." And further on ". . . for every Body consists of certain peculiar parts, of which if you take away any one, or lessen or enlarge it, or reverse it to an improper place; that which before gave the Beauty and Grace to the Body, will at once be lamed and spoiled." Alberti echoed Vitruvius' use of the human figure as a module for building and as a beautifully proportioned microcosm — this was the famous figure of a man superimposed on a circle and square which was reproduced by Leonardo, Dürer, Francesco di Giorgio, Fra Giovanni Giocondo, and Cesariano (the latter two in their illustrations for Vitruvius' editions; I, PL. 308), as well as by other artists of the Renaissance. Michelangelo later developed a similar formula when he asserted that the members of architecture depend on the members of man and that a knowledge of anatomy was essential to the architect.

It was not by accident that the Renaissance theorists and architects constantly referred to Vitruvius and that particular chapter in his treatise devoted to the appearance of sacred buildings and the ratio and harmony of their parts. By deriving the proportions of a temple from those of the human figure, all worthy architecture from the time of Alberti to Palladio was thus endowed with the properties of a living organism. After his Vitruvian studies, a city plan by Francesco di Giorgio was

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composed in the form of a man, with a fortress at the head, a tower at each extremity, and a basilica at the chest.

For Francesco di Giorgio, using a concept rooted in Neoplatonic philosophy, the circle is the most perfect building form and hence, a symbol of God. Alberti, too, had implied a preference for the round form, "... for nature aspires to absolute perfection." His humanist conception of ecclesiastical architecture expressed in his treatise on architecture was based on the idea that the harmonious perfection of geometric forms represents an absolute value. In this Alberti was inspired by the centrally planned buildings of ancient Rome — in particular by the Pantheon (I, PL. 401), the classical temple par excellence for the Renaissance — which provided him with historical precedents for the reconstituted classical architectural style he sought for his own day.

One of the most important spokesmen for an architecture influenced by humanist and Neoplatonic conceptions was Giuliano da Sangallo (q.v.), who worked in Florence for Lorenzo the Magnificent. S. Maria delle Carceri in Prato, begun in 1485, is an early example of a Renaissance church built on the centralized plan of a Greek cross. In Sangallo's humanist-inspired project for Lorenzo's villa at Poggio a Caiano, built about 1480–85, he attempted to create an ideal retreat in the midst of nature, a kind of *de re rustica* as envisioned by the humanists (I, PL. 305; VIII, PL. 428). His plan echoed Pliny the Younger's descriptions of the ancient villa, and its entire program, the frescoes, frieze, and other details, also follow suggestions by Politian.

The many examples of the incorporation of humanist thought in the arts illustrate the general acceptance of humanist ideas concerning civic life, antiquity, learning, morality, and history among the ruling families which patronized the Quattrocento artists. This was especially true of Florence, where humanism thrived. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many of the artists, who were in contact both with these humanist-oriented patrons and with the humanists themselves (employed by the same patrons), absorbed much of the humanist outlook. Their work undoubtedly reflected not only their own tastes and conceptions but those of their patrons as well. In Florence, certainly, the artists moved in an environment that was receptive to the tendencies they were seeking to realize in their work.

*The Medici and Neoplatonism in Florence.* The domination of Florentine political life by Cosimo de' Medici after 1434 assured the continuation and strengthening of the humanist tendencies that already were strong in Florence. Cosimo had a near monopoly of artistic patronage both in his commissions and in the influence he exercised over the selection of artists by churches and monasteries. Because of this and the tendency of his associates to follow his tastes in their choice of artists, the Medicean influence was an exceptionally concentrated one which continued under Piero and reached its climax with Lorenzo. It extended into those signorial states whose rulers hired themselves out to Florence as *condottieri* — the Malatestas of Rimini and Federigo da Montefeltro of Urbino. A comparable concentration of patronage with equivalent or greater resources was possible only in the papacy, a condition which was to exist in the next century under Julius II and Leo X. But Cosimo's own tastes and probably his political shrewdness as a dispenser of patronage kept him from exclusively favoring humanists or classical and humanistic tendencies in the arts. The employment and support of Brunelleschi, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Michelozzo were balanced by the favor shown Fra Angelico and, especially, Benozzo Gozzoli, who demonstrate by their work that everything delightful was not necessarily under humanist influence.

In the 1480s, under the aegis of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the earlier tendencies of Florentine humanism found their focus in the Neoplatonism of Marsilio Ficino. André Chastel (1959) has rightly emphasized the importance of Ficino's ideas to an understanding of certain tendencies in the humanism and in the art of his period and later. To the extent that Ficino showed the way to a new allegorical interpretation of the ancient gods, heroes, and symbols within a Christian context, his writings help explain some of those elements found both in the arts of his time and in the writing of late Quattrocento humanists. Such humanists as Landino and Politian (and many lesser figures) found in Ficino an attractive synthesis of Christianity and antiquity, of medieval scholasticism and the spirit of Plato's dialogues. In the arts, this synthesis is strikingly illustrated by late-15th- and 16th-century funerary monuments. In the Sassetti Chapel in Sta Trinita, for example, classical motifs adapted from antique cameos and panels and medallions from the Arch of Constantine are incorporated within a basically Christian program, in which Religion and Justice are represented in antique guise. On a sarcophagus by Benedetto da Maiano in the Strozzi Chapel in S. Maria Novella, antique masks and griffons relate the pagan world to the Christian mystery. Antique motifs are integrated, in the bronze tomb of Sixtus IV, in the Vatican Grottoes, which Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo executed in 1484–93, within a basically scholastic Aristotelian program. But it is in Michelangelo's plan for the tomb of Julius II that the classical theme of the triumphal glorification of the hero, expressed here by a complex Neoplatonic interpretation of life and the soul, reaches its culmination in the Renaissance.

The mythological paintings of Sandro Botticelli (q.v.) are among those in which a humanist, and specifically a Neoplatonic, influence is most explicit. The suggestion that Botticelli depended directly upon the *Giostra* of Politian for inspiration in his *Birth of Venus* (II, PL. 323) and *Primavera* (or *Spring*; III, PL. 302) is defended by Panofsky (1960) though questioned by Ernst Gombrich (1945). The latter has noted that Ficino was the humanist best known to Botticelli's patron, Lorenzo, when the *Primavera* was painted. The Neoplatonic interpretation of the classical gods was treated in correspondence between Ficino and Lorenzo, as well as extensively in Ficino's works. Thus, E. Wind (1958) has been able to interpret these mythologies in the light of Neoplatonic thought. The contrast between the heavenly and the earthly Venus in the two paintings, and the interrelation of *humanitas*, *caritas*, and *sapientia*, of *voluptas*, *castitas*, and *venustas*, are evidence of the use made of allegory to communicate esthetic, moral, philosophical, and religious ideas. These paintings have an obviously literary, narrative quality that betrays their humanistic rhetorical and moral intent. It has also been demonstrated that there is a common inspiration in Botticelli's Venus (which attempts to recapture the lost *Venus Anadyomene* of Apelles), in the poetic writings of Politian, and in Ficino's statements on love. Botticelli's *Pallas Subduing a Centaur* (II, PL. 329), celebrating Lorenzo's diplomacy in ending the War of the Pazzi Conspiracy, also has obvious Neoplatonic significance and must be understood as the triumph of wisdom — of the *studia humanitatis* — over the baser instincts; a reassertion of the civilizing role claimed for intelligence by the humanists and bearing the same meaning for Quattrocento Florence as the Parthenon sculptures of the Lapiths and Centaurs had for Periclean Athens. The *Calumny* (I, PL. 307; II, PL. 331), another painting meant to re-create an ancient work of art, follows explicitly a description by Lucian of Apelles' painting of the subject. Lucian's work had been translated into Latin early in the century by Guarino da Verona and into Italian about 1472 by Bartolomeo della Fonte, a Florentine humanist; as early as 1435 Alberti had recommended this subject to painters. The painting, which also has an allegorical, moral meaning, shows Truth as a figure closely resembling Botticelli's heavenly Venus and pointing to heaven. The ideas of Ficino, supporting the notion of a *theologia poetica* developed in Landino's *Commentary on the Divine Comedy*, thus found expression in an art that was more "humanistic" than philosophical.

It was a younger Florentine contemporary of Botticelli, however, who in his mythological paintings perhaps came closest to expressing the ideas of those humanists who were conscious of the historical role of their tradition. Piero di Cosimo (q.v.) in a series of paintings executed for the house of Francesco del Pugliese in the late 1480s (one on the primitive life and possibly a second on Vulcan), utilized passages in Vitruvius and Lucretius which proclaimed man's ability to rise beyond a prim-

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itive, animal existence through his innate industry and ingenuity. Cicero had transmitted the views of the Stoic Poseidonios on the role of human intelligence and industry and had emphasized a comparable role for the early invention of rhetoric. Plato, in his *Protagoras*, attributed to the Sophist a similar line of thought in his tale of Prometheus. Toward the middle of the 15th century, Giannozzo Manetti in his work *On the Dignity and Excellence of Man*, had said, "everything after that first new and rude creation of the world seems to have been discovered, made, and perfected by us out of a certain singular and special acuteness of the human mind." Piero returned to this theme in some of his other paintings.

Already in earlier Renaissance art theory, man had been associated with perfection — with simple geometric forms symbolizing a universal structure and embodying *symmetria* (the idea of rational proportions, as expressed by Landino in 1487, which forms the underlying harmonic form of all creation). In *Della pittura* Alberti had recalled the famous saying of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things." This humanist concept was perpetuated in Neoplatonic doctrine and became central to artistic thought in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. With the firmer establishment of Florentine Neoplatonism after the 1480s, the inherent order in art became bound to a universal symbolism, a vision of the perfection of man. Manetti had also praised the human form: "Therefore in what other creature can the composition of the members, the conformation of the features, the figure, the outward appearance either be or be imagined to be more beautiful than in the case of man?"

These ideas of Alberti and Manetti were absorbed into the Florentine Neoplatonism of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. If it is true, as Chastel suggests, that the artistic aspirations of Florentine humanism were realized in the Vatican works of Raphael and Michelangelo (qq.v.), it is Raphael's *School of Athens* and *Parnassus* (II, PL. 307) and related paintings of the Stanza della Segnatura which, while utilizing Neoplatonic themes, made the fullest statement of the Albertian program for a rhetorical and humanistic art. The *School of Athens* is the embodiment of Neoplatonic Pythagorean theory, connecting ratio with musical consonances, an interpretation of the harmony of the universe taken from Plato's *Timaeus*. The Stanza della Segnatura is a manifestation of late-15th-century humanist thought and mirrors the work of Ficino in so far as it reshapes the teachings of scholasticism, providing a complete concordance of pagan antiquity, Christian spirituality, and Roman history.

But the idealization of man's godlike figure by Manetti, Alberti, and other humanist theorists, perhaps found its finest expression in Michelangelo's ceiling paintings in the Sistine Chapel (I, PL. 381; III, PL. 312; IX, PLS. 528, 535) and in his monumental sculpture. Rather than the more narrative, rhetorical, allegorical, and historical qualities which had been central to the outlook of earlier humanist artists, Michelangelo's work manifests the philosophical vision of Plato and the genuinely Christian-classical conception of art common to the thought of humanists influenced by Neoplatonism in the late Quattrocento. The program of the Medici tombs in Florence may be considered as an artistic parallel to Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* and *Consonantia Moses et Platonis*. It also represents in visual form some of the doctrines of Florentine Neoplatonism: the juxtaposition of the two roads leading to God, as formulated by Landino, the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*, while the personifications of Day, Night, Twilight, and Dawn which surround them symbolize the powers intermediary between the terrestrial and translunary worlds (IX, PLS. 530, 531).

A third High Renaissance, classical artist, whose life, artistic activity, and thoughts have occasioned much admiration for him as the representative "Renaissance man," Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.) also drew upon Neoplatonic throught. He particularly shared Ficino's high estimate of the faculty of vision, yet he was equally indebted to the mathematical, scientific works of such 14th-century Parisian and Oxford nominalists as Nicolas Oresme, Jean Buridan, Thomas Bradwardine and John Peckham. Actively concerned with questions of perspective, anatomy, and natural movements, and with achieving a more penetrating psychological image of man in his painting, he was nevertheless somewhat contemptuous of the literary, humanist conception of art. Where Alberti had offered the artist an opportunity to raise his profession from a mechanical to a liberal art by emphasizing the intellectual aspects of his work, Leonardo proudly assimilated the mechanical, constructive activities of the painter to the intellectual. He stressed that the mechanical was also essential and common to all other professions and disciplines. In his *Paragone* he held painting to be the queen of sciences because it can reproduce everything as well as invent things which never existed, presenting a durable picture of everything as a whole and not in parts. The painter is superior to the poet because "the only function peculiar to the poet is to invent the words of people who speak . . . in other matters the painter surpasses him."

*Italian humanist centers outside Florence.* Florence was not the only center of either humanism or art in the 15th century. Padua's tradition of humanism went back before the time of Petrarch, who gave his library to the city and spent his last years in the university there, and it continued through the school of Gasparino da Barzizza, the teacher of Vittorino da Feltre. Although Padua's artistic heritage included works of Guariento (VIII, PL. 188), the first Paduan follower of Giotto, Filippo Lippi's frescoes, Donatello's "Gattamelata" (IV, PL. 249) and his reliefs on the high altar in the Church of S. Antonio (1443–53; IV, PL. 251), its artistic atmosphere remained provincial until the time of Mantegna, since the city's reverence for the literature of antiquity was not reflected in its art. In the academy of Francesco Squarcione, who was the local pedagogue, antiquarian, and humanist, learning was acquired by means of the imitation of Greek and Roman works. It was in this milieu that the art of Mantegna was nurtured.

In the earlier works of Mantegna, such as the *St. Sebastian* in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, one finds an overwhelming interest in classical remains. This is also true of the frescoes executed for the Ovetari Chapel in the Paduan church of the Eremitani in the 1450s, where considerable erudition is displayed in the garb of the heroic Roman legionaries, as well as in the architectural environment (IX, PL. 324). While the Eremitani *St. James before Herod* is humanist in the narrow sense, comparable to a painting correctly transcribed from a Latin text, the *St. James Led to Execution* is far more dramatic, almost conveying the effect of an antique frieze. Complete absorption of the spirit of humanism did not take place until Mantegna's later period, although his archaeological quotations are inextricably bound with an element of moral probity. Mantegna's appointment as official artist to the Gonzaga court of Mantua in 1459 marks him as the first painter of the Renaissance to be entirely in the service of a humanist prince. In this court, amid innumerable antiquities and in association with such renowned humanists as Vittorino da Feltre, Mantegna acted as an arbiter of taste. Aside from paintings and décor, he produced designs for architecture, festivals, and scenery for Latin plays. In the frescoes for the *Camera degli Sposi* (IX, PLS. 328, 329), in which Mantegna painted the portraits of Lodovico Gonzaga and his family, the figures are thoroughly permeated with a humanist sentiment. An increased interest in individual characterization and in human relationships is evident in these figures. The ceiling with its overwhelming illusionism is influenced by the dream of Roman grandeur. Ancient Rome, however, is not re-created until the *Triumph of Caesar* paintings (ca. 1484-94), which were designed together with a lost allegorical *Triumphs of Petrarch*, both designated as theatrical decorations. Precedents existed, to be sure, such as the series of triumphs, drawn largely from the *Antiquities* of Josephus, executed by Altichiero and Avanzo in the great hall of the Palace of Verona, and certainly known to Mantegna. But in Mantegna's work there is reconstructed the triumphal procession *all'antica* so frequent in ancient Rome. For Mantegna, Roman grandeur was allied to Roman *gravitas*, Roman triumph to Roman justice. Pedantic and doctrinary in his display of classical antiquity, a certain materiality dominates both Mantegna's architecture and his heroes. This reenact-

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ment of the glories of the classical world coincided with the view of antiquity as a golden age which could be made to serve as an exemplar to the contemporary world. Directly in the spirit of the accounts of Caesar's triumphs by Appian and Suetonius, a true antique character issues forth from these panels. In the *Triumph of Scipio*, Mantegna nearly approaches the form as well as the content of Roman reliefs. Here too, the marked austerity signifies a climax in the heroic vision of Mantegna's humanistic belief in man's creative powers. Mantegna's important mythological paintings for Isabella d'Este's *studiolo* in Mantua (now in the Louvre) painted at the end of the century, among others, depicted Homer's tale of the affair of Mars and Venus. In this painting, a decrease in the emphasis on ethical quality is accompanied by a corresponding increase in vitality and realism, so much so that this work has even been cited as a satire on the antique, thus heralding the work of Ariosto. Mantegna's allegory of Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue (IX, PL. 327), from the same series, apparently represents his patroness, Isabella, as the goddess of wisdom. Both paintings are in a lighthearted, mocking manner in accord with the program of Paride da Ceresara, the humanist adviser and friend of Isabella. In the late works, however, for example, the Brera *Lamentation* (*The Dead Christ*, IX, PL. 321), Mantegna's humanistic vision seems transformed from one which was suffused with a Roman ethos to one impregnated with the pathos and mysticism of Christianity.

For the wealth of antiquities which populate Mantegna's paintings, he had but to cast his eyes to nearby Verona, the city of Catullus, and Mantua, the city of Vergil. Felice Feliciano, in fact, describes an oft-repeated archaeological excursion on Lake Garda first made in 1464 with Mantegna and others. Here, in this fusion of nature and antiquity, of the real and the artificial, humanists searched for visual evidence that life had once been lived on a heroic plane. Reminiscences of these expeditions are apparent in the epigraphs found in a number of Mantegna's paintings and also in the manuscript illuminations (ca. 1459) noted by Millard Meiss (1957) as coming from the workshop of Mantegna — Renaissance depictions of antiquity depicting Guarino presenting a copy of Strabo to Marcello and Marcello presenting it to René d'Anjou.

The absorption of humanist influences into painting was also manifested in Venice in some of the work of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini (q.v.), close contemporaries and brothers-in-law of Mantegna. The spread of humanist influence to Venice coincided with the awakening of the Venetian world to letters and science toward the close of the 15th century.

Following the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the center of allegorical exegesis shifted from Florence to Venice. Giovanni Bellini, with much encouragement from the humanist poet Pietro Bembo, executed the *Feast of the Gods* (Washington, D.C., Nat. Gall.) for Isabella d'Este, apparently as a wedding gift to her brother Alfonso and Lucrezia Borgia. Besides Bembo's direct influence in the choice of this theme, Edgar Wind (1948) has suggested the added influence of Ovid's *Fasti*, the contemporary Aldine publication of the *Priapeia* (Giovanni had close connections with the humanists of the so-called Aldine Academy), and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, an illustrated antiquarian romance published in 1499.

The *Hypnerotomachia*, attributed to Fra Francesco Colonna, a learned antiquarian and friend of Crasso in Verona (who was involved with the disciplines of law and architecture), is one of the more fanciful products of north Italian humanism. (I, PL. 308). Among its woodcuts is a depiction of a Temple of the Sun in the form of an enormous stepped pyramid surmounted by an obelisk, an example of the Egyptomania of the humanists, particularly after the appearance of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* in 1419. The interest in things Egyptian and their symbolism is found in paintings as well, for example, in Titian's *Allegory of Prudence* (London, F. Howard Coll.), which shows a tricephalous monster modeled upon the companion of the god Serapis as he appears in his sanctuary at Alexandria, and also in the *décor* made by Pinturicchio (q.v.) in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican Palace.

Although the impact of humanism in northeast Italy (including Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, and Ferrara) acted upon an art that was gayer, more sardonic and sensuous, and less morally earnest, lyrical, and metaphysical than that in Tuscany, Umbria, and Rome, this made it possible to reflect more genuinely the satirical, voluptuary, and playful veins of so much of Greek and Latin literature. The classical painting of the Renaissance in Venice reached a culmination in the work of such 16th-century painters as Titian, Giorgione, and Tintoretto (qq.v.). Titian's mythological paintings the *Feast of Venus*, the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, and the *Bacchanal*, commissioned for Alfonso d'Este in Ferrara, followed descriptions of ancient paintings in the *Imagines* of Philostratus the Elder. Venice, Vicenza, and other cities in northeast Italy were also the principal scenes of the building activity of Andrea da Padova, better known as Palladio (q.v.).

Palladio's ideas of a "fugal" architecture embodied the notion of spatial harmonics mathematically comparable to musical harmonics and were derived, as has already been mentioned, from Plato's *Timaeus*. The *Timaeus* revealed the mysterious harmony of the universe which many humanists discovered through Ficino's commentaries, in which the mathematical importance of physical reality and the rapport of architecture with music and philosophy were given great consideration. To the Renaissance architects, musical intervals and linear perspective were subjected to a numerical ratio, and the harmonies implicit in painting and in music (in the proportions and chords) were later cited by Leonardo. In the biography of Brunelleschi traditionally attributed to Antonio Manetti, it is written that Brunelleschi, who studied the proportions of the ancients and who was in close contact with the leading humanists (as well as the cosmographer-mathematician Toscanelli), approached in his architecture that universal synthesis most in accord with music.

It was Alberti who told Matteo de' Pasti during the building of S. Francesco in Rimini that by altering the proportions of the pilasters "si discorda tutta quella musica." As Wittkower (1952) has emphasized, the work of Palladio was the culmination of a humanistic, Neo-Pythagorean trend in Renaissance architecture that went back to Brunelleschi and Alberti. In the academy of his patron, the renowned humanist G. Trissino, Palladio became associated with mid-16th century humanist circles. Palladio was both a humanist and a working architect; he was also the author of books on ancient monuments and on architecture, an illustrator of editions of Caesar and Polybius, and the designer of such exquisitely proportioned classical buildings as S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice and the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza.

Humanism flourished at princely courts throughout Italy. Enormous enthusiasm for antiquity was manifested by Alfonso V of Aragon, king of Naples, who built the monumental triumphal arch in the Castel Nuovo (III, PL. 390). In Milan the Sforzas were men of learning and patrons of art and literature. In Rimini, the humanistic leanings of Sigismondo Malatesta produced one of the great monuments of the early Italian Renaissance, the Tempio Malatestiano (I, PLS. 51, 52), the medieval church of S. Francesco transformed for Sigismondo by Alberti into a temple for the glorification of the Malatestas. In the niches of the church were to be placed the sarcophagi of the illustrious figures at the court of Rimini and the Malatesta dead. The glorification of human achievement has rarely been more dramatically expressed than it is on the exterior of this temple. By placing the sarcophagi and their Roman inscriptions beneath massive Roman arches, Alberti transformed the medieval walls into a mausoleum for famous men. Profane glorification and Christian devotion are magnificently epitomized in this funerary monument devoted to the immortality of the Malatestas. In its time, the temple was both praised and denounced. Valturius, military chronicler of Sigismondo, admired its splendid repertory of literary and artistic images, accessible only to the initiate. Pius II, in his *Commentaries*, decried the impiety of the work and found this use of religious architecture for personal glorification excessive and hostile to the Christian faith. In the interior, Agostino di Duccio, borrowing innumerable motifs from Donatello and from Greek reliefs, helped to further the idea of the sanctuary-mausoleum as a manifestation of the

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modern culture (III, PL. 302; IV, PLS. 400, 402). On the Arca degli Antenati, a tomb commemorating two Malatesta ancestors, he carved reliefs depicting the Temple of Minerva, symbolizing *probitas*, and the Chariot of Triumph, symbolizing *fortitudo*. The reliefs in the Chapel of the Planets were derived from a variety of sources — Neoplatonic, neo-Aristotelian, medieval, astrological, the texts of Macrobius, and Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (dream of Scipio on immortality) — in order to re-create the antique spirit.

The influence of humanism at the court of Urbino — intellectually closer to the spirit of Florence — was more clearly articulated and moralistically inclined. There was a remarkable gathering of artists at this center of mathematical and humanistic disciplines. Piero della Francesca wrote on artistic perspective, and Pacioli in 1509 published the *De quinque corporibus regularibus*. Under Federigo da Montefeltro, pupil of Vittorino da Feltre and a student of Aristotle and of ancient history, architecture was raised not only to the summit of the arts but to the very acme of intellectual activity, attracting the interest of the most advanced Florentine humanists. Alberti and Piero were frequently at the court in the 1460s, just at the time when an architecture in accord with the Pythagorean-Platonic harmonic elements of their theories was developed in the design for the palace courtyard. At the end of the 15th century, encouraged by Elisabetta Gonzaga and her husband, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, new ideals of court life and Platonic humanism were elaborated by Bembo and Castiglione.

In the beginning of the 16th century, with the consolidation of papal power under Julius II, Rome, the Eternal City, became once more as in antiquity the center of authority and learning. Here, the symbols of a glorious past were ever present, and in such undertakings as the plan for the museum of antiquities in the Belvedere court of the Vatican Palace, antique exploration was actively encouraged, and Florentine culture erupted from its narrower confines to become one of the essential components of Roman humanism and art.

The vision of the new courtier, the graceful, melancholy gentleman for whom love and poetry were the only respectable occupations, was brilliantly expounded in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, which represents in its ideal of human perfection, esthetic and moral, a secularization of the teachings of the Florentine Academy, a Neoplatonic ideal without the theology of Ficino. In painting, the perfect balance of mind and body, the grace said by Castiglione to be the "strength at the core of the character," is perhaps most completely expressed by the Roman works of Raphael. Raphael's ideal was derived not from visual experience but from a vision conceived in the mind. This he explained in a letter written to Castiglione in 1516 in which he discussed the painting of a beautiful woman in terms of the *idea* conceived as the intuition of a perfect image which cannot be acquired through experience. His portrait of Castiglione in the Louvre exquisitely depicts the type of individual, developed to the point of perfection, that represented for him the culture of the courts of Rome, Florence, and Urbino.

*Humanism and art outside Italy.* Although German humanism and art will not be treated in this article, some mention must be made of Albrecht Dürer, who together with Hans Holbein the Younger (qq.v.), brought a classical style into northern art. Dürer's conception of classical art was drawn from his knowledge of the work of the Italian Renaissance rather than from humanists who were his close friends in Nürnberg, men such as Willibald Pirckheimer. Dürer absorbed from another German humanist, Cornelius Agrippa, called "Agrippa of Nettesheim," Ficinian Neoplatonic ideas which he incorporated into his art, for example, in his engraving *Melencolia I* (III, PL. 203). Although he abandoned the Albertian attempt to find one ideal human beauty, Dürer also composed important treatises on perspective and on human proportion. Holbein, who was closely associated with Erasmus and his circle of humanist friends, painted many portraits of them.

In France, it was not until the 16th century that humanist influences appeared to any meaningful extent; under Francis I, artistic life was enlivened by the influx of Italian artists, notably Leonardo da Vinci. During the third decade of the 16th century, the French court became more and more suffused with Italian influences, and the period of transition began which was to transform Fontainebleau into a "second Rome" from about 1530 to 1570. This appellation was an allusion to the large collections of antiquities concentrated there, as well as to the great number of Italian artists who gathered at the court. Drawings by the great masters became familiar and were distributed through engravings by René Boyvin, Antonio Fantuzzi, the Master L.D., and Etienne Delaune, among others. Francis I, the *prince idéal* of the humanists, satisfied his passion for belles-lettres by his veneration of Guillaume Budé and by the foundation of the Collège de France. The classical period of the so-called "French Renaissance" was that of the 1530s and 1540s. In that period numerous antique bronzes arrived in Fontainebleau. There Francesco Primaticcio and Il Rosso (qq.v.) were decorating the galleries; Serlio published his architectural treatise; Rabelais wrote his principal works; and Philibert Delorme (q.v.), recently returned from Rome, was building royal châteaux. In evidence everywhere was the return to the antique: renewal of the cult of Diana; publication of Vitruvius in France in 1547 by Jean Martin, illustrated by Goujon (q.v.); Goujon's Fontaine des Innocents (1547); the great number of books published by Geoffroy Tory, as well as the later publications of a *Metamorphoses d'Ovide figurée* (1557), *Songe de Poliphile* (1546; illustrations attributed to Goujon), and the *Traité de perspective* by Jean Cousin (1560). Pontus de Tyard's poems *Douze fables de fleurs ou fontaines* provided themes for paintings. The *Imagines* of Philostratus the Elder were reflected in the works of Blaise de Vigenère (1578) and Remi Belleau, and inspired artists and poets who dazzled the populace with their royal triumphal entries and fetes. Interpretations of poetic works may also be found in Niccolò dell'Abate's figure of the Nile emerging from the reeds, in the Gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau, and in the paintings of the Maître de Flore in the same gallery, where the personifications of Venus, cupids, and nymphs relate directly to passages in Blaise de Vigenère.

Personal glorification and the continuation of the heroic ideal is perhaps best demonstrated in the Francis I Gallery (1534–37) at Fontainebleau, executed by Il Rosso. Although Panofsky points out that there is no literary evidence concerning its iconographic program, visual analysis reveals the direct paraphrasing of Latin and Greek texts, as well as the presence of the Virtues and Vices analogous to those developed by the Scholastic philosophers. The program of the gallery is a detailed commentary on the life of Francis I and, in the words of the poet Ronsard, all the ". . . virtues of this King, demonstrated in war and peace, in life as well as death." Personifications of past heroes are evoked to represent the greatness of Francis I: *L'Ignorance chassé* recalls Caesar; in the *L'Unité de l'état*, Francis I is idealized as a Roman emperor in a setting *à l'antique*; the *Eléphant fleurdelysé* celebrates Francis I as a wise and virtuous ruler, extolled here as a "new Alexander."

Mythological subjects are numerous at Fontainebleau in the works of Primaticcio, Niccolò dell'Abate, and Luca Penni, for which countless engravings after Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Perino del Vaga supplied the models. Penni, who worked at Fontainebleau between 1537 and 1540, best illustrates the rapport of the Fontainebleau school with the culture of the Italian Renaissance as exemplified by Raphael and his school. Penni's mythological scenes, for example, those depicting the story of the Trojan horse, the story of Diana, the *Birth of Love*, or his more classically oriented *Triumph of Flora* (1560–65), are comparable to the flowery metaphors of contemporary court poets. That poets and artists based their works on similar antique sources may be seen in the use of Ovid's *Fasti* as inspiration both for Primaticcio's allegorical frescoes at Fontainebleau representing Hercules and Omphale, and for Ronsard's *Satyr*, published in 1569.

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Charles TRINKAUS

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**HUNGARY.** Hungary is located in east central Europe. Its 19 counties occupy, in the Danube and Tisza River regions, the Great Plain (Alföld) and Trans-Danubia, the latter roughly corresponding to the ancient Roman province of Pannonia. The Hungarians occupied the basin of the Carpathians about 900. After the reign of the Árpád and Angevin dynasties, part of the country's territory fell under Turkish rule; only at the end of the 17th century was the country reunited, under the scepter of the house of Hapsburg. After World War I Hungary, though losing two-thirds of its own territory, was made an independent state. Throughout its history Hungary has been affected by all the major cultural movements manifested in Europe and has often responded with significant individuality.

SUMMARY. Cultural and artistic epochs (col. 743): *Prehistory and antiquity; From the 5th century to the Romanesque period; The Romanesque and Gothic periods; The Renaissance; The baroque period; The 19th and 20th centuries.* Chief art centers (col. 756).

CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC EPOCHS. *Prehistory and antiquity.* Hungary was inhabited as early as the late Paleolithic period; dating from this time are many objects of bone and stone found in the Bükk and Trans-Danubia regions, specifically in the caves of the Bakony, Vértes, and Gerecse Mountains (e.g., Szeleta, Istállóskö, and the Jankovich caves). At Bakonybél the earliest known sculpture of an animal, a wild horse, was found. Paleolithic dwellings have come to light at Ságvár. Also from Hungary came the first carved-bone chieftain's staff found in Europe. An increasing number of excavations are under way in the region around the loop of the Danube, where findings from the Mesolithic period have been made (at Szob and Pilismarót). In the later Paleolithic stage, the valley of the Tisza was inhabited by people of two different stocks; the first belonged to the Kőrös culture coming from the south, and the second to the indigenous Tisza culture. Of special interest are the clay figures from the latter group ("Venus" of Hódmezővásárhely-Kotacspart) and the vases with textile-inspired patterns. In the mountainous northern region the Bükk group developed, with its ribbon-decorated pottery (*Bandkeramik*; V, PL. 153); pottery with linear ornament predominated in the Trans-Danubian areas. The material found along the Danube, in the Zseliz group to the north and the Lengyel-Zengővárkony group to the south, represents a later phase of *Bandkeramik*.

During the Aëneolithic period the so-called "Baden" (Pécel) culture flourished throughout Hungary: in its first phase more especially toward the west, beyond the Danube (hill of Keszthely-Apáthy, Budakalász, where a small four-wheeled terra-cotta cart was found); later, in the area of the upper Tisza (at Viss), where this culture supplanted the Tiszapolgár group, noteworthy for its vases with highly decorated feet.

The cultures of the early phase of the Bronze Age developed along divergent lines, depending on the environmental conditions of their various sites (groups of Nagyrév, Kisapostag, Magyarád, Gáta). A certain stimulus was provided by the Bell Beaker culture that originated in the west and by the Zók-Vučedol culture coming from the south. Of the inhabited centers that sprang up along the rivers, the most important were Tószeg (near Szolnok) and Kosziderpadlás (south of Dunaujváros). In the 13th century the Bronze Age settlements were abandoned, partly because of the arrival of tribes of the Tumulus culture. What is now Hungary was at that time one of the points of departure for the migrations manifest on the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean.

In the first phase of the Iron Age, there arose cultural groups that developed from elements both of the indigenous cultures and of the Tumulus culture. The most important of these were, in the northern part of Trans-Danubia, the Vál group; further south, that of Dalj; in the Tisza region, the Gáva group; and in the mountainous region, that of Piliny. A great many pieces of jewelry, arms, and receptacles, found as far away as Scandinavia, attest the proficiency of these groups in metalworking.

In the 6th century B.C. several Scythian tribes occupied the area of present-day Hungary east of the Danube. In royal tombs at Zöldhalompuszta (II, PL. 13) and Tápiószentmárton were found golden plaques in the form of stags, and a Corinthian (or Spartan, as suggested by J. G. Szilágyi) bronze hydria was discovered at Ártánd in Scythian territory. In the 4th century Celtic tribes occupied the same territory; the principal evidence for their presence consists of objects found in the area of Sopron-Becsidomb and in the Danube loop (Szob, Kósd). The finest objects from later times were uncovered mainly at the Eraviscian *oppidum* discovered on the slopes of Gellérthegy at Buda (vases with painted decoration, bronze jewelry, etc.).

In the 1st century B.C. the Celts of the Danubian region came into contact with the expanding Roman Empire. Subsequently, conquest of the land as far as the Danube took place at the time of Augustus, but thorough Romanization of Pannonia along the Danube was scarcely completed by the reign of the Flavians. The Sarmatian Jazyges had settled in the region east of the Danube during the 1st century; to defend themselves against this people and against their northern neighbors the Germans (Marcomanni and Quadi), in Domitian's time and later Trajan's, the Romans built a line of fortifications along the right bank of the Danube. At both Brigetio (Ószőny) and Aquincum (Óbuda, now a district of Budapest) whole legions were garrisoned, while at lesser stations, from 7 to 10 miles apart, there were infantry and cavalry troops; the best known of these smaller stations were at Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre), Albertfalva, Nagytétény, and Intercisa (Dunaujváros; formerly Dunapentele). Along the amber route, leading from Aquileia toward the Danube, cities such as Savaria (Szombathely) and Scarbantia (Sopron) grew up. From the 2d century of our era onward, thriving cities sprang up along the boundary lines and, protected by the *limes*, in the interior as well: Sopianae (Pécs), Mogetiana, Tricciana (Ságvár), Valcum (Fenékpuszta), and Aquincum. Roman cultural influence was operative principally from the beginning of the Christian Era to the time of Marcus Aurelius. The frescoes of the Roman villa in Baláca show the influence of the late Pompeian style. In the governor's palace at Aquincum, part of the mosaic pavement and the frescoes were patterned on designs of Italian type, as were the colossal statues of the *capitolium* of Scarbantia, to cite only a few examples. Throughout the 1st century of our era, a great variety of objects were imported from Italy (bronze vases, as well as pottery and glass ones); in the 2d century, products of the Rhine region and Gaul were imported. From the 3d century on, there was an increasing flow of objects from the Orient, a phenomenon especially evident in the towns along the Danube: Intercisa, Albertfalva, Ulcisia Castra, Brigetio. The local applied arts, stemming from the native culture, furnished utilitarian objects of metal and pottery. At Aquincum, Brigetio, and Savaria, however, there were important workshops producing sculpture.

*From the 5th century to the Romanesque period.* At the dawn of the 5th century, the Huns transferred their headquarters from southern Russia to the Tisza Valley. Under the pressure of these people, the Eastern Roman Empire was obliged to relinquish Pannonia by degrees; by the time of Attila it was firmly in the possession of the Huns. Among the Huns, metalworking techniques became highly skillful, as evidenced by gold-encrusted swords, golden daggers found in princely tombs at Pécsüszög and Nagyszéksós, bronze caldrons uncovered at Törtel and Bántopuszta, purse clasps bearing complex flower and palmette motifs (Sassanian derivation), and many other articles. In the Hunnic period the so-called "polychrome style," employing precious stones, in various colors, reached its zenith in these lands.

After the downfall of the Hun empire, Germanic tribes took possession of the Trans-Danubian region; among them were the Ostrogoths, who later settled in Italy, and the Gepids, who established themselves east of the Danube. In the material discovered in the Gepid cemetery excavated at Szolnok, containing over a hundred tombs, it is possible to detect the persistence of Hunnic culture, though adulterated by ever-increasing Byzantine influence. The heritage left by the Lombards, who occupied Trans-Danubia about 630, is less varied and more in the nature of folk art; its traces are generally found in the vicinity of the abandoned Roman colonies. In the Roman amphitheater at Óbuda, silver-gilt fibulas bearing runic inscriptions and several cups from a ducal treasure have been found. The Lombard peoples, whose presence is evidenced by findings in the cemetery at Várpalota, remained in these lands until the time of the Avar occupation.

The Avars, like the Scythians and Huns before them, employed a typically Oriental style, presenting a blend of elements from central

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Hungary, major art and archaeological centers. (1) National boundaries; (2) boundary Upper Pannonia (west) and Lower Pannonia (east). Sites of remains and monuments; (3) Neolithic, and Aëneolithic periods; (4) Bronze Age; (5) Iron Age; (6) Roman period; (7) Middle Ages; (8) modern period.

Asia, Pontus, and Iran. Most of the finds consist of belt ornaments in the form of plaques of beaten or cast bronze, often gilded and usually ornamented with crouching winged griffins. The most important princely treasure from this period is the set of golden vessels (Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.; V, PL. 96; VI, PL. 257) discovered at Nagy-Szent-Miklós (Sânnicolaul Mare, Romania). Rich discoveries of tomb furnishings, suggesting the location of national or tribal capitals, have been made in Trans-Danubia at Szentendre, Budapest-Csepel, Dunaújváros, and Igar, and on the plain at Kecel, Bócsa, Kunágota, and Ózora. Wars with Charlemagne destroyed the might of the Avars, but in several sites east of the Danube their race and culture persisted until the Magyar invasion (late 9th cent.). In the Trans-Danubian territories of the 9th century there lived a Slavo-Avar population, whose chief cultural and political center was Zalavár.

Tibor NAGY

*The Romanesque and Gothic periods.* Toward the end of the 10th century, as a result of the new centralized power and the advent of Christianity, pagan Hungarian art was in decline. Romanesque art, developed during the 10th and 11th centuries, exhibits three fundamental elements: the ancient tradition, that of the indigenous peoples, and the Oriental decorative tradition mentioned earlier. The frescoes in the trefoil-plan funerary chapel (*cella trichora;* 4th cent.; subsequently 8th, 9th cent.) discovered alongside the Cathedral of Pécs attest the continuity of life in Roman Sopianae up to the coming of the Hungarians, and a great many Roman carvings were reused in the walls of Romanesque structures. The basilica of Zalavár reveals its Lombard origin and is a precursor of other 11th-century basilicas later destroyed or rebuilt: Esztergom, Fehérvár Pécs, Győr, Eger, Pécsvárad, Tihany (whose lower church has been preserved), St. Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek), Somogyvár (exhibiting the first appearance of two belfries on the western façade, in front of the lateral aisles). Rinceaux and palmette motifs, found as decorations on the purse clasps mentioned earlier, recur in a series of 11th-century stone carvings (Veszprém, Pilisszentkereszt, Szekszárd, etc.), proving that local artisans were working in the royal workshops alongside others from abroad. In the 12th century, in response to increased needs, a large number of the royal and episcopal cathedrals were rebuilt. Of the Cistercian abbeys — the order having become established in Hungary in the late 12th century (Zirc, Pilis, Szentgotthárd) — there remains only the church of Bélapátfalva, from 1232, a simple basilica with nave, two side aisles, and a transept but without a belfry. From early in the 13th century, the artisans of the Cistercian order exerted a strong influence on late Romanesque Hungarian architecture (Pannonhalma, Felsőörs). Outstanding examples of monastic construction under aristocratic or royal auspices during the early 13th century are the cathedrals of Lébény, Ják, Vértesszentkereszt, Türje, and Zsámbék, in each of which Benedictine influence was responsible for the addition of the two façade towers and *Westwerk*, customary in western Europe, to the Lombard architectural structure. The most notable and highly developed monument of the period is the church at Ják (1256). Simpler variants are apparent in the 12th-century country churches, several of which, though small, are quite commendable structures (Egregy, Csempeszkopács, etc.).

The sculpture of the 11th century, closely related to the architecture, exhibits Mediterranean traits (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Óbuda). The most eminent examples, which reveal contacts with the southwestern regions of France, can be found in the Cathedral of Pécs (reliefs and statues in the lower church) and in the Benedictine Abbey of Somogyvár. In the royal palace of Esztergom, a workshop of Burgundian origin began operations late in the 12th century. Romanesque sculpture in Hungary reached its peak in the works adorning the exterior of the church at Ják; the influence of these sculptures spread as far as Austria.

Most of the decorative and figure painting of the Romanesque period has survived only in fragmentary form (Pécs, Esztergom); highly important are the 11th-century frescoes in the lower church of Feldebrő. Significant examples of Romanesque painting of the mature period are the splendid wall paintings in the church at Ják. The best-preserved paintings are the Romanesque frescoes in the rural churches (Hidegség, 12th cent.; Vizsoly, 13th cent.). The outstanding example of Hungarian Romanesque miniature painting, which began in the late 11th century, is the Bible in the Benedictine

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monastery at Csatár (founded 1138). In the 11th and 12th centuries, the minor arts were flourish ng in the royal workshops, as well as in those of the prelates and the monasteries. The upper portion of the royal Hungarian crown is of Italian and Byzantine workmanship, while the base consists of the beautiful diadem of Constantine Monomachus, done in enameled openwork. From the 12th century on there was a vogue for articles fashioned in the Limoges enamel technique. Textile weaving was widespread; among the earliest and most distinguished examples is a sacerdotal chasuble created in 1031 for the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár and subsequently used as a coronation mantle.

The Gothic period in Hungary, lasting from about the time of the Tartar invasion (1241) to the Battle of Mohács (1526), was closely related to the reconstruction efforts of King Béla IV, which included the building of new cities and fortresses. Buda became the new capital of the kingdom. The royal palace was built on the southern summit of the Castle Hill during the third quarter of the 13th century; from here the city extended northward, and its prominent religious edifices included the French-influenced Church of Our Lady, the more modest Church of the Magdalen, and the Dominican church and monastery. Built during this same period were the lower fort of Visegrád and its tower-residence, the tower-residence at Sárospatak, and the castles of Sümeg — at Csesznek and Trenčín (Trencsén). The qualities of the earliest Gothic structures in Buda, buildings marked by French influence, thereafter became apparent in the religious architecture of other cities: for example, Sopron, the former Franciscan church; Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), presbytery of the basilica.

The apogee of this style, however, occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries. The most important phases in its development coincide with the reign of the house of Anjou (Charles I, Louis I the Great) and with those of Sigismund and Matthias Corvinus; and the peak of excellence was reached during the reign of the last-named. The Angevins were the builders of the citadel and palace at Visegrád. Louis I was responsible for the construction of the castle of Diósgyőr, which is rectangular in shape and has corner towers, a plan that was to recur in many other places (e.g., Tata, Várpalota). Under the Angevins the cities grew remarkably, with both regular and irregular city plans being implemented. Construction began on parish churches of the *Hallenkirche* type (nave and aisles of equal height), such as those of Sopron and Sibiu (Nagyszeben). Praiseworthy are the chapter house in the former Franciscan monastery in Sopron, in the French style; the sacristy of the Franciscans in Szécsény; and the St. John Chapel adjoining the Franciscan church of Bratislava (Pozsony). The Gothic synagogue of Sopron, discovered in 1957, is an important architectural find.

Great stimulus was given to building by King Sigismund, and during his reign close ties were established between Hungary and the craftsmen of the Parlers of Prague (the new wing, toward the Danube, of the castle at Buda; the lower court of honor at Visegrád; reconstruction of the Church of Our Lady, Buda; construction in the fort of Bratislava). Construction in cities expanded tremendously, with greatest activity centering in Buda; here during the 14th and 15th centuries there developed the characteristic type of Gothic house, which in accordance with southern European custom presented its long flank to the street. Of the public buildings in Gothic style, the town halls of Bratislava and Sibiu remain. During the reign of Sigismund the following sumptuous parish churches were built: Pest, Parish Church of the City; Košice (Kassa), the Cathedral; Braşov (formerly Oraşul Stalin and Brassó), the Black Church. The most outstanding works of the late Gothic period are attributable to the reign of Matthias. Unfortunately, those in Buda survive only in fragmentary form, but the upper court of honor in the Visegrád palace is astounding even in its present condition. It was Matthias who founded the church in Farkas Street at Cluj (Kolozsvár); akin to it are the Franciscan churches of Nyírbátor and Szeged and the beautiful Reformed church of Nyírbátor, with its reticulated vaulting. The splendid chapels of the Zápolya family at Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely) and Spišský Štvrtok (Csütörtökhely) were probably executed from plans by Master Stephen of Kassa (Master Stefan Lapicide).

Preeminent among the sculpture of the early Gothic period are the decorations of the Church of Our Lady (also called Matthias Church) in Buda, the French-influenced decorations in the hall of the Franciscan chapter house at Sopron (early 14th cent.), and the richly carved capitals in the apse of St. Michael's Church at Cluj. It is possible to discern echoes of the Parlers' workshop of Prague in the grotesques of the castle in Buda and those of the Church of Our Lady. The art of portraiture was to develop in funerary monuments (e.g., Pannonhalma, Buda, Alba Iulia). The most outstanding work of all in Hungarian Gothic sculpture is a bronze figure of St. George (1373) now in Prague; it is the sole surviving work of the Kolozsvári brothers, Martin and György. Also notable as one of the first freestanding equestrian statues, its style shows marked Italian influence. Examples of 15th-century sculpture are tomb figures in Buda and Alba Iulia, the red-marble Lion Fountain in Visegrád (1473), the carved figures of several parish churches (Košice, Braşov, Sopron), and two very fine tabernacles by Master Stephen of Kassa at Bardejov (Bártfa) and Košice. A high artistic level was attained in wood carving during the 14th and 15th centuries. There were carvings of the Virgin, such as those at Slatvina (Szlatvin), Toporec (Toporc), and Zalaszentgrót, and of the Crucifixion (Košice and cities in the Spiš, or Szepes, area); widely diffused was the characteristic polyptych altarpiece, with a central tabernacle full of movement. The altar of Bardejov, with a Nativity scene, is considered a masterpiece of Hungarian Gothic sculpture; that of St. James at Levoča (Lőcse; ca. 1508–17) is the work of Master Paul, a disciple of Veit Stoss (q.v.). Also worthy of note is the sarcophagus of the lord of St. Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek), which is in the basilica of Esztergom.

During the Gothic period, wall painting continued to occupy a place of importance in Hungarian art. In the 14th century Italian influence was especially strong, while German was stronger in the 15th. The chapel in the palace at Esztergom was frescoed by Niccolò di Tommaso, and about the end of the 14th century Giovanni Aquila was working at Velemér and Mártonhely. Many of the country churches built in the 13th century were frescoed in the following century. Paintings imbued with a folk-tale spirit can be seen at Sopronbánfalva, Vizsoly, Mălâncrav (Almakerék), and Zseliz. A cycle of scenes from the life of the Hungarian king St. Ladislaus comprised a special group. Evidence of the wealth of 15th-century wall painting is conserved largely in the palaces of the nobility and the city and country houses of the burghers (Szentsimon, Nyírbéltek; Castle of Vajdahunyad, loggia of Matthias). Also from this period are the oldest panel paintings, for example, the St. Catherine altarpiece by the Master of Bátovce (Bát; Esztergom, Christian Mus.). The characteristic, evocative style of the St. Beňadik altar by Thomas of Kolozsvár (1427; Esztergom, Christian Mus.), commissioned by by Miklós Péterfia, the canon of Győr, is a fusion of early Italian Renaissance and Burgundian-German Gothic qualities. In Upper Hungary the most active center in the 15th century was the city of Kassa, whose cathedral was provided with new altars; however, of the 27 altar polyptychs, only 5 have survived. The altarpieces of the high altar, which have survived intact, depict the legend of St. Elizabeth of the Árpáds. The most distinguished master of late Gothic painting is the artist who signed his pictures with the initials M. S.; this master was most active at Banská Štiavnica (Selmecbánya). His *Visitation* is in Budapest (Mus. of Fine Arts), and four panels of the *Passion* are in Esztergom (Christian Mus.). A *Resurrection* dates from 1506. An unusually gifted artist, this master fuses great realism with the agitation and nervous disquiet of the late Gothic. Upper Hungary, which was shielded from the Turks, has preserved the greatest number of medieval monuments; in the rest of the country, the vast majority have been destroyed.

The most celebrated works of Gothic miniature painting, which flowered in Hungary during the 14th and 15th centuries, are the decorations in the "Pictorial Chronicle" (Budapest, Széchenyi Nat. Lib.), executed at the court of Louis I, and those in the "Pictorial Book of Legends" (Vat. Mus.), probably illuminated at Oradea (Nagyvárad). The codices preserved in several episcopal collections attest the varied tendencies pursued in this field. During the Gothic period in Hungary, all the minor arts can be said to have flourished, with the high point being reached in the working of precious metals, for which Hungarian craftsmen were famous throughout Europe. In the 15th century the technique of filigree enamel was introduced; one of the first masterpieces is this art is the reliquary of King Ladislaus at Győr. Early in the 15th century, the statues for a beautiful Crucifixion (Esztergom, Cathedral treasury), later associated with the name of King Matthias, were executed in France; the upper portion is a signal example of Gothic metalwork. A great number of fine cups also testify to the excellence of late Gothic metalwork, while stove tiles of colored majolica and ecclesiastical draperies convey some idea of the heights attained in the ceramic and textile arts.

*The Renaissance.* Information on the Renaissance in Hungary, because of the dispersal or loss of art works, is available chiefly through written sources. Nonetheless, from the very beginning the Hungarian Renaissance appears to have been closely linked with Italian art: Masolino worked in Hungary about 1425, while almost at the same time Michele Pannonio worked for Borso d'Este at Ferrara (after 1415). During the reign of Matthias Corvinus (until 1490), such artistic contacts became even closer, depending much upon the influence of several major Italian artists who worked for Matthias — Verrocchio, Filippino Lippi, and probably Leonardo himself.

In civil architecture the most notable undertaking was the expansion and reconstruction of the palace at Buda and the rebuilding

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of Sigismund's palace, under the direction of the Florentine Chimenti di Leonardo Camicia. The famous library, porticoed courts, luxurious interiors, and monumental bronze statues, known from contemporaneous descriptions and confirmed by excavations, corroborate the influence of the Tuscan Quattrocento, especially the Florentine, an influence that was dominant throughout the Hungarian Renaissance. Another project of Matthias, worthy of comparison with the finest Italian palaces, was the enlargement of the palace of Visegrád, destroyed but known from written sources (Miklós Oláh, Archbishop of Esztergom) and from excavations begun in 1940. Masterworks of Renaissance sculpture in Hungary are the figures of a red-marble fountain, carved about 1480–85 by an Italian master, and the busts of Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Aragon, executed by artists from northern Italy working in Buda. Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Primate of Hungary, commissioned monuments of Renaissance type to be erected at Esztergom in the archiepiscopal palace and the Cathedral. No trace of the fresco panels of the period survives, though there have been partially preserved the so-called "Corvina," that is, the rich volumes of Matthias's renowned library, with miniatures done both in Italy and in Buda. Miniaturists represented in these works included Attavante degli Attavanti and Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora in Florence, and Francesco Rosselli, Fra Joan Antonio Cattaneo, the Abbot of Madocsa, and Felice da Ragusa in Buda, with the collaboration of local artists as well. The lower part of the previously mentioned "King Matthias" Crucifixion is an outstanding example of metalwork of this period.

In the second phase of the Renaissance in Hungary, extending from the death of Matthias (1490) to the Battle of Mohács (1526), which saw the Turks triumphant, Esztergom became the most important cultural center. Here, in 1507, the archbishop Tamás Bakócz had a master from the circle of Giuliano da Sangallo build a chapel that was named for the prelate; this chapel was later incorporated in the new cathedral (1823). Dating from 1512 is the Lázói Chapel of Alba Iulia, adorned with an abundance of statuary in which there is a fusion of Italian influence with local tradition. Particularly noteworthy are the Renaissance tabernacles, such as those at Nyírbátor, Pécs, and Pest (Parish Church of the City). It is possible to assign dates of about 1500 to several remarkable funerary monuments with Renaissance ornamentation, the tomb effigies of which can be interpreted as portraits (tomb figure of István Zápolya at Spišská Kapitula, 1499; of Imre Perényi at Tőketerebes, 1519). A disciple of Florentine masters is the Hungarian master of the Báthory *Madonna* (1526; Budapest, Mus. of Fine Arts), who was also the creator of church decorations in Nyírbátor. Virtually all the Hungarian court paintings produced about 1500 have been lost, as were the works of Italian painters working in Hungary, such as Visino, Raffaello di Galileo, and Giulio Clovio; their works were once the property of Humanist prelates. In a room in the excavated palace of Esztergom, a fresco fragment dating from about 1500 has been preserved; this work, depicting the four Virtues, was painted by a disciple of Filippino Lippi (perhaps by the Florentine Alberto mentioned in documents). In Upper Hungary and Transylvania, art works revealing ties to German art furnish evidence of the survival of the Gothic style; ornamental motifs from the Italian Renaissance repertory persisted for a long time in the decoration of the painted, coffered ceilings in Transylvania: Gogan-varolea (Gogánváralja), 1510–20; Adămuş (Adámos), 1526.

In the minor arts the influence of Italian Renaissance art is marked also — for instance, in the choir stalls of the church in Nyírbátor (1511; Budapest, Nat. Mus.) and the door of the Lázói Chapel in Alba Iulia. Similarly under the influence of Italian art were the thriving industries in ceramics, leather- and metalwork, glass, and textiles. (Fine examples of the last-mentioned are the Bardejov chasuble, woven after designs by Filippino Lippi, and the ecclesiastical draperies of Sibiu, woven after designs by Botticelli.)

After the Battle of Mohács, the central portion of Hungary came under Turkish rule, northern Hungary and the western portion of Trans-Danubia became subject to the house of Hapsburg, and Transylvania became an independent principality. During the latter half of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century, in the territory not occupied by the Turks, late Renaissance forms survived, and eventually in the 17th century the monumental buildings came to rival in richness and importance those of the Renaissance under Matthias Corvinus. In this period local artistic qualities gradually began to emerge, for the Italian masters generally confined themselves to creating designs, leaving the execution to local craftsmen. While a truly dynamic cultural center was lacking in Trans-Danubia and northern Hungary, in Transylvania (see ROMANIA) this function was assumed by the princely court, where the activity of local masters brought about the creation of a style known as "Transylvanian Renaissance." Occidental traditions, on the other hand, survived only rarely in the Trans-Danubian region. The Hapsburg government, availing itself of the services of architects active at the court in Vienna — including many Italians, such as Pietro Ferabosco — constructed a defensive system of bastions. Of Italian derivation was the square-based castle with four corner towers and galleried courtyard, a design so popular among the Hungarians that it persisted into the baroque period and was widely employed for various kinds of structures.

Whereas the castles in Trans-Danubia are more or less uniform in style, architectural styles in Upper Hungary are varied. Typical forms developed as early as the 16th century: porticoed courts; walls topped by cornices and decorated in sgraffito (Spiš and Sáros regions), of Venetian origin and present in castles, churches, and bell towers. The Renaissance ornamentation of the medieval tower at Sárospatak reveals Lombard influences from the early Renaissance, while the façade of its so-called "Perényi wing" shows this Lombard stamp very plainly (architects, Niccolò da Milano and Alessandro Vedani). During the 16th century the Gothic fortress in Bratislava was converted into a royal residence of Renaissance type by Giovanni Spaz (Spazio, da Spatio) and Pietro Ferabosco. The most imposing castle in Upper Hungary is that of Vel'ká Bitča (Nagybitse), with round keep at the corner and airy porticoed court (1571–1605). A distinct feature of Transylvanian art — developed in the stonecutters' school of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and in the princely court, where many Italian architects were present — was the use of structural and decorative elements of markedly Italian derivation. Dominant at the outset were architectural influences from northern Italy of the early 16th century, in evidence at Gherla (Szamosujvár), Vintul-de-Jos (Alvinc), and Criş (Keresd); the latter half of the 16th century was to witness the triumph of architecture with local features, as in the castles with corner towers at Várad and Făgăraş (Fogaras) and the impressive castle at Mediaş (Medgyes). Dating from the latter half of the 16th century also is the handsome castle at Sân Miclauş (Bethlenszentmiklós), with arcaded façade, which was built after plans by Miklós Bethlen. The 17th century marks the emergence of the style known as "flowery Transylvanian" because of its characteristic rich floral decoration, especially evident in the pulpits (Farkas Street church in Cluj), ceilings, and metalwork.

In the late Renaissance, sculpture was mainly confined to tomb adornment. Among the paintings of sacred subjects are polyptychs that are Gothic in structure but Renaissance in style; however, fresco painting had come to an end. The Renaissance spirit was much more pervasive in the secular art of Hungary; its influence is evidenced in the decoration — albeit scanty — of the existing palaces and in the portrait painting, done largely by local masters.

*The baroque period.* Marked generally by great sobriety — in comparison with other national variants of the style — the baroque period in Hungary began only toward the end of the 17th century and reached its peak during the 18th century. After the expulsion of the Turks (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699) and Hungary's absorption into the Hapsburg empire, Italian influences, mostly by way of the Viennese court, continued. A decisive role was assumed at that time by architecture, in the undertaking to put a new face, manifestly baroque, on most of the cities. At the outset, especially in the buildings put up by the Jesuits, the influence of Roman baroque was strongly felt; later, however, and paralleling the developments in Austria, German and French motifs also were absorbed and transformed. Patterned after the Gesù in Rome, but with the addition of characteristic south German features (façade with two towers and high pediment), a great many churches were built, among them the University Church in Trnava (Nagyszombat; 1629–39) by Johann Peter Spaz (Spezzo); St. Ignatius at Győr (1635–41; now the Church of the Benedictines); Church of the Servites at Lorettom (1651–59) by Carl Martin Carlone; the Jesuit church at Kosice (1671–81), the Cistercian church of Eger (1716–19); the University Church in Pest (1736–42); and the Cathedral of Kalocsa (1736–54; the last by Andreas Mayerhoffer). The Carmelite church of Győr (1721–25) by Martin Wittwer, the Benedictine church in Pápa (1737–42), and the Church of St. Anne in Buda by Cristoforo Hamon and Matthias Nepauer were to a greater or lesser extent patterned after the Church of St. Peter in Vienna by Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (q.v.), who was also active in Hungary. Outstanding examples of curvilinear baroque façades are the Minorite Church of Eger (1758–73) by Matthias Gerl and the church in the Viziváros quarter of Esztergom. Franz Anton Pilgram and Anton Salzgeber were responsible for the Premonstratensian church of Jasov (Jászó; 1745–65), capped with two towers. Churches in Tata (1770–84) and Pápa (1774–83) were designed by Jakob Fellner, who worked in Hungary until his death. The episcopal palace (1779–83) and Cathedral (1791–97) of Szombathely and the archiepiscopal palace of Bratislava (1778–81) by Menyhért (Melchior) Hefele, present a more tranquil conception of the baroque. There are a great number of princely castles from the period, such as those of Eisenstadt (Kismarton; 1663–72), by C. M. Carlone, and Ráckeve (1702) and Halbturn (Féltorony), of

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French type, by J. L. von Hildebrandt. French models were followed in the castle at Holič (Holics), by Jean Nicolas Jadot; the Esterházy castle (1772) at Čeklís (Cseklész) and the Csáky castle (1729) at Vel'ký Biel (Magyarbél), by Anton Erhard Martinelli; the castle of Edelény (1737); and many others. The most striking baroque castle, however, is that of Prince Esterházy at Fertőd (Eszterháza; 1764–66), sometimes referred to as the "Hungarian Versailles" because of its scale and elaborate decor. The erection of large urban edifices began with the construction of the monumental Home for Invalids in Pest (1727–35), designed by Martinelli, and the restoration of Buda Castle by Jadot and Franz Anton Hillebrandt. The last-named architect was also responsible for rebuilding the royal palace in Bratislava, then capital of Hungary, and for the Primate's summer palace in the same city and the episcopal palace at Oradea, dating from 1762–76. Typical examples of provincial architecture are the archiepiscopal palace by Fellner, the provost's house (1772), and the archiepiscopal lyceum (1765–85) at Eger, as well as the episcopal palace at Veszprém (1765–76).

During the 17th century, late Renaissance traits persisted in sculpture, whereas 18th-century sculpture was marked by the dominant artistic personality of the Austrian Georg Raphael Donner (1692–1741), who worked in Bratislava from 1727 to 1739; his work was as influential for the course of Hungarian sculpture as that of Hildebrandt was for architecture. Associated with Donner were L. Gode (pulpit of St. Ignatius Church in Győr), D. Schletterer, J. G. Dorfmeister (marble tomb of the Grassalkovich family at Máriabesnyő), and Mor Fischer, who created the side altars in the Cathedral of Pécs (ca. 1775) and the Harruckern tomb in Alba Iulia (1775). Also a late disciple of Donner was Jacob Gabriel Müller (Mollinarolo; reliefs in the Cathedral of Győr, 1772–74). The works of J. A. Krauss, the creator of the high altars in the Premonstratensian church of Jasov (1764–66) and the Cistercian church of Eger (1769–70), exhibit Bavarian features. J. Hebenstreit worked over a wide area of the country, whereas Carlo Béhó confined his work largely to Budapest and its vicinity.

In painting, too, important Hungarian masters won fame; for instance, Jakab Bogdány (1660–1724), a painter of still life and animals, and Adám Mányoki (1673–1757), portraitist of Prince Ferenc Rákóczy II; both of these artists were obliged to become expatriates when the work of foreign masters once again became widely popular in their homeland. In the first three decades of the 18th century, Italian influence was predominant. Giovanni Giorgioli painted the library (1719) of the Jesuit college in Tranav; Gottlieb Antonio Galliardi, the episcopal palace and the Cathedral (1720) of Nyitra; and Davide Antonio Fossati, the abbey refectory (1729) of Pannonhalma. The Austrian Paul Troger painted the frescoes of St. Ignatius in Győr (1744, 1747). By the Neapolitan artist Martino Altomonte are the altarpieces of the Carmelite church of Győr (1726–28) and the Franciscan church of Barátudvar (1740); Caspar Franz Sambach executed the vault paintings and altarpieces of the Cistercian church of Székesfehérvár (1749–50). Franz Anton Maulbertsch spent forty years working in Hungary on the decoration of 17 churches and 8 castles. Noteworthy are the interior frescoes of the parish church of Sümeg (1757–58), the frescoes in the chapel of the Erdödy villa at Bohuslavice Trenčianske (Bogoszló; 1763), and those of the Cathedral of Vác (1771), the villa at Halbturn (1765), the Carmelite seminary church of Székesfehérvár (ca. 1767), the Cathedral of Győr (1772, 1779–81), the episcopal palace of Szombathely (1783), and the lyceum chapel of Eger (1792–93). Among the artists active were Franz Sigrist, the painter of the ceiling in the great hall of the Eger lyceum (1781), and János Lukács Kracker, who decorated the library of the same lyceum (1778); the most important work of Kracker is the fresco decoration of the castle at Aszód (1777). Also worthy of mention in the throng of foreign artists working in Hungary are Anton and F. Karl Palko, Martin Speer, August Querfurt, J. I. Hildorfer, Johann Ignaz Cimbal (Zimbal), and Josef Winterhalder. Distinguished Hungarian painters of the 18th century are József Orient, Karl Philipp Schallhas, and Johann Martin Stock.

*The 19th and 20th centuries.* Hungarian neoclassic architecture is closely linked with the emergence of a middle class as well as to increasingly sharp definition of national aspirations. Urban palaces, modest country villas, the public buildings of Pest and Buda, and those of the provincial governments were all neoclassic. Outstanding among the architects was Mihály Pollack (1773–1855), the designer of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (1836–47). Among other works, János Páckh (1796–1839) designed the basilica of Esztergom and renovated the façade and other elements of the Abbey of Pannonhalma. His plans for the cathedrals of Esztergom and Eger were carried out by József Hild (1789–1867). The most eminent architect of the nationalist romantic school, in which Moslem and medieval elements were blended, was Frigyes Feszl (1821–84), designer of the Redoute (Vigadó) in Pest. After an early period of romanticism (church of Fót, riding school of Pest), Miklós Ybl (1814–91) revived Renaissance principles and forms, which gradually gave the city a new face; his most celebrated work is the State Opera House in Budapest. Concurrent with the Neo-Renaissance style of Ybl, a group of eclectic architects produced works in the most widely divergent styles, ranging from Neo-Romanesque to neobaroque. The Parliament House in Pest, by Imre Steindl (1839–1902), has a Neo-Gothic exterior; the so-called "Fisherman's Bastion" (Halászbástya) by Frigyes Schulek (1841–1919) has Neo-Romanesque porticoes enclosed by round towers. Edmund (Ödön) Lechner (1845–1914) and others endeavored, through the use of folk-art elements, to produce a viable architecture of a nationalistic character (e.g., Museum of Applied Arts and the Geological Institute in Budapest). The first decades of the 20th century produced Hungarian examples of functional architecture, such as the works of Béla Lajta (1875–1920), and forms related to those of the Bauhaus. Of such strictly functional nature are the residential and industrial centers built after World War II: Dunaujváros, Várpalota-Inota, Kazincbarcika, Berente, Komló, and others.

The most important Hungarian sculptor of the first half of the 19th century, István Ferenczy (1792–1856), underwent his training with Thorvaldsen in Rome. Miklós Izsó (1831–75), a Ferenczy pupil, created a sort of popular romanticism; Alajos Stróbl (1856–1926) was primarily a commendable portraitist; and János Fadrusz (1858–1903) designed the monument to Matthias Corvinus in Cluj. In the 20th century the interest of Hungarian sculptors has been focused on Paris. Among leading artists of this tendency are Ö. Fülöp Beck (1873–1945), Ferenc Medgyessy (1881–1958), Imre Csikász (1884–1914; studied in Brussels and Rome), János Pásztor (1881–1945; active in Paris), Zsigmond Kisfaludi-Stróbl (b. 1884), and Béni Ferenczy (b. 1890; pupil of Emile-Antoine Bourdelle and later influenced briefly by cubism). Pál Pátzay (b. 1896) produced works of monumental character, and László Mészáros (1905–38) breathed life into a vigorous realism infused with socialist ideals. Among representatives of the younger generation, Jenő Kerényi (b. 1908), Miklós Borsos (b. 1906), Árpád Somogyi (b. 1926), and Sándor Mikus (b. 1903) have been occupied in decorating new public works.

The finest 19th-century Hungarian art is found in painting. Although in the first half of the century it was still quite usual for the best Hungarian painters to become expatriates and for foreign artists to immigrate to Hungary (e.g., the Venetian Giacomo Marastoni, 1804–60, and the Viennese Johann Daniel Donat, 1744–1830), toward mid-century a group of local artists established a school of "national" painting. Károly Markó the Elder (1791–1860), the most eminent exponent of neoclassicism, settled in Italy, while his contemporary Károly Brocky (1807–55), who patterned his work after the old masters, went to London. Associated with the Viennese Biedermeier school were Miklós Barabás (1810–98), an excellent portraitist, and József Borsos (1821–83), a pupil of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793–1865) and a painter of genre scenes. The Hungarian romantic movement, at the outset linked with the Biedermeier style and subsequently influenced directly by France, seems intimately related to the awakening of national consciousness after the defeat in the war of independence (1848–49). The best exponents of the romantic style were Viktor Madarász (1830–1917), active in Paris, and Mihály Zichy (1827–1906). After the 1867 agreement with the Hapsburgs, the painting style that received official support was the academic, represented by Moritz Than (1828–99), a pupil in Vienna of Carl Rahl (1812–65; also the teacher of Károly Lotz, 1833–1904). An artist of more complex ideas was Bertalan Székely (1835–1910), who was trained in Vienna and Munich. An exponent of the official historical painting was Sándor Liezen-Mayer (1839–98), who imported Munich academicism into Hungary. A finer colorist than Karl Theodor Piloty (1826–86), whom he succeeded at the Academy of Munich, Liezen-Mayer taught Gyula Benczúr (1844–1920) there. The landscapist Géza Mészöly (1844–87) also lived in Munich for a long time.

During this same period a few highly accomplished painters were seeking consciously to find new forms to counteract pervasive German influence. Mihály Munkácsy (1844–1900) achieved European fame; after stays in Vienna, Munich, and Düsseldorf, he spent 25 years in Paris with his friend László Paál (1846–79) painting genre scenes and landscapes in the style of the Barbizon school. One of the most distinguished figures is Pál Szinyei-Merse (1845–1920). László Mednyánszky (1852–1919) is a landscape painter. Through the efforts of Simon Hollósy (1857–1918), István Réti (1875–1943), and János Thorma (1870–1937), there developed at the end of the 19th century the Nagybánya school, whose most distinguished exponent was Károly Ferenczy (1862–1917). Subsequently, other groups of artists that were national in character emerged: at Kecskemét, with Béla Iványi-Grünwald (1867–1940); at Gödöllő, with Aladár Kőrösfői-Kriesch (1863–1930); and at Szolnok, with Adolf Fényes (1867–1945). In Budapest the group of "The Eight," followers of

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Cézanne, was organized; it included Károly Kernstok (1873–1940), Béla Czóbel (b. 1883), Desző Czigány (1883–1937), Lajos Tihanyi (1845–1920), R. Berény (b. 1869), and Bertálan Pór (b. 1880). József Rippl-Rónai (1861–1927), who had studied in Paris and exhibited with the Nabis, returned to his native Hungary and developed an impressionist style that was personal yet characteristically Hungarian in expression. He spent most of his life in Kaposvár, where the local museum bears his name and contains a number of his works. The members of the so-called "Great Plain Group" (József Koszta, 1864–1949; János Tornyay, 1869–1936; Gyula Rudnay, b. 1878) were the heirs of Munkácsy. Tiradar Csontvári (1853–1919) and Lajos Gulácsy (1882–1932) painted fantastic, visionary pictures. József Egry (1883–1951) was the best modern painter of the Balaton region. Gyula Derkovits (1894–1934) and István Dési Huber (1895–1944) were interpreters of modern social tendencies.

Representatives of painting in the mid-20th century (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS), which has been closely linked with the school of Nagybánya, include István Szőnyi (1894–1960), Aurél Bernáth (b. 1895), and Róbert Berény (1887–1953). After 1930 another group of painters, studying in Rome, followed the stylized classicism of 20th-century Italian art (Vilmos Aba-Novák, 1894–1942; and Pál C. Molnár, b. 1894, and Endre Domanovszky, b. 1907, later to be adherents of social realism). Followers of the school of Paris include Béla Czóbel of "The Eight," Elemér Vass (1887–1957), and Jenő Barcsay (b. 1900). Abstract painting has never become widespread in Hungary, and the most outstanding Hungarian abstractionist, László Moholy-Nagy (q.v.), lived abroad. The younger generation has in part pursued the directions of the masters of the period between the two World Wars and has also sought to implement social realism through artistic means. A high artistic level has been attained in the applied arts of contemporary Hungary, especially in ceramics (István Gádor, b. 1891; Gorka; Margit Kovács, b. 1902), metalwork (Jenő Percz, b. 1915), and tapestry (Noémi Ferenczy, 1890–1958).

Ágnes CZOBOR

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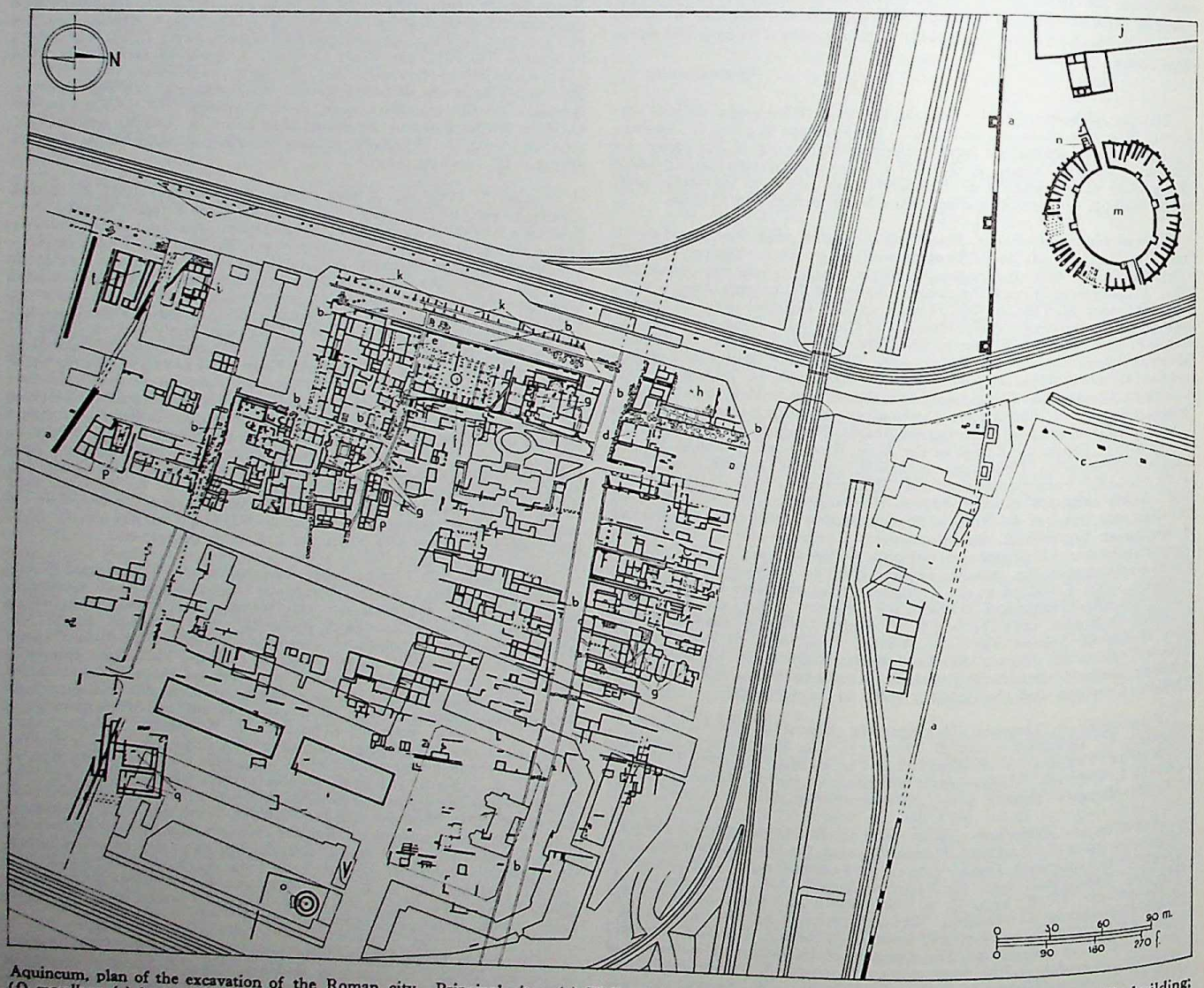
CHIEF ART CENTERS. Budapest (Óbuda: Aquincum). The old city, which extends along both banks of the Danube, consists of two parts: Buda, a hilly region on the right bank, and Pest, on the flatlands of the left bank. After the union of the two towns in 1871, Budapest became the chief city and the national capital. In the immediate vicinity, in the "Hermit's Cave," artifacts from the Mesolithic age have been found. The discovery of prehistoric settlements in the Tabán quarter below the Castle Hill (Várhegy) of Buda, northward at Békásmegyer, and southward at Lágymányos indicates that from the earliest stage of the Neolithic (2500–2000 B.C.) until the Roman period the region had been inhabited continuously. During the 1st century of our era the Romans fortified the Danube line as far as the area of modern Budapest, at Óbuda (Aquincum) and Albertfalva and, in the 2d century, at Nagytétény (Campona). The Romans also built fortifications at Pest, the ruins of which are still visible; built over these ruins in the 12th century




Aquincum, plan of the excavation of the Roman city. Principal sites: (*a*) Wall with towers; (*b*) streets; (*c*) aqueduct; (*d*) basilica; (*e*) public building; (*f*) *macellum*; (*g*) baths; (*h*) palaestra; (*i*) *schola vigilum*; (*j*) barracks; (*k*) potters' workshops; (*l*) taberna; (*m*) amphitheater; (*n*) Sanctuary of Nemesis; (*o*) circular temple; (*p*) mithraeum; (*q*) Early Christian churches (*from Szilágyi*).

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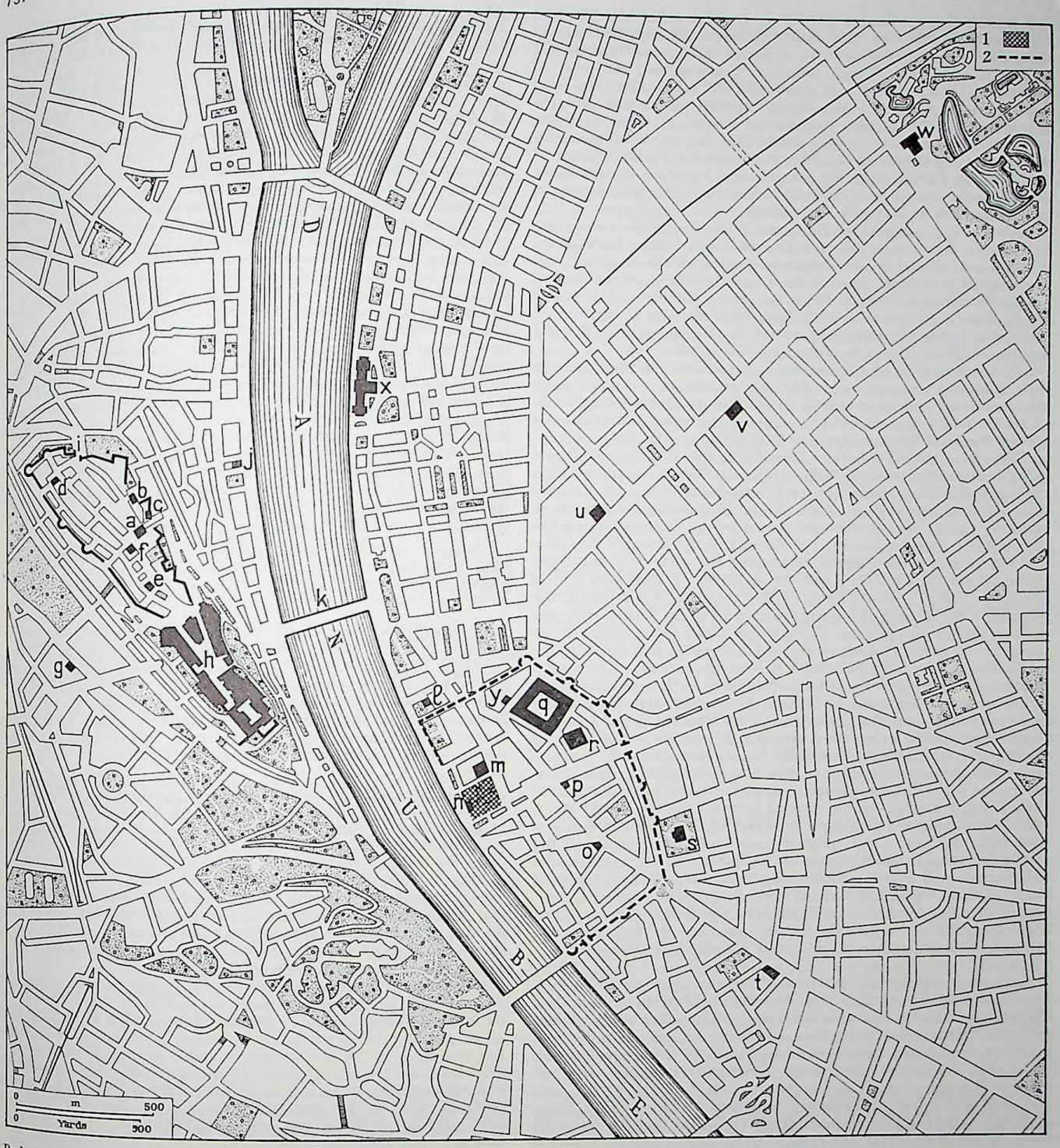


Budapest, plan of the center of the city. (1) Area of the Roman fortifications and later fortress of the 10th cent. in Pest; (2) remains of the 13th-cent. wall of Pest. Principal medieval and modern sites: (*a*) Church of Our Lady (Matthias Church); (*b*) tower of the Dominican monastery of St. Nicholas; (*c*) "Fishermen's Bastion"; (*d*) tower of the Church of the Magdalen; (*e*) Fortress Theater built over the former Carmelite church; (*f*) Fortress Museum; (*g*) parish church of Krisztina Square; (*h*) Buda Castle, comprising the remains of the palaces of Matthias Corvinus and Sigismund, and remains of the baroque castle and reconstruction by Hauszmann; (*i*) church of the Vienna Gate; (*j*) St. Anne Church; (*k*) suspension bridge; (*l*) Redoute (Vigadó); (*m*) Péterffy residence; (*n*) Parish Church of the City; (*o*) University Church (formerly Pauline church); (*p*) Franciscan church; (*q*) Home for Invalids (now town hall); (*r*) palace of the provincial administrative offices; (*s*) National Museum; (*t*) Museum of Applied Arts; (*u*) State Opera House; (*v*) Academy of Fine Arts; (*w*) Museum of Fine Arts; (*x*) Parliament House; (*y*) Church of the Servites.

was the first parish church of medieval Pest, the forerunner of the modern church of the Belváros (inner city). At the beginning of the 2d century, Aquincum was a prominent military center, capital of the province of Lower Pannonia, with beautiful dwellings, public squares, aqueducts, baths, and amphitheater, which have been uncovered by archaeological excavations (FIG. 755). According to tradition, the amphitheater of the Roman military outpost is supposed to have become at a later time the headquarters and castle of Kurszán, the supreme chief of the Magyars who took possession of the land. According to the chronicles, in 907 Buda is supposed to have been the burial site of Árpád, the second leader of the Magyars, over whose tomb was later erected a shrine called Fehéregyház (White Church). During the time of the Árpád dynasty, there arose on the ruins of Roman Aquincum the first village which was to constitute part of Buda, that known as Óbuda. In the reign of King Béla IV building was begun on the first fortifications of Buda Castle (FIG. 757)

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and on the Gothic Church of Our Lady (also called the Matthias Church; nave and two side aisles; subsequently enlarged several times during the reign of Louis I). A period of intensive construction, in Gothic style with French influence, began during the reign of Sigismund; this activity was continued by King Matthias, who summoned to his court the Italian masters responsible for the appearance of the earliest Renaissance forms. Starting in 1950, excavations were made on the Castle Hill for traces of the now-destroyed ancient palace. In Pest the beautiful Parish Church of the City, in Gothic style on Romanesque foundations, was built; during the baroque period, it was remodeled, with two fine tabernacles in Renaissance style (early 16th cent.).

After the reconquest of Buda and Pest, the castle was rebuilt in baroque style under the direction of Franz Anton Hillebrandt. A number of churches were begun or renovated: the Pauline (later, University Church), St. Anne in Buda, and the Church of the English Ladies (Elizabethan Nuns). Other significant edifices are the Home for Invalids (later the town hall), built from plans by Anton Erhard Martinelli (1727–35), the Zichy palace in Óbuda, and the Péterffy residence in Pest, the work of Andreas Mayerhoffer.

Early in the 19th century, extensive construction in the neoclassic style conferred an aspect of uniformity on the city. Dating from this period was a series of palaces on the Danube Drive of Pest, some of which still exist. Outstanding among the neoclassic structures are the National Museum (Mihály Pollack; 1837–47), the provincial administrative offices (Matthias Zitterbarth the Younger; 1838–41); and the suspension bridge (William Tierney Clark and Adam Clark; 1839–49). The most distinctive work in romantic style is the Redoute (Frigyes Feszl; 1859–64). Architecture in historical styles made extensive use of Neo-Renaissance forms in the construction of the thoroughfare that has become the Avenue of the People's Republic (Népköztársaság útja, formerly Andrassy út; 1875–85), the State Opera House (Miklós Ybl), and the Academy of Fine Arts (Adolf Alexander Láng). The Palace of the Supreme Court (now the National Gallery) and the reconstruction of Buda Castle were the work of Alajos Hauszmann. Neo-Gothic forms were employed by Imre Steindl in the Parliament House (1884–1904); and the "Fishermen's Bastion" by Frigyes Schulek is Neo-Romanesque. The Grand Boulevard, begun in 1883, exhibits buildings in the most divergent styles. Among the works by Ignatz Alpár, with Renaissance and baroque elements, are the Exchange and the National Bank. Edmund Lechner attempted to create a typically Hungarian architecture in the Museum of Applied Arts and the former Savings Bank. A signal early example of architecture in which the structural properties of the material are fully exploited is the Martinelli Place Emporium (Béla Lajta; 1912–14). In the interval between the two World Wars, villas in neobaroque and modern style and whole sections in Bauhaus style (e.g., the new Lipót quarter) were built. After 1945, in the course of reconstruction, many new industrial and commercial buildings, as well as cultural edifices, were erected (Culture House of the Hungarian Optical Industries, state department store in Ujpest, headquarters for the Union of Workers in the Building Trades), and implementation of large-scale urban planning in Budapest was initiated in accordance with a unified plan by Pál Granasztói.

*Museums*: Hungarian National Museum (includes Historical Dept., Archeol. Dept., Széchenyi Nat. Lib.); Museum of Fine Arts (Egyptian and Greco-Roman collections, picture gallery and sculpture collection, Hungarian antiquities, modern foreign sculpture and paintings, drawings); Museum of Applied Arts (furniture, textiles, metalwork, Hungarian and foreign ceramics); Hungarian National Gallery (Hungarian painting, sculpture, and drawings of the 19th and 20th cent.); Fortress Museum (medieval and Renaissance relics of Buda); Kiscell Castle Museum (museum of the modern historical development of Budapest: late 17th cent. on); Ethnographical Museum (Hungarian and foreign ethnographic material).

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Debrecen. The city is spread over a section of the Great Plain. In the area are found traces of human life from as far back as the Neolithic age. Since the name, which is of Turkish origin, dates from the time of the Magyar occupation, it is supposed that the city was founded in the 10th or 11th century. With the Reformation, Debrecen became the center of Hungarian Calvinism. The Great Reformed Church (Nagytemplom), whose façade has two separated neoclassic towers, square and buttressed, with cupolas, was built in 1805–19 by Mihály Péchy on the site of a church dating from the time of the Árpáds. The Small Reformed Church, built in 1725–29, has a single tower surmounting its façade. The Church of St. Anne has two bell towers on the façade and a pediment adorned with statues; this church was built in 1721–46 by Giovanni Battista Carlone at the order of Imre Csáky, Archbishop of Nagyvárad. The Reformed College, which has become part of a university of arts and sciences, is a massive two-storied square edifice in neoclassic style and has a notable collection of graphic arts in its library. The neoclassic town hall, two-storied and with a five-window arrangement on its façade, was erected in 1842. The Déri Museum, built in 1930 in neobaroque style and originally a city museum, houses the collection of Frigyes Déri. It contains prehistoric, protohistoric, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and barbarian material; small Italian sculptures; weapons, textiles, and china; Hungarian gold- and silverwork; paintings by János Kupeczky (called also Jan Kupecký, Johann Kupetzky) and Adám Mányoki; and 19th-century Hungarian paintings. In front of the museum are modern statues by Ferenc Medgyessy.

BIBLIOG. A. Szentpéteri-Kun, A debreceni református Nagytemplom (The Great Reformed Church at Debrecen), Debrecen, 1930; J. Balogh, Debrecen, Budapest, 1958; J. G. Szilágyi, EAA, s.v. Debrecen, III, 1960, p. 13.

Dunaujváros (Rom. Intercisa; formerly, Dunapentele). Roman castrum on the Danube. Traces have been found of an earthwork enclosure (1st cent. of our era) and another of stone, probably from the 2d century. Within the castrum have been discovered signs of military buildings and baths, and round the city lay the cemetery. Between 1950 and 1955 Dunaujváros was transformed into an industrial center in accordance with urban planning; outstanding among the newer public buildings is the House of Culture.

BIBLIOG. Z. Oroszlán, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum régiségtárának ásatása Dunapentelén 1922 (The Hungarian National Museum Excavation at Dunapentele, 1922), AErt, XXXV, 1922, pp. 93–96; A. Alföldi, Epigraphica: Dunapentele, AErt, LIV, 1941, pp. 40–48; D. Adamesteanu, EAA, s.v. Intercisa, IV, 1961, p. 168.

Eger. This picturesque little town is on the northern margin of the Magyar plain, at the foot of the Bükk Mountains. Early in the 11th century St. Stephen, first king of Hungary, made Eger the seat of a bishopric. Excavations have brought to light the ruins of a Gothic cathedral with an impressive apsidal presbytery with round arches, subsequently remodeled.

The present fortress is one of the best examples of the pentagonal fortress with sharp-cornered bastions of Italian type. There are subterranean casemates and galleries. Dating back to the Turkish epoch are the ruins of two baths, a noteworthy minaret that is intact, and the ruins of other buildings revealed during the excavations. The baroque County Council House (1750–56) has magnificent wrought-iron gates by H. F. Fasola. Jakob Fellner designed the lyceum (1765–85) in French-influenced baroque style, and it is decorated with frescoes by János Kracker, Franz Sigrist, and Anton Maulbertsch. The Minorite church (1758–73) has a curved façade and two towers. The Cathedral, in classicizing style (1832–37), was executed after designs by János Páckh and József Hild. In the fortress museum are a picture gallery (works of Dosso Dossi, Felice Brusasorci, Carlo Maratti, Sebastiano Ricci, Hendrik Terbrugghen, and Dutch and Hungarian painters of the 19th cent.), an ethnography collection, and material pertaining to the history of the city.

BIBLIOG. F. Bánfi, Antonio Veranzio da Sebenico ricostruttore della fortezza di Agria, Arch. stor. per la Dalmazia, XVII, 1934, pp. 265–88; V. Pataki, Az egri vár élete (The Life of the Fortress at Eger), 2d ed., Budapest, 1934; J. Csemegi, Az egri várszékesegyház jelentősége a XII. században (The Importance of the Cathedral at Eger in the 12th Century), AErt, XLVIII, 1935, pp. 217–23; M. Szmrecsányi, Eger művészetéről (Concerning the Art of Eger), Budapest, 1937; L. Gerö, Eger, 2d ed., Budapest, 1957.

Esztergom (Strigonium). Located on the banks of the Danube, Esztergom preserves fortifications of the late-antique period. It was the seat of the Magyar leaders as early as the 10th century. In the first decades of the 11th century the town became the seat of an

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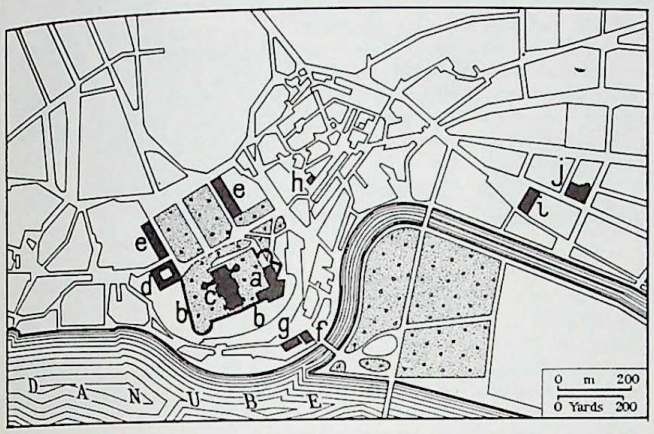
archbishopric, and a cathedral, dedicated to St. Adalbert, and an archiepiscopal palace were built there. The capital of Hungary up to the Tartar invasion (1241), Esztergom is described in sources as the leading city of the kingdom. After fearful devastation by the Tartars, the capital was moved from Esztergom to Buda. Deserving of mention, in addition to the late Romanesque royal palace and the chapel discovered in 1934–37, is the Renaissance style Bakócz Chapel (1507) with Greek cross plan and interior revetment of red marble, the work of a master associated with the entourage of Giuliano da Sangallo. Commissioned by the primate Tamás Bakócz, an eminent patron of Renaissance art, the chapel has sculptured ornament by Giovanni da Firenze (Fiorentino) and a white-marble altar executed in Florence by Andrea Ferrucci (1519); it is incorporated in the present-day Cathedral, a large neoclassic basilica built on the site




Esztergom, plan and principal monuments. (*a*) Excavation site with royal palace and 11th-century chapel; (*b*) medieval wall of the fortified hill; (*c*) neoclassic Cathedral, incorporating the Renaissance Bakócz Chapel; (*d*) former seminary in neoclassic style; (*e*) former houses of the canons; (*f*) baroque church of the Víziváros quarter; (*g*) archbishop's palace, housing the Christian Museum; (*h*) town hall, the former palace of Vak Bottyán; (*i*) chapel of the Passion of St. Thomas with *Via Crucis*; (*j*) Franciscan church and monastery.

of the former Romanesque cathedral. The baroque town hall was once the palace of Vak Bottyán, general of the Kurucs. There are interesting religious and secular buildings from the 18th century. In the archbishop's palace is the richest of the provincial museums, the Christian Museum, housing one of the most important collections of medieval Hungarian painting and a wealth of foreign paintings (14th–19th cent., particularly 14th- and 15th-cent. Italian works), as well as tapestries and examples of other minor arts. In the neoclassic library are a museum of the city's history and many illuminated codices (codices of Ladislaus, of Matthias Corvinus, etc.). In the great treasury of the Cathedral are precious metalwork and chasubles; among the treasury possessions is one of the most famous pieces of European metalwork, the Crucifixion scene that belonged to King Matthias. The Cathedral also houses the fine sarcophagus of the lord of St. Beňadik.

Bibliog. L. Pálinkás, Esztergom XVIII. századi emlékei (Monuments of the 18th Century at Esztergom), Budapest, 1937; I. Genthon, Esztergom műemlékei (Monuments of Esztergom), Budapest, 1948; T. Bogyay, Normannische Invasion: Wiener Bauhütte: Ungarische Romanik, in Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter, Baden-Baden, 1953, pp. 273–304; J. Balogh, La cappella Bakócz di Esztergom, Acta h. artium, IV, 1956, pp. 1–206; D. Dercsényi and L. Zolnay, Esztergom, Budapest, 1956; P. Voit, I codici modenesi di Ippolito d'Este, e le costruzioni edili a Esztergom, Acta h. artium, VI, 1958, pp. 283–315.

Feldebrő. Located southwest of Eger, the town has a church, originally rectangular and with three apsidal naves, that probably dates from the late 11th century, the period to which the frescoes in the still-extant lower church are attributed. Depicting Christ, the four Evangelists, Cain and Abel, and St. Paul, and framed with decoration of foliage, these works constitute the most significant early frescoes in Hungary.

Bibliog. A. Kampis, Feldebrő, Budapest, 1956.

Fertőd (Eszterháza). The most sumptuous baroque castle in Hungary, with an exceptionally beautiful wrought-iron gate and wall and an extensive park. Commissioned by Miklós Esterházy, it was built in 1764–66; the castle has interior frescoes by J. I. Mildorfer. It was inspired by Versailles.

Bibliog. J. Rados, Magyar kastélyok (Hungarian Châteaux), Budapest, 1939; M. Sailay, A fertődi Eszterházy-Kastély (Castle Esterházy at Fertőd) Budapest, 1959.

Győr (Arrabona). The Győr area was densely inhabited as early as prehistoric times. In the Roman period it became an important military center, the ruins of whose ringwalls still remain. The cemetery lay to the southwest of the city. Nearby, at Koroncó, traces of a pagus have been found; and close to Fehérvár, a country villa. The site was later inhabited by the Avars. King Stephen I made Győr the seat of a bishopric, after the heart of the medieval city had grown up around the Káptalandomb (*capitolium*). The Cathedral, with nave and side aisles (later remodeled), and some parts of the episcopal palace date from the Romanesque period.

The interior of the Cathedral was remodeled during the 18th century in baroque style: frescoes and reredos by Anton Maulbertsch; lead reliefs (1772–74), depicting scenes from Hungarian history, by Jacob Gabriel Müller (Mollinarolo). Preserved in the Gothic chapel adjoining the southern aisle is the silver-gilt reliquary of King Ladislaus, a masterpiece of Hungarian filigree enamel. Situated near the Cathedral is the episcopal palace (a citadel in the Middle Ages). The baroque Church of St. Ignatius has frescoes by Paul Troger; the Carmelite church and convent (1721–25), reredos by Martino Altomonte. Other distinctive baroque monuments are the Ark of the Covenant statue (1731) and the statue of St. Michael (1764). In the center of the town are numerous 18th-century baroque structures with picturesque corner balconies. A new quarter built after 1945 is also of interest. The János Xantus Museum contains prehistoric material (from the Neolithic to the early Iron Age) and Roman relics.

Bibliog. A. Pigler, A győri Szent Ignác-templom és mennyezetképei (The Church of St. Ignatius at Győr and Its Frescoes), Budapest, 1923; M. Stengl., Győr műemlékei (Monuments at Győr), Győri szemle, III, 1932, pp. 201–39; V. Borbirò (Bierbauer) and I. Valló, Győr város építéstörténete (Architectural History of the City of Győr), Budapest, 1956; D. Adamesteanu, EAA, s.v., Arrabona, I, 1958, p. 672; M. Kanozsay, EAA, s.v. Győr, III, 1960, p. 1075.

Jászberény. The Jász Museum here contains the famous horn of Lehel. Carved in ivory and dating from the late 9th or early 10th century, the work bears human and animal figures and floral designs of Byzantine character. Buildings of interest include the Franciscan church of late Gothic style, remodeled in the baroque period; an 18th century Catholic church with sculpture in the interior by A. C. Conti; and the town hall in neoclassic style.

Bibliog. G. László, Lehel kürtje (The Horn of Lehel), Budapest, 1953.

Kalocsa. Noted for its embroidery and folk painting, the town was the seat of an archbishopric as early as the beginning of the 11th century. The 12th-century red-marble head of a king found on the site probably came from the first church. The Cathedral, originally built in the age of St. Stephen, was an Early Christian basilica, with narthex; it was rebuilt in the 13th century, with chapels of French type encircling its sanctuary, and again in the 14th century. The foundation-stone of the baroque church of today was laid in 1735. Its architect, Andreas Mayerhoffer, finished his work in 1754; the interior was finished in 1770. The archiepiscopal palace was built ca. 1780 from plans by Kaspar Oswald, a Piarist brother. The ceremonial hall, the chapel on the first floor, and the oratory have frescoes of Anton Maulbertsch from 1779.

Bibliog. C. De Linas, Un architecte française du XIIIe siècle en Hongrie, Revue de l'Art, XIII, 1869, 588–89; E. Henszlmann, Die Grabungen des Erzbischofs von Kalocsa, Leipzig, 1873; I. Pintér, A kalocsai főszékesegyház (The Cathedral of Kalocsa), Budapest, 1942.

Keszthely. The Roman city of Valcum (mod. Fenékpuszta), whose ruins are being uncovered about 2 miles from the town, located on Lake Balaton, served as an important ferrying point and was provided with stout walls in the mid-4th century. Later, it became an important center of Christianity in Pannónia, to judge from the ruins of a large church with nave, two side aisles, and semicircular apse. The site was also inhabited at the time of the Avars. In ethnographical writing the characteristic products of the group that settled here are given the name "Keszthely culture" (fine work in precious metals, basket-shaped earrings). The Franciscan church, originally built in 1386, has a nave, a long sanctuary, twin windows, and, in its new façade, the old Gothic rose window. In its sanctuary is the red-marble tomb of the Count Palatine István II Laczkffy (1397) and that of Christopher Festetits in the Zöpf style (1768). Festetits Castle (18th–19th cent.) has a large baroque library.

Bibliog. T. Koppány and P. Péczely, Keszthely, Budapest, 1962.

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Kőszeg. The Németújvári family had the Jurisich Fortress built about 1263; rectangular in plan and with circular ramparts, the citadel has a series of inner courtyards and vaulted halls. Burned in 1777, it was drastically remodeled when reconstructed. The St. James Church, a *Hallenkirche* with nave and two side aisles, dates from 1403–07, but its façade and tower were rebuilt in the 17th century. In the interior are the remains of 15th-century frescoes and the baroque St. Francis Chapel, with stucco decoration by Pietro Antonio Conti of Lugano. The Church of St. Imre, whose single tower is topped by a bulbous dome, dates from 1615–20; its apse, with ogival windows, is a vestige of the former St. Catherine Chapel. The Church of the Passion, from 1729–55, has a façade with three towers, the side ones being lower and cylindrical; this church is surrounded by a circular wall on whose sides are reliefs of the Stations of the Cross (1763). The town also boasts some very fine baroque houses, as well as a historical and archaeological museum in the fortress.

Bibliog. I. Lekles, Koszeg, Budapest, 1960.

Őszöny. Brigetio, near the modern town of Őszöny, was a Roman military center that developed into a civil center, becoming a colony in the Severan epoch. Remains of the castrum have been found; and beyond this, evidence of a Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus and a double aqueduct. The location of the amphitheater is uncertain.

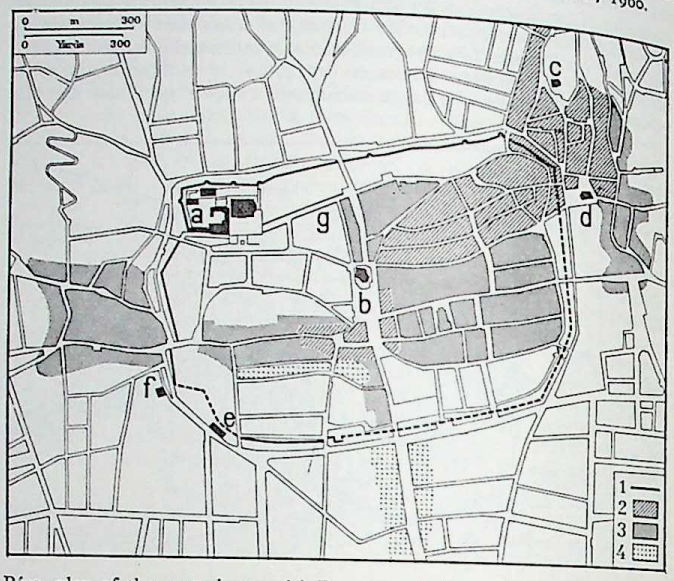
Bibliog. F. Láng, Das Dolichenum von Brigetio, Diss. Pannonicae, 2d Ser., XI, 1941, pp. 165–81; S. Paulovics, Funde und Forschungen in Brigetio (Szöny), Diss. Pannonicae, 2d Ser., XI, 1941, pp. 118–64; D. Adamesteanu, EAA, s.v. Brigetio, II, 1959, pp. 172–73.

Pannonhalma (Győrszentmárton). Seat of the first Hungarian monastery of the Benedictines. Construction was begun by Prince Géza in 996. The church was rebuilt in the time of Béla III and was consecrated in 1225; it was restored, with drastic modifications, by Ferenc Storno from 1868 to 1876. The interior comprises a nave with two side aisles and an apse with straight closure. The ribbed vaulting dates from about 1355. The walls of the lower church go back to the time of St. Stephen, while the six massive columns and groin vaulting are from the 13th century. The cloister, dating from 1225 and remodeled in 1486, has groin vaults, columns adorned with figures, and a Romanesque portal. The façade and other elements of the monastery and the bell tower were renovated between 1829 and 1832 by János Páckh in neoclassic style. In the refectory are frescoes by Davide Antonio Fossati (1729). The abbey also houses a notable picture gallery (Italian, Dutch, and Austrian painters of 16th–18th cent.), a fine library, and a treasury, where a copy (17th cent.?) of the coronation mantle is preserved.

Bibliog. T. Gerevich, Magyarország románkori emlékei (Romanesque Monuments of Hungary), Budapest, 1938; F. Levárdy, Pannonhalma építéstörténete (History of the Architecture of Pannonhalma), Művészettörténeti értesitő, 1959, pp. 27–34.

Pécs (Sopianae). In the vicinity are extensive sites of excavation and also earthwork fortifications of the Aëneolithic or the early Bronze Age (as at Jakabhegy). An important Early Christian city in Pannonia, Pécs was made the seat of a bishopric by King Stephen I (1009) and became a center of Hungarian artistic activity during the 12th century. Dating from the Early Christian epoch are several funerary chapels discovered near the Cathedral, among them one of trefoil plan, with figural wall paintings from the 4th century (an extremely uncommon type outside Italy), and one seven-lobed chapel. The Cathedral, with four corner towers, stands on 11th-century foundations; from this same century is the lower church, adorned with important Romanesque sculpture. In the interior is the red-marble tabernacle (1506) of György Szathmáry, bishop of Pécs, and a Flemish epitaph in relief (late 16th cent.). During the Turkish occupation the Cathedral was converted into a mosque. Restored at the beginning of the 18th century and remodeled between 1807 and 1827 by Mihály Pollack, it was radically rebuilt in 1882–89 according to the plan of the Viennese Baron Friedrich Schmitt. Conserved in the Cathedral museum are Romanesque sculpture and Gothic tombs from the preceding structures. The "Hospital Chapel," presently dedicated to St. John of Nepomuk but originally the Mosque of Ḥassān Yakovali, with an octagonal dome, is the finest example of Turkish architecture in Hungary; the minaret in the garden of this clinic is twelve-sided. The episcopal palace, a medieval edifice reconstructed in the 18th century, houses Brussels tapestries illustrating the story of Moses. The domed parish church on the central square was formerly a mosque built over a Romanesque church; it was restored during the 19th century and again in 1926. Pécs, the largest town of Trans-Danubia, has many baroque churches. The Provincial Council House dates from the 18th century. In the municipal museum named for Jánus Pannonius, a 15th-century Humanist bishop and poet, are relics from Roman times and the period of the migrations; articles of metalwork from the 12th century, of the local school but influenced by northern Italy; a large collection of Zsolnay ceramics; and Hungarian paintings of the 19th century. In the neoclassic building of the episcopal library, which has become the university library, are French and Italian codices of the 13th and 14th centuries, as well as incunabula.

Bibliog. D. Dercsényi and F. Pogány, Pécs, Budapest, 1956; G. Gerő, Pécs török műemlékei (Turkish Monuments of Pécs), Budapest, 1960.




Pécs, plan of the central area. (1) Remains of the medieval city walls; (2, 3, 4) inhabited areas and their expansion in the 12th, 15th, and 17th cent. respectively. Principal sites: (*a*) Cathedral, Cathedral Museum, and episcopal palace; (*b*) parish church, formerly a mosque; (*c*) All Saints Church; (*d*) Church of St. Augustine, formerly a mosque; (*e*) Jánus Pannonius Museum; (*f*) "Hospital Chapel" of St. John of Nepomuk, formerly a mosque; nearby minaret; (*g*) Káptalan Street.

Somogyvár. Excavations have revealed the ruins of a church, with nave, two side aisles, and triapsidal presbytery, belonging to the Benedictine abbey founded in 1091. The sculpture is outstanding, especially the bas-relief of Christ and that of an angel.

Sopron (Scarbantia). In the vicinity, there have been found traces of fortified villages from the first phase of the Iron Age. In the 10th or 11th century the royal castle was built on the site of the Roman city (ruins of the *capitolium*). The Church of St. Michael, a parish church begun in the 13th century and completed near the end of the 15th, is a Gothic structure with nave and two side aisles. It was renovated in 1756 and restored in 1863–66 by Ferenc Storno. St. George's Church, or the chapter cathedral, was rebuilt by the Jesuits in the 17th century and has a baroque façade; in the interior, the ceiling displays baroque stucco decoration by Pietro Antonio Conti of Lugano, but some of the original Gothic structure has been progressively revealed. Over the high altar is a painting by Martino Altomonte. The Benedictine church, which has become a parish church, was built in the early 14th century in French Gothic style and remodeled about 1480. Nearby is the former Benedictine convent, with a Gothic chapter hall (15th cent.) that has zoomorphic carvings on the capitals and consoles. The Church of the Holy Ghost, built in the 15th century, had its interior redone in the baroque period; the frescoes were painted by István Dorfmeister. The city has a cylindrical-based tower, from the time of the Árpáds, with a baroque roof. Numerous baroque edifices are seen throughout the town. Alongside the courtyard of the house at No. 11 Uj Street is a two-storied synagogue (14th cent.), the only one of its type in the country; after 1526, when the Jews were expelled from Sopron, it was converted into a dwelling and was not rediscovered until 1957. The municipal museum, named for Ferenc (Franz) Liszt, is rich in archaeological interest. Its varied collections include prehistoric and Roman material; the Cundpald chalice (ca. A.D. 800); artifacts from the period of the migrations; Romanesque fragments; relics of the guilds and the municipality; drawings by István Dorfmeister and Anton Maulbertsch; and Hungarian paintings (18th and 19th cent.).

Bibliog. E. Csatkai, Sopron és környéke (Sopron and Its Surroundings), Budapest, 1953; D. Dercsényi and E. Csatkai, Sopron és környéke műemlékei (Monuments of Sopron and Its Surroundings), 2d ed., Budapest, 1956.

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Szeged. The largest Hungarian city on the Great Plain, Szeged dates from the age of the Árpáds. The city's surroundings have yielded interesting material from the prehistoric period and the age of the migrations; these collections are housed in the local museum (Ferenc Móra Mus.). Scholars maintain that one of the cities of the Huns was in the neighborhood of Szeged. In the 11th and 12th centuries it was already a thriving city; sculpture from this period was found when the ancient city walls were torn down. During the demolition in 1925 the three-storied octagonal upper portion of a 13th-century tower was separated from the parish church of St. Demetrius (1731). The truncated tower was then set up in the square adjoining the university buildings and the episcopal palace; this square is also the site of the huge Votive Church (consecrated 1930), the Neo-Romanesque replacement for St. Demetrius. The ruins of a castle from the era of the Árpáds, an edifice largely destroyed in 1880, have been united with the Maria Theresa Gate, built in 1751. The castle, an irregular hexagon, was constructed in the 13th century by King Béla IV. The Franciscan church of the lower city has a presbytery dating from 1493; the nave, with fine reticulated vaulting, is from 1502, and the Neo-Gothic tower from 1772. The Palace of Culture (1896) houses the municipal museum, which includes a prehistoric collection, a sculpture gallery containing medieval works, relics of the guilds, the large Somogyi library, and the works of 19th-century Hungarian painters.

Bibliog. S. Bálint, Szeged városa (The City of Szeged), Budapest, 1959; Z. Nagy and I. Papp, Szeged, Budapest, 1960.

Székesfehérvár. Mentioned in the chronicles as the first seat of the Magyar dukes, this city appears in a document from the year 1200 as Alba Civitas, and was known by the name of Alba Regia until the Turkish occupation in the 16th century. During the reign of Stephen I, construction was begun on the royal palace and the impressive Basilica of Our Lady, with nave and two side aisles, apsidal presbytery, and mosaic decoration; the basilica was used for the coronation and burial of Hungarian kings until the Turkish invasion. The present-day Cathedral, built in 1758–71 by Martin Grabner, utilized part of its predecessor Church of St. James; there is a baroque presbytery by Franz Anton Hillebrandt. Nearby is the St. Anne Chapel, constructed about 1480 and restored between 1713 and 1725 with a single-aisle interior. The seminary church, erected by the Carmelites between 1745 and 1748, has fine frescoes by Anton Maulbertsch. From the late 17th century is the town hall, with baroque portal and columns. Adjacent to it is the late baroque Zichy palace (18th cent.), later the city hall, with two stories and fine ironwork. The episcopal palace (1800–11), a structure in Louis XVI style, houses a picture gallery. The neoclassic County Council House (1807–12) was designed by Mihály Pollack. In the local museum, alongside the objects found in the course of excavating the basilica, are sundry other Romanesque sculptures, the most interesting being the sarcophagus of King Stephen I. In the vicinity of Székesfehérvár, at Tác, important ruins of sizable Roman towns have been found.

Bibliog. D. Dercsényi, A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika (The Royal Basilica at Székesfehérvár), Budapest, 1943; J. Fitz, Székesfehérvár, Budapest, 1957; J. Fitz, Gorsium, Székesfehérvár, 1961.

Szombathely (Savaria; Sabaria). The city was founded by the Romans about the 1st century of our era and called Colonia Claudia Savaria. After the imperial organization of Pannonia, it became the center of the cult of the emperor, and from the late 3d century onward it was the provincial capital. An earthquake destroyed the city in 450. A great many relics of the Roman period have come to light, including the Temple of Isis, sections of roads, tombstones, and fragments of statues and mosaic pavements. Early in the 11th century Stephen I established a bishopric here. The ruins of the Basilica of St. Quirinus, located in the northern part of the seminary garden, date from the Early Christian epoch (4th cent.). St. Quirinus has a remarkable Roman pavement in polychrome mosaic with a border of vine tendrils. There is a trefoil-plan chapel near the ruins of the basilica. The twin-spired Cathedral was built by Bishop János Szily in 1791–97, after designs by Menyhért Hefele. The Franciscan church has a Gothic presbytery from the late 14th century and nave from 1630. The episcopal palace, constructed by Hefele in 1779–83, has frescoes by Anton Maulbertsch and István Dorfmeister. Dorfmeister frescoes, including the Church Fathers, are also found in the seminary adjacent to the Cathedral. The two-storied County Council House, with sculpture pediment, was built in 1780 by Adrien Chevrieux and was later renovated by Alajos Hauszmann. The Sabaria Museum displays Roman material, a rich array of stained glass, a coin collection, paintings by 19th-century Hungarian painters, and an ethnographic collection.

Bibliog. J. Kapossy, A szombathelyi székesegyház és mennyezetképei (The Cathedral at Szombathely and Its Frescoes), Budapest, 1922; G. Géfin, A szombathelyi egyházmegye története (History of the Diocese of Szombathely), Szombathely, 1929; J. Kapossy, 1900. év. művészete Savaria Fórumán (1900 Years of Art in the Forum of Savaria), Szépművészet, V, 1944, pp. 48–56; Z. Kádár and L. Balla, Savaria, Budapest, 1958; Z. Kádár, G. Géfin, and T. A. Horváth, Szombathely, Budapest, 1961.

Tata. Local landmarks include the castle, with corner towers and surrounded by vast stone bastions (restored 19th cent.), and a portal in late Renaissance style. The Esterházy villa, built in 1762–77, was designed by Jakob Fellner. The Catholic parish church, whose façade has two towers (1751–84), is also by Fellner. The Chapel of the Via Crucis, a former parish church, was constructed about 1350 and rebuilt in baroque style about 1780 by Fellner. Other religious edifices are the Capuchin church and monastery (1774) and the Piarist monastery, both in baroque style.

Bibliog. G. Csát, Tata nevezetesebb barokk építészeti alkotásai (The Most Noteworthy Architectural Works in Baroque Style at Tata), Technika, XX, 1939, pp. 326–28, 344–46; J. Rados, Magyar kastélyok (Hungarian Châteaux), Budapest, 1939; E. Révhelyi A tatai majolika története (History of Tata Majolica), Budapest, 1941.

Tihany. The town is located on a peninsula projecting into Lake Balaton. In 1055 King Andrew I, founder of the Árpád dynasty, gave the peninsula to the Benedictines, who built an abbey and a church there. The lower church, where the royal patron is buried, has survived undamaged. The hermitages hollowed from the walls of the Óvár (Old Castle) were probably inhabited in the 11th and 12th centuries by Russian monks. In the area are prehistoric earthwork fortifications. The present-day church dates from the 18th century; in the interior are fine rococo wood carvings by Sebástian Stuhlhoff (d. 1779). The abbey, now a museum, dates from 1719–40.

Bibliog. A. Kampis, Tihany műemlékei, Budapest, 1957.

Vác. Although created a bishopric in 1008, Vác is largely a baroque town, for it was very nearly leveled by the invading Turks. The Cathedral (1763–77), finished by the French architect Isidoro Canevale, features a façade with two bell towers, a portico with Corinthian columns, and a massive attic. The Renaissance presbytery balustrade came from the former Cathedral, that of Miklós Báthory, which was destroyed by the Turks. The frescoes in the dome depicting the Adoration of the Holy Cross and those above the high altar representing the Visitation (ca. 1769) were executed by Anton Maulbertsch. The huge triumphal arch designed by Canevale to commemorate a royal visit in 1764 has medallions portraying Maria Theresa and Francis I of Austria in half-bust.

Bibliog. I. Tragor, Vác műemlékei és művészei (Monuments and Artists of Vác), Vác, 1930; E. Bonis-Wallon, Vác művészete a XVIII. században (Vác Art in the 18th Century), Budapest, 1935; D. Dercsényi and P. Granasztói, Vác, Budapest, 1960.

Veszprém. Objects from Roman and prehistoric times have been found in the vicinity. Veszprém was already a diocese in the time of Stephen I, and a document from 1001 mentions an episcopal palace and a church dedicated to St. Michael, which were later destroyed. A Romanesque capital and architrave found in the citadel forming the heart of the town probably came from the latter structure. The Cathedral, which was initiated about 1000 by Queen Gisela, the wife of Stephen I, formerly had a nave and two side aisles, with two towers on the façade. Superseded by a Gothic church in the 13th century, it was restored during the baroque period (1723) and was afterward radically reconstructed in Neo-Romanesque style (1907–10). The lower church, which has groin vaults supported by octagonal piers without capitals, seems comparatively well preserved in its original form. The Gisela Chapel, uncovered and restored by Bishop Joseph Koller in 1772, is from the early Gothic phase (13th cent.) and retains contemporaneous Byzantinizing frescoes. It was probably built upon an ancient funerary chapel. The episcopal palace by Jakob Fellner (1765–76) is a remarkable rococo building. The town hall is baroque in style, with mansard roof (1786). The lower portion of the present-day fire tower incorporates remains of the sentry box of the ancient fort, with gallery and baroque pointed roof. There is a new quarter centered about several modern schools and research institutes. The Bakonyi Museum contains a wealth of Roman archaeological material and medieval sculpture.

Bibliog. G. Korompay, Veszprém, Budapest, 1957.

Visegrád. Here the Romans established a military garrison on the bend of the Danube. In the 11th century King Andrew I invited Russian monks to build a monastery and church in the vicinity, both of which were later destroyed. Romanesque elements have been discerned in the foundations of this church. A few bas-reliefs adorned with palmettes found on the site may have come from the monastery.

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The ground plan of the enormous and fabled palace of Visegrád, begun by Charles I of Anjou early in the 14th century and added to by King Sigismund and Matthias Corvinus, has become visible and small segments have been restored. From the various building periods of the palace some ornamental fountains have come to light. The most remarkable of these are: a fountain from the 16th century, to be connected with the Parlers; a 15th-century figural red-marble fountain in three parts; and a splendid red-marble wall fountain, also from the 15th century. The building of the citadel and the Solomon Tower lasted from the 13th to the 16th century. The medieval fortress system, now in ruins, is one of the largest in Hungary. There is a museum for the excavated material.

BIBLIOG. J. Balogh, Die Ausgrabungen in Visegrád, Ó. Z. für Denkmalpflege, IV, 1950, pp. 41–50; D. Dercsényi, Visegrád műemlékei (Monuments of Visegrád), Budapest, 1951; D. Dercsényi, M. Héjj, and G. Rózsa, Visegrád, Pest-megye műemlékei (Monuments of the Province of Pest), II, Budapest, 1958, pp. 396–480.

Zalavár (Mosapure). About the middle of the 9th century this was the center of the Slav state established under King Pribina in the former province of Pannonia. The town had a castle, with adjoining church, which was consecrated in 850. Later, the region was occupied by the Magyars, and King Stephen I founded a Benedictine abbey at Zalavár, probably on the site of Pribina's castle. Excavations have brought to light the ruins of a basilica with trefoil presbytery of Lombard type, perhaps from the 9th or 10th century. Also found on the site were ornamental carvings with ribbon motifs.

BIBLIOG. D. Dercsényi, L'église de Pribina à Zalavár, 1948, pp. 15–100; G. Fehér, Zalavári ásatások (Excavations at Zalavár), AErt, LXXX, 1953, pp. 31–52; T. Bogyay, Mosapure und Zalavár, Südost Forsch., 1955, pp. 349–406; G. Gentz and L. Gerö, A Balaton környék műemlékei (Monuments of the Balaton Region), Budapest, 1958.

Ágnes CZOBOR and Tibor NAGY

Illustrations: 5 figs. in text.

**ICELAND.** This large island in the North Atlantic Ocean was discovered and settled in the second half of the 9th century. The settlers were primarily of Scandinavian stock, but some came from the British Isles, especially the Hebrides and Ireland. It is believed that the first family settled permanently in 874 and that the country was fully inhabited by 990. The Norse settlers brought with them the social customs and the civilization of the last phase of the Scandinavian Iron Age (see SCANDINAVIAN ART).

SUMMARY. Historical outline (col. 767). Centers (col. 769).

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. From its first settlement until the 19th century Iceland remained exclusively rural, a fact which is of paramount importance for a clear understanding of Icelandic art and its history. There were no towns, and therefore no urban architecture developed. No stone buildings (not even cathedrals) were erected, and little sculptural art was created. The houses had walls and roofs of turf; inside, however, the pillars and rafters were of wood, and usually there was some wainscoting. Very early in Iceland's history there emerged a class of artisans who built and decorated superior houses of this kind, but since these were constructed of perishable material, only a vague idea can be formed of their architectural value and of the art of these masters. During the first centuries of their history the Icelanders maintained a close connection with Norway, and later, from about 1400, with Denmark. For the most part the history of Icelandic art runs parallel to that of these countries. Nevertheless, during the medieval era the Icelanders developed a marked tendency to find their own way, as is clearly shown in the brilliant and highly original saga literature, which reached its height in the 13th century.

The history of Icelandic art may be conveniently divided into four periods: (1) the pagan period (10th cent.); (2) the medieval period (A.D. 1000–1550); (3) the post-Reformation period (1550–1850); and (4) the modern period. In the year 1000 the Icelanders were converted to Christianity, thus limiting the duration of the pagan period to approximately one century. The artistic creations of this period, which are in the viking style, are known today chiefly from small decorated metalwork frequently found in heathen graves. Certain objects indicate that Icelandic art also received influence from other areas, especially Anglo-Saxon England. The scarcity of preserved works from this period, however, precludes a more exact evaluation of the extent of these influences.

The style of the first Christian century may be considered a continuation of the viking art; some of the house timbers which have been preserved are decorated with skillfully carved figures and ornamental design in the Jelling and Ringerike styles, the last phases of viking art. Fragments of a large Byzantine Last Judgment (carved with incised lines on wooden planks) date from about 1100, a striking example of Byzantine influence in a remote country. A number of works have been preserved from the 12th and later centuries, particularly in churches; and the succession of Romanesque and Gothic styles can be traced therein. The Icelanders at this time were not so isolated as might be inferred from their geographical situation. There was a close connection with Scandinavia, and young people were educated at French and English universities. The creative spirit of the people was stimulated by these associations and by the steady import of Continental and English works of art.

The church door from Valthjófsstadir (ca. 1200) is an outstanding example of lage-scale woodcarving. Its lower part is decorated with an ingeniously composed pattern of four intertwined winged dragons, while on the upper part appears a representation of the well-known narrative *Le chevalier au lion*. Also of importance is a group of multicolored antependia embroidered in the technique of the Bayeux tapestry, which was evidently practiced in Iceland after it was given up in other countries.

The earliest traces of Icelandic painting are preserved in manuscript miniatures. A fragmentary Physiologus, or Bestiary, which appears to date from about 1200, is the oldest Icelandic illuminated manuscript extant. During the 14th and 15th centuries industrious scribes, who were often skilled illuminators as well, copied again and again the sagas, histories of the Norwegian kings, lives of saints, and, last but not least, law codes. A number of these manuscripts have survived to furnish the richest source for the study of Icelandic art during this period. To a certain extent these miniatures probably reflect the large-scale paintings which adorned contemporary churches. Romanesque initials and ornaments predominate in the manuscripts, while the miniatures themselves display a Gothic style, which obviously reached Iceland before the end of the 13th century. Of particular interest is the so-called "Icelandic Book of Drawings" (or "Sketchbook"), which contains a number of sketches of Biblical subjects and saints as well as various decorative patterns. Apparently these were intended as preliminary drafts for large-scale paintings on church walls, altarpieces, and the like. It may be concluded that the medieval period was an era of lively artistic activity, stimulated by the demand for works of art in the churches, the relative wealth of the people, and the great interest in literature. The final establishment of Lutheranism in 1550 marks the end of the medieval period.

For various reasons the following period (1550–1850) may be regarded as an era of national decline, visible in the arts as well as in other aspects of social life. Although no major works of art were created, an unpretentious folk art produced a great number of objects of quality in jewelry (filigree), woodcarving (V, PL. 341), and textiles. The favorite ornamental design was the Romanesque tendril. Introduced in the 12th century, this motif was rooted so deeply in the art of the woodcarvers that it persisted until Icelandic folk art disappeared about 1900. With the spread of printing, manuscript illumination and miniature painting degenerated and finally disappeared completely.

In the 19th century a great national awakening inspired new creative activity. One of the first artists in the modern sense of the word was the painter Sigurdur Gudmundsson (1833–74), who left a number of fine portraits. Founder of the National Museum of Iceland, Gudmundsson was deeply interested in archaeology and ethnology. He was educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, as were Icelandic painters after him until about 1940. Thórarinn B. Thorláksson (1867–1924) was the first Icelandic landscape painter; his works are characterized by a spirit of calm melancholy. The natural wildness and majesty of his country was expressed in rich and luminous colors by Ásgrímur Jónsson (1876–1958), who was influenced by the impressionists. Jón Stefánsson (b. 1871) is inclined to the romantic and monumental. Jóhannes S. Kjarval (b. 1885), at first influenced by Turner, has created very personal views of Icelandic volcanoes, rich in color and populated by supernatural beings drawn from folk tradition. Einar Jónsson (1874–1954), the pioneer sculptor, revealed strong sympathies with symbolism. Another sculptor, Ásmundur Sveinsson (b. 1893), strives to create massive and solemn forms. These artists may be regarded as the initiators of modern art in Iceland. Today there is a lively interest in painting, sculpture, and architecture; all the important Icelandic artists live in Reykjavík, the capital. The increasing number of young Icelanders who are embarking on artistic careers receive their education in Paris and other major centers of art — no longer exclusively in Copenhagen — and their works reflect the most varied trends of contemporary art.

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En islandsk tegnebog fra middelalderen (An Icelandic Book of Drawings of the Middle Ages), Oslo, 1919; M. Thórdarson, Islands middelalderkunst (Medieval Art of Iceland), Nordisk Kultur, XXVII, 1931, pp. 324–49; H. Hermannsson, Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages, Copenhagen, 1935; K. Eldjárn, Carved Panels from Flatatunga, Iceland, Acta A, XXIV, 1953, pp. 81–101; B. T. Björnsson, Íslenzka teiknibókin í Árnasafni (The Icelandic Book of Drawings in the Arnamagnean Collection), Reykjavík, 1954; K. Eldjárn, Kuml og haugfé úr heidnum sid á Íslandi (Excavations and Antiquities of the Pagan Period in Iceland), Reykjavík, 1956; S. Jónsdóttir, An 11th Century Byzantine Last Judgement in Iceland, Reykjavík, 1959; K. Eldjárn, Icelandic Art, New York, 1961. *Reformation and modern periods*: M. Thórdarson, Íslenzkir listamenn (Icelandic Artists), 2 vols., Reykjavík, 1920–25; K. Fridriksson, ed., Art in Iceland, Reykjavík, 1943; Ásgrímur Jónsson, Reykjavík, 1949; J. Auduns, Sigurdur Gudmundsson málari (The Painter Sigurdur Gudmundsson), Reykjavík, 1950; H. K. Laxness, Jóhannes Sveinsson Kjarval, Reykjavík, 1950; P. Uttenreiter, Jón Stefánsson, Reykjavík, 1950; B. T. Björnsson, Island, in Nordisk målarkonst (Nordic Painting), Stockholm, 1951, pp. 41–56; E. M. Magerøy, Navn og retninger i islandsk malerkunst (Personalities and Trends in Icelandic Painting), Kunst og kultur, XXXIV, 1951, pp. 1–24; B. Gröndal and C. G. Behrens, ed., E. Jónsson, Stockholm, 1954; B. T. Björnsson, Ásmundur Sveinsson, Reykjavík, 1956.

CENTERS. Reykjavík. The city obtained its municipal charter in 1786, when it was still a small village. At present it has some 70,000 inhabitants, or about one-third of the population of the island. Reykjavík, which is the only large inhabited center, is now the focus of all artistic and cultural activity; in this respect it has completely replaced the earlier centers in the episcopal seats of Skálholt and Hólar. Ecclesiastical structures of note include the Cathedral by A. Kirkerup (1787–96), the Roman Catholic church by Gudhjón Samúelsson (1939), and the Nes church by Ágúst Pálsson (1957). Besides modern residences one finds noteworthy public buildings: the Parliament House by F. Meldahl (1881), the National Library by Magdahl Nielsen (1908), the University by Gudhjón Samúelsson (1940), and the National Museum (1950). The latter, which also includes the National Gallery of Art, contains the most important collection of Icelandic art from its origins to the present. There is also a museum devoted to the works of the sculptor Einar Jónsson. The Listamannaskálin is host to a variety of temporary exhibitions.

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Kristján ELDJÁRN

**ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY.** Image, conceived and given form, is the essence of visual art. Consequently, the study of images, their formation, transmission, and transformation in the various cultures and civilizations, and of their intrinsic meaning (see also SEMANTICS) constitutes a fundamental aspect of research in the history of art. Iconography (derived from the Greek εἰκών, image, and γραφειν, to write) is a descriptive discipline based on the systematic grouping of particular themes. These themes are presented in this Encyclopedia as a series of articles corresponding to the traditional categories of subject matter defined with respect to the religious, conceptual, or social sources of their inspiration (see in particular ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY; BIBLICAL SUBJECTS; BUDDHISM; CHARACTERIZATION; CHOREOGRAPHY; CHRISTIANITY; COMIC ART AND CARICATURE; COSMOLOGY AND CARTOGRAPHY; DEMONOLOGY; DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES; DIVINITIES; ESCHATOLOGY; EXOTICISM; FANTASY; GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS; HINDUISM; HISTORICAL SUBJECTS; HUMAN FIGURE; JAINISM; LANDSCAPE IN ART; MONSTROUS AND IMAGINARY SUBJECTS; MYTH AND FABLE; ORNAMENTATION; PORTRAITURE; PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING; SAINTS, ICONOGRAPHY OF; SEXUAL AND EROTIC ELEMENTS; STILL LIFE; SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY; TERROR IN ART; TOTEMISM; TRAGEDY AND THE SUBLIME; ZOOMORPHIC AND PLANT REPRESENTATIONS) or in some cases as documentation of other aspects of artistic production (for example, COSTUME; DESIGNING; FURNITURE; GAMES AND TOYS; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; SCENOGRAPHY). In this article iconography is treated as a discipline and a method. Particular attention is given to the most recent trends which seek to investigate the origin and significance of the figural image in artistic creation: to this latter aspect of research the more specific term "iconology" is applied.

SUMMARY. Character and development of iconographic studies (col. 770). Iconology (col. 773): *From iconography to iconology; Iconological method according to Panofsky; Current trends; Particular iconological problems; Criticism of iconological method.*

CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF ICONOGRAPHIC STUDIES. In historical studies the term "iconography" initially was limited to an evaluation of the image in a purely documentary sense: the greater its fidelity and objectivity, the greater its worth as a historical document. Much as present-day photography is used to document modern historical events, originally the value of the image lay in its verisimilitude. In this sense, iconography was considered an auxiliary to the historical sciences (cf., for example, A. Depréaux, "L'iconographie, science auxiliaire de l'histoire," *VIe Congrès international des sciences historiques*, Oslo, 1928, pp. 725–35). In archaeological studies its significance was similarly limited to the realm of portraiture. The oldest works in this direction are those of Achilles Statius (*Inlustrium virorum ut extant in Urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569, and *Imagines et elogia virorum inlustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum adnotationibus ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini*, Rome, 1570), and G. A. Canini (*Iconografia*, Rome, 1669). Great contributions were made in the second half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th by the works of J. J. Bernoulli (*Römische Ikonographie*, Stuttgart, 1882–94; and *Griechische Ikonographie*, Munich, 1901), P. Arndt and F. Bruckmann (*Griechische und römische Porträts*, Munich, 1891 ff.), and A. Hekler (*Die Bildnisskunst der Griechen und Römer*, Stuttgart, 1912; cf. also C. Picard, "Méthodes et débats de l'iconographie classique," *REA*, XXXVII, 1935, pp. 468–78).

Works in the field of antique numismatics have also been fundamental; among them are included H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1880–92); E. Babelon, *Description des monnaies de la République romaine* (Paris, 1885–86), and *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1901 ff.); and H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, and C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1923 ff.; see COINS AND MEDALS).

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In the realm of the history of art proper, the term "iconography" applies to the descriptive and classificatory study of images with the aim of understanding the direct or indirect meaning of the subject matter represented. The general upsurge of historical science in the latter part of the 19th century exercised a powerful influence over the development of iconographical studies; this development also represented a reaction against the purely esthetic approach to the work of art so characteristic of 19th-century art criticism. Iconographical studies have been carried forward with an increasing awareness of the necessity for precision, objectivity, and scientific exactitude, and they have been developed to such an extent that they have almost become a discipline of their own within the larger field of art-historical studies.

In its initial phases, this manner of confronting ancient works of art had a most interesting antiquarian element which resulted in the classification of works of art according to subject matter of particular iconographical aspects. The first systematic theoretical work in this sense is that of P. de Caylus (*Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1752–67); J. J. Winckelmann also responded to this tendency in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764). The *Iconographie ancienne* of E. Q. Visconti (Paris, 1811–29) is also important in this connection, as is the activity of the restorers of antique statuary, especially that of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi in Rome (see RESTORATION). The work of F. de Clarac (*Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*, Paris, 1841–53) is arranged iconographically (or "typologically" as the archaeologists prefer to say, reserving the term "iconography" for portraiture). Such works were superseded by studies like those of J. Overbeck (*Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, Brunswick, 1853, and *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig, 1871–89), which utilized new methods of comparative philology and profited from more refined typological analysis and text criticism. This method ultimately resulted in the works of H. von Brunn (*Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1889), A. Furt-



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wängler, in all his works, but especially in *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1900), and A. della Seta (*Il nudo nell'arte*, Milan, Rome, 1930).

In the field of the history of art as distinguished from archaeology, 19th-century iconographical studies were primarily concerned with Christian art and its religious terminology. Certain aspects of this field had already been explored by Molanus (Jan Vermeulen) in *De picturis et imaginibus sacris* (Louvain, 1570), by Antonio Bosio, whose *Roma sotterranea* . . . , written after the discovery of the catacombs (1578), was posthumously published (1632) in Rome, as well as by Macarius (Jean l'Heureux) and by Ciacconio (Alfonso Chacón). The hagiographical work of the Bollandists in Belgium, who published the *Acta Sanctorum* (53 vols.; 1643–1794), was followed by such works as Johann Reiske's *De imaginibus Jesu Christi* (Jena, 1685), Giovanni Ciampini's *Vetera monimenta* (Rome, 1690–99), and Gottfried Arnold's *Waare afbeelding der eerste christenen* (Amsterdam, 1700–01). Following a hiatus in development caused chiefly by the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, Christian iconographical studies received a new impetus in France in the early 19th century, largely under the stimulus of the sentimental religiosity of Chateaubriand. Although these studies focused on an investigation of primitive Christianity, with little reference to the history of art, they were a starting point for further iconographical studies elaborated by successive generations. Among such works may be included J. B. Seroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'art par les monumens* . . . (Paris, 1810–23), D. Raoul-Rochette's *Discours sur les types imitatifs* (Paris, 1834), A. N. Didron's *Iconographie chrétienne: Histoire de Dieu* (Paris, 1843), and especially A. Crosnier's *Iconographie chrétienne* (Caen, 1848, 2d ed., 1876). In 1845 Didron published in Paris his *Dionysius of Fourna-Agrapha, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, grecque et latine*, a French translation of a manuscript discovered in a monastery on Mount Athos. The significance and supposed early date of this document were initially overstated, and it was shown by A. Papadopoulo-Kerameus (*Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, St. Petersburg, 1909) to be a collection of redactions no earlier than the 18th century, though important as a reflection of an earlier iconographical tradition and preserving certain details of earlier composition. French Christian iconographical studies continued with C. Cahier's *Caractéristiques des saints* (Paris, 1867), A. Martin and C. Cahier's *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature* (Paris, 1847–56), and *Nouveaux mélanges* (Paris, 1874–77), C. Rohault de Fleury's *Archéologie chrétienne: Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments* (Paris, 1890–1900), E. Mâle's *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1898 ff.), and *L'art religieux après le concile de Trente* (Paris, 1932), G. Millet's *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* . . . (Paris, 1916), L. Bréhier's *L'art chrétien, son développement iconographique* (Paris, 1918), and the various works of P. Perdrizet and V. Leroquais. The monumental *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, begun in 1907 by F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq and completed in 1953, is the most useful single tool of Christian iconographical research to date.

French scholarship has also contributed substantially to the field of the iconography of popular imagery, which originates in the substrata of popular fantasy and appeals to an unsophisticated public (P. L. Duchartre and R. Saulnier, *L'imagerie populaire*, Paris, 1925; P. Saintyves, "L'imagerie religieuse ou les images de sainteté," *Revue de folklore française*, I, 1930, pp. 207–18). Such imagery, characterized by an exaggeration and simplification of the traits and attributes of more traditional imagery, finds its widest diffusion in rural areas and minor centers in various forms of folk art, ex-votos, ceramics, and so forth (see DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES). The invention and use of printing and woodcuts greatly facilitated the spread of this popular imagery.

Following the French came the works of German scholarship: I. H. von Wessenberg's *Die christlichen Bilder* (Konstanz, 1827), J. von Radowitz' *Ikonographie der Heiligen* (Berlin, 1834), Helmsdörfer's *Christliche Kunstsymbolik und Ikonographie* (Frankfort on the Main, 1839) and W. Menzel's *Christliche Symbolik* (Regensburg, 2d ed., 1854). The most important of these earlier works were A. Springer's *Ikonographische Studien* (Vienna, 1860), and F. Piper's *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* (Weimar, 1847–51). Following these, the works of F. X. Kraus and the synthesis provided by H. Detzel's *Christliche Ikonographie* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1894–96) laid the basis for the fundamental research of J. Wilpert in Early Christian painting, mosaics, and sarcophagi (*Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903; *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916; *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929–36). Of numerous modern works K. Künstle's *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926–28), J. Sauer's *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, 2d ed., 1924), and J. Braun's *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1943) should be mentioned.

Scholars of other countries made significant contributions as well. The Russian N. P. Kondakov [*Ikonografiya* . . . *Iisusa Khrista* (*Iconography of Jesus Christ*), St. Petersburg, 1911, and *Ikonografiya Bogomateri* (*Iconography of Our Lady*), St. Petersburg, 1914–15], the American E. B. Smith (*Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918), the Italian G. B. de Rossi (*Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XV*, Rome, 1872–96), and the Dutch J. J. M. Timmers (*Symboliek en iconografie der christelikje kunst*, Roermund-Maaseik, 1947), C. Smits (*De ikonografie van de nederlandsche primitieven*, Amsterdam, 1933), and J. B. Knipping (*De iconografie van de contra-reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum, 1939–40) all deserve particular mention.

In the area of secular iconography R. van Marle's *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen-âge et à la Renaissance* . . . (The Hague, 1931–32), A. Pigler's *Barockthemen* (Budapest, 1956), and G. de Tervarent's *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958–59), are the most useful compendia. When it is completed, the *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, begun in 1937 by Otto Schmitt, will be one of the most comprehensive treatments of Western iconography.

In addition to these publications there are several important iconographical card indexes, the most comprehensive of which is the Index of Christian Art begun at Princeton University by Charles Rufus Morey. Initially limited to Early Christian art, it was later extended to include medieval monuments up to 1400. Copies of the index, which is still being compiled at Princeton, exist at the Istituto Pontificio di Archeologia Cristiana in Rome, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C. The Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague has undertaken an Iconographic Index of Dutch and Flemish Painting according to a complex but useful system devised by H. van de Waal.

Modern scholarship in Oriental art has also been concerned with problems of iconography, laying particular stress on iconographical methodology in the investigation of the religious content of Indian art. When this type of investigation was begun in the middle of the 19th century, it was closely linked to the study of Indian religion, and it is only recently that attention has become more specifically centered in the art-historical sphere. In addition to the works of J. Fergusson, J. Burgess, and the monumental work of E. A. Gopinātha Rao, one might mention as well the work of A. Foucher (*Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900–05), and the iconographical studies of A. K. Coomaraswamy ("The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image," *JAOS*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 165–70, which concerns the esthetics and origin of the imagery of Indian art, and his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, which deals with the symbolic value of Indian art). Further studies of this nature were conducted by E. B. Havell, J. N. Banerjea, A. Grünwedel, H. Zimmer, and L. Bachhofer, whose work was augmented by that of such specialists as O. Sirén, E. Chavannes, and A. Waley on Chinese Buddhism. The fundamental works concerning the influences and changes undergone in Indochinese Buddhism, are by G. Cœdès, P. Mus, A. J. Bernet Kempers (whose *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, merits particular mention by virtue of its extensive

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bibliography on iconographical problems), G. Combaz, R. von Heine-Geldern, J.-P. Vogel, and W. F. Stutterheim. For Buddhism in Central Asia mention should be made of the works of Sir Aurel Stein, A. von Le Coq, E. Grünwedel, E. Matsumoto, and B. Gray. For Tibet, fundamental studies have been conducted by Giuseppe Tucci, as well as by A. K. Gordon (*The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, New York, 1939), S. Hummel, W. E. Clark, and A. Getty. Finally, for the Buddhist art of Japan there are the iconographical studies of Masaharu Anesaki, Mosaku Ishida, and Seigai Ōmura. The Institut français d'Indologie in Pondicherry is now in the process of assembling a comprehensive photographic archive of the sacred imagery of the temples of southern India.

ICONOLOGY. *From iconography to iconology.* Iconographical studies are, of course, not merely limited to the simple description and classification of subject matter but extend to a deeper interpretation of the image — its conceptual, symbolic, or allegorical significance — to the degree to which these may be present. The problem of the interpretation of Early Christian art may illustrate the complexity of this undertaking. Because of the often cryptic nature of its subject matter, Early Christian art has elicited divergent opinions regarding its significance. Basing their interpretation on dogma and symbol, earlier researchers sometimes produced incompatible interpretations of the same subject. In reaction to this Paul Styger proposed his method, which has since been superseded, of reading Early Christian art as a simple illustration of textual material. In the 19th century it was rare that iconography was clearly differentiated from iconology, even in the latter's traditional sense, as used in older manuals of symbols, allegories, and personifications. The most famous of these manuals was Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, published first in Rome in 1593, with numerous subsequent editions (III, PL. 202; cf. Seznec, 1940). The title page of Honoré Lacombe de Prezel's *Dictionnaire iconologique* (Paris, 1756) clearly illustrates the traditional sense of the term in its representation of Iconology as a seated woman, pen in hand, drawing a personification revealed to her by a winged genius; iconology in this view is a science actively producing symbols and personifications for the use of the artist, not a means of interpretation and classification for the benefit of scholars. The term "iconography," however, was early accepted for the latter activity, and it was ultimately extended to include the methods of iconological interpretation (in the earlier, rather than the modern sense). Thus an enlargement of the horizon of pure iconographic method in favor of a more complete investigation of the content of the work of art was potentially present in the iconographic discipline itself and was historically verifiable in its development, since the origins of the discipline were in part linked — as has already been noted for Early Christian and Indian art — to an interest in the work of art that was not purely esthetic but directed rather toward the historical and religious value of the civilization which produced the object. After H. Taine had theorized on the relationship between the work of art and its historical and cultural setting came the creation of such works as E. Müntz's *L'histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance* (Paris, 1889–95), in which iconographic research and the study of the work of art in its other aspects — technical, stylistic, social, and so forth — commingle without integration.

In the early 20th century the need for an expansion of interests in the realm of iconographic method came to be clearly felt. It was not by chance that this occurred at the time of the establishment of the "pure visibility" trend in criticism and the Wölfflinian formalistic approach to the history of art, which tended to reduce subject matter to a mere pretext, regarding iconographic method simply as an insufficient tool for an understanding of the creative conception of the work of art. At the same time the Morellian criticism of the "connoisseurs," which focused on the study of intrinsic and individual characteristics of the work of art, relegated iconography to the state of a secondary aid (see HISTORIOGRAPHY). Some even went so far as to attack iconography as a negative and obstructive element in the understanding of the work of art; Lionello Venturi, for example, wrote in his *Storia della critica dell'arte* (Rome, 1945) that "the iconographical method is an obstacle to the understanding of the work of art."

These two extreme attitudes were, however, reconciled in the minds of more temperate observers. Of interest in this connection are P. Toesca's words in 1933: "These iconographical studies are not identified with those which treat the works of art with regard to their style, nor do they attach themselves to these latter studies . . . The decipherment of subjects may lead iconography to one of its most important results — that of revealing relationships between the art and the culture of a given period that would not otherwise have been suspected, or properly established; thus new light is thrown on the work of art and it acquires a new value for the history of thought."

An idea of the way stylistic criticism might broaden iconographic studies is conveyed in the affirmation of Hans Tietze, who in 1924 wrote that the formalistic method in art history is only a necessary transitional phase to a truly new iconography. Particularly influential was Max Dvořák, who though trained in the methods of visual analysis propounded by Alois Riegl, laid particular stress on the connection between artistic form and philosophical and religious content, arriving at a new and more profound interpretation of iconographic problems.

Emerging from its role as an auxiliary to the history of art, iconography began to acquire the status of a new critical methodology. This transformation also brought the shift from the old to the modern sense of the term "iconology." The change was wrought chiefly by German and Austrian scholarship of the first quarter of the 20th century: by Max Dvořák, Julius von Schlosser, and the Vienna school; and especially by the pioneer work of Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky, whose names are most intimately connected with modern iconological studies.

The efforts to penetrate as deeply as possible and to understand in the widest sense the "meaning" of a work of art has evoked corresponding interest in psychological and psychoanalytical studies, where efforts have been made to explore the subconscious aspects of composition and symbolism as well as the phenomenon of perception itself. Starting with studies by Freud (*Eine Kindheitserrinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*, Leipzig, Vienna, 1910; "Der Moses von Michelangelo," *Imago*, III, 1914, pp. 15–36), and Jung, these investigations have been continued along different lines by Ernst Kris (1952) and Ernst Gombrich (1960).

*Iconological method according to Panofsky.* Although Aby Warburg was probably the first to use the term "iconology" in modern times (in his lecture in 1912 on the Schifanoia wall paintings), it was G. J. Hoogewerff (1931) who first gave the method of "iconology" its definition, differentiating it from the traditional method of "iconography." "Iconology well conceived," Hoogewerff declared, "is related to iconography well practiced, much in the manner that geology is related to geography: it is above all the aim of geography to formulate clear descriptions; its responsibility is to record the experimental facts, taking into consideration the symptoms . . . without explanatory commentary. It consists in observations and is limited to the exterior aspect of terrestrial things. Geology, on the other hand, is concerned with the study of the structure, interior formation, origin, evolution, and coherence from and of which our globe exists. The same scientific rapport may be observed between ethnography and ethnology. While the former is limited to ascertaining, the latter seeks to explain . . . . After the systematic examination of the development of themes has been accomplished, iconology then poses the question of their interpretation. Concerned more with the continuity than with the material of a work of art, it seeks to understand the symbolic, dogmatic, or mystical sense (even if hidden) in figural forms."

One year before, however, Panofsky had proposed certain fundamental methodological principles for the new iconological orientation in the introduction to his study *Herkules am Scheidewege*. He presented them in a more carefully developed and mature form in an article in the German philosophical journal

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*Logos* in 1932, and in even greater detail in the introduction to his famous *Studies in Iconology* in 1939. Panofsky's method was formulated under the influence of Aby Warburg and of the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, but one may see in it also an echo of Dvořák's "history of art as the history of ideas" as well as Riegl's concept of the historically conditioned *Kunstwollen*.

"There are doubtless historical epochs," Panofsky wrote in 1930, "which limited themselves to the illustration of the primary level of meaning and in which, therefore, an exegetic interpretation of its meaning would be neither necessary nor apt.... There are likewise, however, artistic periods which delved more or less deeply into the realm of secondary levels of meaning. In the interpretation of evidence from these latter periods, it would constitute an unhistorical blurring of categories to automatically dispute the intent to express inherent content, ... and it would amount to unhistorical arbitrariness to presume to differentiate between the essential and nonessential content on the basis of a modern preconception. What we sense to be the difference between essential and nonessential content is generally only the difference between those representational motifs which fortuitously still appear generally comprehensible to us, and those which are only comprehensible through the aid of texts. Under no circumstances have we the right to pass over those sources which, to us only, appear buried: on the contrary, it is our duty to expose them as fully as possible."

For Panofsky, an interpretation of content must be primarily a semantic interpretation, and may be disposed, as it were, in three levels or strata.

"1. *Primary or natural subject matter*, subdivided into *factual* and *expressional*. It is apprehended by identifying pure forms, that is: certain configurations of line and color, or certain peculiarly shaped lumps of bronze or stone, as representations of natural objects such as human beings, animals, plants, houses, tools and so forth; by identifying their mutual relations as events; and by perceiving such expressional qualities as the mournful character of a pose or gesture, or the homelike and peaceful atmosphere of an interior. The world of pure forms thus recognized as carriers of primary or natural meanings may be called the world of artistic motifs. An enumeration of these motifs would be a pre-iconographical description of the work of art.

"2. *Secondary or conventional subject matter*. It is apprehended by realizing that a male figure with a knife represents St. Bartholomew, that a female figure with a peach in her hand is a personification of veracity, that a group of figures seated at a dinner table in a certain arrangement and in certain poses represents the Last Supper, or that two figures fighting each other in a certain manner represent the Combat of Vice and Virtue. In doing this we connect artistic motifs and combinations of artistic motifs (compositions) with themes or concepts. Motifs thus recognized as carriers of a secondary or conventional meaning may be called images, and combinations of images are what the ancient theorists of art called *invenzioni*; we are wont to call them stories and allegories. The identification of such images, stories and allegories is the domain of what is normally referred to as 'iconography.' In fact, when we loosely speak of 'subject matter as opposed to form,' we chiefly mean the sphere of secondary or conventional subject matter, viz., the world of specific themes or concepts manifested in images, stories and allegories, as opposed to the sphere of primary or natural subject matter manifested in artistic motifs. 'Formal analysis' in Wölfflin's sense is largely an analysis of motifs and combinations of motifs (compositions); for a formal analysis in the strict sense of the word would even have to avoid such expressions as 'man,' 'horse,' or 'column,' let alone such evaluations as 'the ugly triangle between the legs of Michelangelo's David' or 'the admirable clarification of the joints in a human body.' It is obvious that a correct iconographical analysis presupposes a correct identification of the motifs. If the knife that enables us to identify St. Bartholomew is not a knife but a corkscrew, the figure is not a St. Bartholomew. Furthermore, it is important to note that the statement 'this figure is an image of St. Bartholomew' implies the conscious intention of the artist to represent St. Bartholomew, while the expressional qualities of the figure may well be unintentional.

"3. *Intrinsic meaning or content*. It is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion — qualified by one personality and condensed into one work. Needless to say, these principles are manifested by, and therefore throw light on, both 'compositional methods' and 'iconographical significance.' In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for instance (the earliest examples can be dated around 1300), the traditional type of the Nativity with the Virgin Mary reclining in bed or on a couch was frequently replaced by a new one which shows the Virgin kneeling before the Child in adoration. From a compositional point of view this change means, roughly speaking, the substitution of a triangular scheme for a rectangular one; from an iconographical point of view, it means the introduction of a new theme to be formulated in writing by such authors as Pseudo-Bonaventure and St. Bridget. But at the same time it reveals a new emotional attitude peculiar to the later phases of the Middle Ages. A really exhaustive interpretation of the intrinsic meaning or content might even show that the technical procedures characteristic of a certain country, period, or artist, for instance Michelangelo's preference for sculpture in stone instead of in bronze, or the peculiar use of hatchings in his drawings, are symptomatic of the same basic attitude that is discernible in all the other specific qualities of his style. In thus conceiving of pure forms, motifs, images, stories and allegories as manifestations of underlying principles, we interpret all these elements as what Ernst Cassirer has called 'symbolical' values."

Differing from iconography "iconology, then, is a method of interpretation which arises from synthesis rather than analysis. And as the correct identification of motifs is the prerequisite of their correct iconographical analysis, so is the correct analysis of images, stories and allegories the prerequisite of their correct iconological interpretation — unless we deal with works of art in which the whole sphere of secondary or conventional subject matter is eliminated and a direct transition from motifs to content is effected, as is the case with European landscape painting, still life and genre, not to mention 'non-objective' art."

For each stage of interpretation Panofsky specifies the necessary preparatory equipment of the interpreter and the appropriate corrective or balancing principle of interpretation For "pre-iconographical description" the interpreter must have practical experience (familiarity with objects and events) and he must have a corrective knowledge of the history of style ("insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms").

For "iconographical analysis" the interpreter must have knowledge of literary sources ("familiarity with specific themes and concepts") and he must be familiar with the "history of types" ("insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes or concepts were expressed by objects and events"). And finally, for the last stage of interpretation, "iconological interpretation," the interpreter must have so-called "synthetic intuition" ("familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind," conditioned by personal psychology and general outlook), and he must be familiar with the "history of cultural symptoms or 'symbols' in general" ("insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts"). Panofsky summarizes his results in the following way: "The art historian will have to check what he thinks is the intrinsic meaning of the work, or group of works, to which he devotes his attention, against what he thinks is the intrinsic meaning of as many other documents of civilization historically related to that work or group or works, as he can master: of documents bearing witness to the political, poetical, religious, philosophical and social tendencies of the personality, period or country under investigation.... It is in the search for intrinsic meaning or content that the various humanistic disciplines meet on a common plane instead of serving as handmaidens to each other."

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It is clear that for Panofsky "iconology" is the method of integral interpretation of the work of art in its full historical context but with the analysis of content as the point of departure. According to the principles of Panofsky's methodology, the work of art should be interpreted first of all as a specific set of forms carrying some meaning, then as a composition of "stories," symbols, and allegories, and finally as a symptom of a situation in the history of culture and of ideas; in each case the interpretation should be based upon knowledge of the historical development: in the first, upon the history of style; in the second, upon the repertory of iconographical types; in the third, upon knowledge of the history of cultural symptoms. In sum, the work of art has to be considered and analyzed against the background of what Panofsky calls "the history of tradition."

The work which has just been quoted, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939), has had a significance for the development of art-historical methods comparable only to that of Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* . . . (Vienna, 1901–23), or to Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Munich, 1915). In the same book Panofsky gave some instances of the practical application of the newly postulated method, showing three different ways a problem in iconology can be studied: first, taking a work of art which requires explanation, a cycle of Piero di Cosimo's pictures devoted to the primordial history of man, he illuminates it by showing that it refers to ideas of Lucretius which were known to Piero through the writings of Boccaccio (Chapter II). The next two chapters present another, frequently practiced form of iconological study; they develop a history of iconographical types. In this particular case it is "pseudomorphosis," a process of blending classical artistic motifs with new meanings, which are frequently Christian and moralistic in character. The last two chapters, which deal with Father Time and the Blind Cupid, show the impact of Neo-Platonic philosophy on Florentine and Venetian painting of the 16th century. Panofsky interprets works of Titian and Michelangelo as an expression of philosophical ideas, not merely in their iconography, but in composition, color, and technique as well.

*Current trends.* Perhaps the formulation of the principles of this new method was only the most outstanding achievement of a general trend which was felt in the 1930s and 1940s and which reflected a general need to deepen insight into the foundations of historical changes instead of describing their outward phenomena. It is certainly the general direction of methodological development: "The arts, visual and non-visual, and the sciences are moving in the same direction," wrote Rudolf Wittkower in 1955; "our common task is no longer description and classification of phenomena, but investigation of function and meaning." The influence of Panofsky's methodology and of similar trends was strongly felt in some European cultural centers in the 1930s. Moreover, owing to the transplantation of the Warburg Institute to London and the migration of German and German-trained art historians to England and America, iconological investigations found a large audience in the Anglo-Saxon world. In the postwar years these interests were rediffused in continental Europe, as evidenced by the creation of a chair for iconology at the University of Utrecht in 1955.

The concept of iconology, however, is currently understood in various ways. Creighton Gilbert (1952) writes, for example: "This is a method of study which we may agree to define by its general practice . . . as the investigation of the meaning of a work of art, the interpretation of it by its literary or philosophical context." But the term "iconology" is not even always used for describing the method of investigation. Gilbert goes on to say that "pictures with the same iconography may well have different iconologies," but it must be remembered that what he terms "iconology" is not the method but the result of its application, the discovered "deep significance," "meaning," or "content" of the work of art. A double meaning of the term is also advocated by Hans Sedlmayr (1955). For him the term "iconology" can be understood "*sachlich*" and "*methodisch*." In the first case it is the "general meaning of pictures, of an artistic complex — church, palace, altarpiece — as seen and explained by its connecting ideas"; in the second case it is "integral iconography which adduces reasons for changes, whereas (simple) iconography is partial and descriptive."

The meaning adopted by Gilbert must be much narrower, as he uses the adjective "iconological" to describe a quality; he speaks of an "iconological picture" and of an "iconological symbolism." Thus he has in mind pictures or symbolism of a type which adapts itself best to investigation by the method described by Panofsky. It should be stressed that there is a definite difference between the maximalist conception of the method in Panofsky's program and the narrower conception in the practical work of the majority of art historians who apply the method; this is often evident in Panofsky's own practical art-historical work. According to Panofsky's theoretical views every picture is "iconological" and every work of art has its "iconology," since the interpretation on the third level, which has to analyze the work of art "iconologically" — that is, as a symptom of the cultural situation — can be applied to every work of art, even to those which do not possess the second (conventional) level of meaning. But in practice the most frequent application is of the method in the narrower sense; it is chiefly directed toward decoding this second level of a work of art, its symbolical and allegorical meaning.

An interest in the study of literary sources is closely connected with the progress of iconological studies. Iconology, however, requires many different aids from other historical disciplines. Iconological studies are frequently connected with the investigation of religious, political, and social ideas as they influence works of art or as they are expressed by the works of art. One of the most tangible achievements of iconological scholarship results from the renewed study of architecture from the point of view of the content that is revealed in churches, monasteries, and palaces. In this field, studies by E. B. Smith, Günther Bandmann, Panofsky, Otto von Simson, Wittkower, Sedlmayr, and especially by Richard Krautheimer have borne such fruit that it is correct to say that the application of the new methods of study has fundamentally altered the view of the history of architecture. Moreover, the complex iconographical programs of the baroque period again began to arouse interest. The index of the iconography of baroque ceiling paintings undertaken by the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich is one evidence of this development.

The new method of study has also been applied to works of art that positivistic and formalistic art history regarded as simple images of reality. Since about 1935 countless works of art of the Flemish and Dutch "realistic" schools have been interpreted in a new way, and the deep symbolic content underlying them has been brought to light. Writings of Panofsky, Millard Meiss, Charles de Tolnay, Meyer Schapiro, Wolfgang Stechow, Julius S. Held, J. G. van Gelder, H. van de Waal, and Hans Kauffmann have created a new concept of early Flemish and Dutch art. Many discoveries have been made in paintings by Rembrandt: not only have traditional though transformed themes been identified but numerous connections with emblematic literature and with the theater have been found. The iconological method has given us many books and articles on specific iconographical subjects (see *Bibliog.*). These furnish a history of various themes — the Imago Pietatis, Bound Eros, Veritas Filia Temporis, Apollo and Daphne, Jacob's Blessing, and so on — thus creating the foundations for a new branch of art-historical study, the history of tradition in the field of imagery. Every work of art is rooted in this tradition and at the same time contributes to its creation and development.

*Particular iconological problems.* The study of the tradition of imagery involves a number of special problems which cannot be treated in detail here. One of the most important concerns the origin of the image itself; but since this is related to that of the essence of the communicative sign or symbol, it will be dealt with in SIGNS AND CONVENTIONAL SYMBOLS; the relation to direct representation will be treated in SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY. However, the transmission of images and their modification under the impact of ideas and concepts foreign

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to the original iconographical tradition is a fundamental iconological problem. The process, which is termed "contamination," was first explored by the renowned Viennese archaeologist Emanuel Löwy. In 1910 he advanced a tentative systematization of the problem in a study of the migration of types (*Typenwanderung*). More recently a systematic investigation of the survival and transformation of antique imagery in the Middle Ages and Renaissance has been the major concern of Aby Warburg and scholars associated with his institute. There have been a number of studies in this context by Panofsky, Saxl, Wind, Seznec, Gombrich, Wittkower, and Stechow, to mention a few. Significant contributions have also been made by H. Buchthal and M. Bussagli in the field of Oriental archaeology.

The phenomenon of contamination must be viewed against the background of a repertory of original types or images (archetypes) indigenous to a given culture. Once created, these images are free to persist and assume a life of their own, independent of, and surviving beyond the culture in which they found their inception. Panofsky gives the following sample (1939): "On the façade of St. Mark's in Venice can be seen two large reliefs of equal size, one a Roman work of the third century A.D., the other executed in Venice almost exactly one thousand years later. The motifs are so similar that we are forced to suppose that the medieval stone carver deliberately copied the classical work in order to produce a counterpart of it. But while the Roman relief represents Hercules carrying the Erymanthean boar to king Eurystheus, the medieval master, by substituting billowy drapery for the lion's skin, a dragon for the frightened king, and a stag for the boar, transformed the mythological story into an allegory of salvation."

Detailed iconographical studies have traced the transmission and transformation of given motifs through many centuries. In the course of this process two basic stages of contamination may be observed. First, the original significance is changed by gradual loss through misunderstanding of sometimes the most essential details. In a medieval Arabic manuscript, for example, the zodiacal personification of Perseus, who is depicted in Oriental costume, carries the head of a bearded male demon instead of Medusa's head. Ignorant of the classical myth, the medieval illuminator interpreted the terrified expression of Medusa as demonic, and the streams of blood as a beard. Second, having been deprived of its original meaning, the image may be altered by investing it with a new meaning. This second phenomenon, which may be termed "reinterpretive contamination," is generally associated with a fundamental cultural and spiritual change. This is the case in the Early Christian reinterpretation of antique motifs: Nike becomes the Christian angel; Orpheus becomes David; and the story of Hercules, an allegory of Salvation. In Oriental art the Good Shepherd often corresponds to the figure of the offerer. Likewise, in Gandharan art the classical Apollo figure appears clad as a Buddhist monk and represented in the *mahāpuruṣa* gesture. In the process of reinterpretive contamination the substitution of meaning is a symbolic and doctrinal one: thus the figure of Christ as a Roman emperor signifies the Pantocrator.

The reinterpretation of motifs proceeds in various ways. One may speak, for example, of contamination by division and of contamination by addition or modification. A case where contamination has produced a division is in the transformations which occurred in the *signum triceps* (a device fusing three heads or busts), which was originally an attribute of Serapis and later of Apollo. Macrobius and later writers have interpreted the *signum triceps* as the symbol of time. In a long evolution the symbol became divorced from both Serapis and Apollo. It appears twice in Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* of 1556: under "Sol," it is an independent emblem of the sun; under "Prudentia," who, Valeriano states, regards the present but reflects upon the past and the future, the three modes are identified with the three heads. Thus a single motif assumes two separate meanings (cf. Panofsky, 1930, 1955).

Contamination by addition occurs when two analogous images are absorbed into one (with or without similarity in motif and content). Such a case is Girolamo di Benvenuto's representation of Hercules at the Crossroads, in which the motif of a nude standing figure supported by two draped figures evoked the well-known religious image of the "Imago Pietatis." While the contamination was probably not intentional here, calculated modifications of the compositional theme of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* could result in such works as Thomas Regnaudin's *Abduction of Cybele by Saturn*; and in 1699 a model of the same group was presented under the title "Time Unveiling Truth" (Wittkower). The similarity in content between two types that are formally analogous may be of several kinds: a functional similarity exists in patterning the Man of Sorrows after the figure of Job (G. von der Osten, 1953); an expressive similarity exists in the use of a classical maenad in the role of a mourning woman at the foot of the Cross, or again, in the works of Agostino di Duccio, as an angel of pathos (Antal and Wind, 1937).

A common type of reinterpretive or allusive contamination is the so-called "allegorical portraiture" in which the image of the portrayed is associated with the image of a concept. This representation imputes to the subject of the portrait the qualities of the concept chosen. Thus the emperor Commodus is represented as Hercules, Dürer paints himself in the image of the Salvator Mundi, and so forth. Within this allusive category of contamination numerous types exist, the most important of which is caricature (see COMIC ART AND CARICATURE). Contrasting with allegorical portraiture in which iconographic types are contaminated, in caricature the images of real persons are often contaminated. Man is also caricatured by the association of his image with human traits found in animals (e.g., the ape for sensuality, the sheep for fear; see CHARACTERIZATION).

Free play with likeness and with the meaning of the pattern or image may also lead to many forms of fantastic and grotesque character (see MONSTROUS AND IMAGINARY SUBJECTS). Once the artist is permitted to enter a realm in which the image has no constant or rigid significance "the play with meaning, the ambiguity of form, becomes a predominant feature in these fantastic works. Even the traditional monsters of medieval demonology are now transformed into a mere exercise of wit and formal ingenuity. But the change of context results in a change of meaning. The uncanny has turned comic . . . ." (Kris and Gombrich, 1952). To this kind of mannered contamination belong the ambiguous works of Arcimboldi in which images of human figures are also images of objects, utensils, or vegetables (V, PL. 240).

*Criticism of iconological method.* As might be expected, the iconological method has been criticized from various standpoints. It has been accused of disregarding the question of artistic quality and of considering a work of Michelangelo no more interesting than a primitive woodcut of an abstruse astrological motif. This objection hardly applies to the iconological method, however, since in the method as such there is nothing which delimits the quality of works considered.

It has further been argued that iconological interpretation finds more symbolic meaning in a work of art than was put in, or even known, by the artist. This danger was recognized by Panofsky (1955) when he wrote, "There is, however, admittedly some danger that iconology will behave, not like ethnology as opposed to ethnography, but like astrology as opposed to astrography." Carrying the case further, Creighton Gilbert (1952) criticizes what may be termed the "totalistic" version of iconological interpretation of Renaissance art. Is it in fact true, he asks, that each Renaissance picture conceals a deeper meaning beneath the appearance of a simple scene from daily life? Is the sleeping Christ child in every picture to be understood as a prefiguration of the Passion, and never simply a *mise-en-scène* of the religious story? One aspect of this question has been illuminated by Ernst Gombrich in an article on the influence of Renaissance art theory on landscape. Gombrich stresses the existence of a special category of painting called "parerga," which is based on antique canons of art criticism and denotes genre works and landscapes.

The problem is a complicated one, especially so in the Renaissance and after. That medieval art was based on a symbolic manner of thinking is not doubted. The difficulty arises in deal-

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ing with the art of the early 15th century, when Netherlandish and Italian realism, through the introduction of perspective, changed the picture into "an open window through which one sees what is depicted" (Alberti). "A way had to be found to reconcile the new naturalism with a thousand years of Christian tradition; and this attempt resulted in what may be termed concealed or disguised symbolism as opposed to open or obvious symbolism," wrote Panofsky in his *Early Netherlandish Painting* in 1953. He refers to St. Thomas Aquinas's concept of *spiritualia sub metaphoris corporalium*, but he does not close his eyes to the obvious difficulties of method which arise in such a situation. "If every ordinary plant, architectural detail, implement, or piece of furniture could be conceived as a metaphor, so that all forms meant to convey a symbolical idea could appear as ordinary plants, architectural details, implements or pieces of furniture; how are we to decide where the general, 'metaphorical' transfiguration of nature ends, and actual, specific symbolism begins? . . . There is so obvious an improbability in the combination of temple and narthex in the Master of Flémalle's 'Betrothal of the Virgin' that we cannot help interpreting this contrast as indicative of a deliberate antithesis." In the other instances, however, even this way of checking interpretation fades away. "There is, I am afraid," concludes Panofsky, "no other answer to this problem than the use of historical methods tempered, if possible, by common sense. We have to ask ourselves whether or not the symbolical significance of a given motif is a matter of established representational tradition; . . . whether or not a symbolical interpretation can be justified by definite texts or agrees with ideas demonstrably alive in the period and presumably familiar to its artists; . . . and to what extent such a symbolical interpretation is in keeping with the historical position and personal tendencies of the individual master."

In a review of Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Otto Pächt (1956) presented several important problems connected with the iconological method of interpretation. The so-called "formalistic" school of art history believed that the intention of the artist is revealed in the best and the clearest way through artistic "handwriting," in the form of an art work; iconology on the other hand tries to reveal the individuality of an old master by decoding a rationally conceived, and possibly disguised, ideological program of a picture or a sculpture. Pächt stresses that in practice the iconological method developed in the direction of interpreting "conscious" rather than "unconscious" symbolism; that the iconologists are frequently more interested in interpreting the second level, that of conventional symbolism, than in analyzing a work of art as a cultural symptom. Pächt calls this trend a "symbolistic" version of iconology. In the interpretation of a work of art as a cultural symptom the irrational elements of the artistic creative process must also be taken into account; it is somewhat difficult to reconcile this latter analysis with the interpretation of the second level, based on the belief that — as formulated by Panofsky with reference to Jan van Eyck — "this imaginary reality was controlled to the smallest detail by a preconceived symbolical program." In order to accept such an interpretation one must understand artistic creation as a rational structure, Pächt concludes, and adds that such a view "is the complete reversal of that formerly prevailing among students of cultural history according to which even Weltanschauungen are not produced by thinking (Dilthey)." Needless to say, in practice iconology may stress one or the other idea. But in its ideal, postulated form it is both the most unified and the most general and all-embracing method for the historical interpretation of art; it aims at as complete an understanding as possible of the artistic achievement of mankind.

Jan Białostocki

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**IKTINOS.** Greek architect who flourished in the latter half of the 5th century B.C.; the date and place of his birth are unknown. His name is connected with buildings of the time of Perikles. In 447 B.C, under the guidance of Phidias (q.v.), he began construction of the Parthenon with the assistance of Kallikrates, who was more an engineer than an architect and who was later entrusted with the raising of the Long Walls. Iktinos may already have worked with Phidias in 454, altering, under his supervision, the interior arrangement of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, whose cult statue was assigned to the sculptor. He also built the Odeion of Perikles, worked at Eleusis, and, according to Pausanias, may have designed the plans for the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (Bassae) about 430–420 B.C. This date has been questioned, mistakenly, both by some who believe the temple to have been built prior to the Parthenon (ca. 450 B.C.) and by others who reject the testimony of Pausanias and believe the temple to have been built in the 4th century B.C. Actually, the architectural characteristics of the temple at Bassai are still typical of the 5th century, although the style of the sculpture is closer to the 4th. Since the name of Iktinos does not appear on the expense accounts for later constructions on the Acropolis, his activity probably ended in the last quarter of the 5th century. His commentary on the Parthenon, which was cited by Vitruvius, has not come down to us.

Knowledge of the date of his birth and the name of the school where he was trained would perhaps lead to greater understanding of his work. It has been suggested that he came from Elis and was a pupil of Libon, the architect of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and a representative of the Doric architectural tradition in its purest form. This would explain the clearly Peloponnesian characteristics of the Bassai temple, which are sometimes used to question the authority of Pausanias in denying that it was built by Iktinos. Certainly his work in Attica shows more flexibility, greater awareness of the architectural influences of the 5th century, and greater skill in combining them. His contribution to later ages was an Attic variation of Doric architecture.

The originality of his style can be recognized only if one remembers that the building of the Acropolis was supervised by Phidias and that the architect had to adapt the original plans of the Parthenon to the sculptor's requirements. This fact explains the numerous modifications made in these plans (PL. 399; I, PL. 416; III, PL. 337): the octastyle façade (8 by 17 columns) instead of the traditional hexastyle plan; a considerable widening of the cella inside the peristyle at the expense of the outer corridors, which are narrower than those of the smaller Temple of Zeus at Olympia; the replacement of the pronaos and *opisthodomos* by hexastyle porticoes reminiscent of the dipteral plans of the temples of Ionia. The interior areas were enlarged at the request of the sculptor in order to show the chryselephantine statue of Athena to the greatest advantage. At the east, the cella had (in place of three narrow aisles as at Olympia or Aegina) a colonnade consisting of two rows of ten columns each, which was closed by three additional columns along its short western end to delimit the space in which the cult statue of the goddess was placed. The rear or west chamber, whose name (Parthenon) eventually came to designate the whole edifice, also offered an original device in that its ceiling was supported by four Ionic columns. This was the first time that the Ionic order was associated with the Doric in a temple in mainland Greece. All these innovations had the single purpose mentioned — to widen the interior areas in order to give more prominence to the cult statue. In this regard, we can recall the phrase of Plutarch in his *Perikles*: "Phidias had the oversight of all the works, and was surveyor-general, though upon the various portions other great masters and workmen were employed."

Every detail of the Parthenon, such as the astragal which decorates the entablature above the triglyph and metope frieze, and the profile of the cymation, shows the artist's tendency to put sculptural decoration to architectural uses. A series of refinements in design and construction further demonstrates Iktinos' appreciation of plastic values. Thus, contrary to the normal placement, none of the triglyphs of the frieze is exactly on the axis of the corresponding column. No vertical or horizontal lines are absolutely straight; instead they deviate from the geometrically straight line, with the result that in the steps and stylobate, for example, the upward curvature amounts to 2 3/8 in. on the façades and 4 5/16 in. on the flanks. All the columns are inclined both toward the center of the colonnade and toward the interior of the building and, by the use of entasis, or swelling of the shaft, diminish in a way that is not uniform but is accentuated toward the top. All the proportions of the order become lighter and more airy, and the intercolumniations are wider (14 ft., 1 in. between axes).

The same characteristics are found in other buildings constructed by Iktinos, such as the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis for the initiates to the cult of Demeter. According to F. Noack, the original plan for this hall, or Telesterion (FIG. 787), was to have been a square about 170 ft. on each side, internally subdivided by seven rows of seven columns each, designed to support a hip roof. Iktinos was able to keep the same proportions and yet arrange the columns in a more functional manner. He raised four rows of five columns each, reducing the total number by half, and with the resultant gain in space the initiates could follow the ceremonies more easily. It was this ability to utilize interior spaces that won Iktinos the assign-

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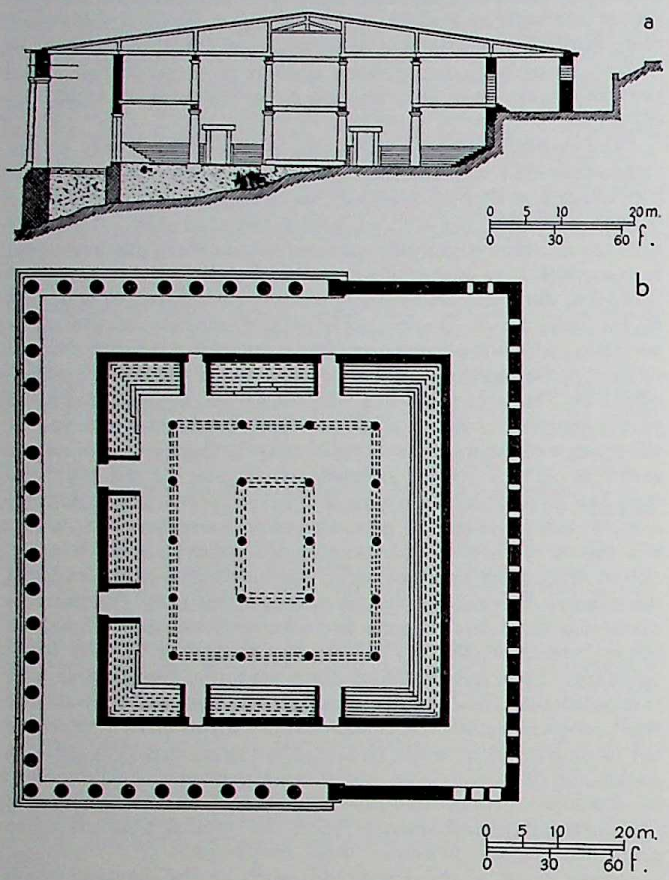
ment to build the Odeion of Perikles, used for musical contests and concerts. In the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (PL. 399), he employed the same principle he had used in the Parthenon to arrange a more spacious cella within a plan that was still archaic, by attaching slender Ionic semicolumns to the cella walls on both sides by means of short spur walls. He terminated the cella interior at the southern limit with two Corinthian semicolumns and a full Corinthian column. This marked the appearance of the Corinthian style in large-scale




Eleusis, Telesterion, hypothetical reconstruction of the building designed by Iktinos: (*a*) section, east to west; (*b*) plan (*from Noack*).

architecture, an innovation that rapidly found favor and became widespread.

From his works, Iktinos appears to have been an architect singularly endowed with a "plastic" approach to his art; perhaps this distinctive trait was the result of his close association with the sculptor Phidias. Gifted with great flexibility and originality in his conception of plans and skilled in the rational use of interior spaces, Iktinos carefully maintained the traditional scheme of the Doric order and yet stamped with a distinguishing personality both his own works and the subsequent development of the Doric plan.

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Roland MARTIN

Illustrations: PL. 399; 1 fig. in text.

**ILKHAN ART.** The dynasty of the Ilkhan Mongols, lasting from 1251 to 1335, represents in Persian art the period of greatest Far Eastern influence, in particular that of Sung and Yüan China (see CHINESE ART). At the time of the Mongol conquest, Iran had a past of more than 500 years of Islamic culture (see ISLAM), which was absorbed by the new rulers when they converted from Buddhism. The Chinese elements of the culture of the Mongols and their political relations with the Far East (see MONGOLIAN ART) are reflected in Ilkhan art by the fundamental contributions to the iconography of the painting, ceramics, and other decorative arts of this period, which came from the Far East.

SUMMARY. History (col. 788). Architecture (col. 788): *Introduction; Religious and funerary architecture; Secular architecture; Architectural decoration.* Painting and miniatures (col. 792). Ceramics (col. 794). Metalwork (col. 796).

HISTORY. The first invasion, in 1220–21, of the Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan overran only the northern part of Iran. His successor, Ogadai, completed the conquest of the country. But the only center of Mongol administration was at Khurasan (Khorasan); the coming of Hūlāgū, in 1256, marked the beginning of real government. The great council of 1251 divided up the Mongol dominions and assigned to Hūlāgū — who was the first to take the title of Il (Ilak) Khan, i.e., the Khan second to the Grand Khan — the following regions: Khurasan, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Georgia, Armenia, and part of Asia Minor. Hūlāgū conquered Bagdad and ended the Abbasside Caliphate (see ABBASSIDE ART). On the whole, the Mongol rulers, most of whom were Buddhists (see BUDDHISM), were tolerant until the end of the 13th century and were sympathetic to Christianity, which they knew in its Nestorian form (see NESTORIAN ART). However Ghāzān and his people converted to Islam for political expediency, a conversion which completed the assimilation of the conquerors by the conquered. As the Mongol rulers began to rebuild the devastated country, they favored the meeting of different cultures and attracted to their court artists, artisans, scientists, and writers from many lands.

ARCHITECTURE. *Introduction.* The observatory at Marāgha, built by order of Hūlāgū in A.H. 656/A.D. 1258 — only a few shapeless ruins remain — is one of the earliest dated monuments of the Mongol rulers. But not until the reign of Ghāzān (1295–1305) was there great architectural activity. Unfortunately the great suburb 2 miles west of Tabriz, founded by Arghūn (1284–91) but completed by Ghāzān and called Shām (Shenb) or Ghāzāniya, is now in ruins. Besides the "Lofty Tomb" of the sultan, it contained, amid huge well-watered gardens, palaces, libraries, a mosque, monasteries, an observatory, and schools for both the Shāfi'ī and the Ḥanafī rites. Although only a few traces remain of Rab'-i-Rashīdī, a suburb which flowered but briefly a few miles east of Tabriz, there are references to it in the letters of its founder, Rashīdal-Din, the historian, patron of the arts, and minister to Ghāzān and his

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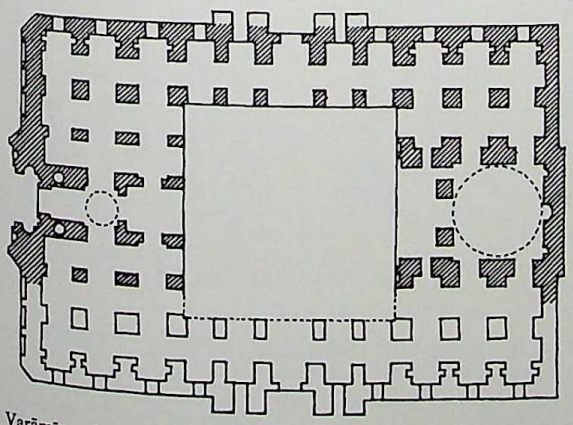
successor Öljeitü (Uljeitu), 1306–16. This center of art and culture also contained schools, libraries, and calligraphy ateliers.

Esthetically, Ilkhan architecture does not constitute a new style in the history of Persian architecture; rather, it can be considered a continuation of Seljuk architecture (see SELJUK ART), from which it inherits plans and techniques. Its characteristics are an accentuation of the vertical and a lightening of the non-weight-bearing elements by using windows, articulating surfaces with niches, moldings, and so forth, and concentrating masses on relatively few springing points. However, these techniques rarely become real elements of style, for they disappear beneath a decorative mantle which is the architect's principal concern. The verticality of the building is often emphasized, especially inside, by such devices as very slender colonnettes at the corners. The dome and its drum become higher; earlier forms are continued, but an ovoid profile is preferred, foreshadowing the bulbous shape favored in the Timurid period (see TIMURID ART). In the Ilkhan period the double dome, which had first appeared in late Seljuk architecture, becomes popular. The characteristic vault is formed by a series of large transverse arches connected by small vaults, either of continuous profile or, more frequently, of stepped profile and interrupted at their crowns by shallow decorative vaults. The liwan (*īvān, al-īwān,* or *līwān*) — a vaulted hall completely open on one end — which becomes rather high and is often flanked by two minarets, is given special emphasis. Stalactite vaults are used more and more and take on very complex forms.

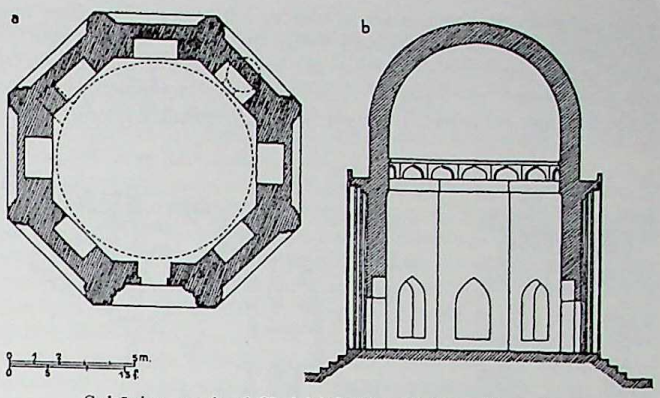
Unbaked mud bricks continue to be the preferred material for the cores of walls, which are generally faced with fired bricks. Vaults and domes are built entirely of fired brick. Stone construction is generally limited to Azerbaijan, where it is used for the lower part of walls; stone decoration is sometimes used, as in some caravanserais, due to the influence of Syrian architecture. One late Ilkhan building (1351), a shrine within the court of the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ ("Friday Mosque") of Shiraz, is completely faced with dressed stone slabs.

*Religious and funerary architecture.* The favorite mosque plan is the primitive Persian plan derived from the Chaḥār Ṭāq — four-sided building — of the Sassanians (see SASSANIAN ART) and developed in western Iran. This pavilion- or kiosk-mosque consists of a square, domed room sometimes preceded by a liwan. This is the plan of the Masjid-i-Bābā ʿAbd-Allāh of Nāyīn, A.H. 700/A.D. 1300; of the three mosques near Isfahan dated about 1325, Dashti, Kāj, and Eziran (the last a Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ); and of the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ of Ardabīl (Ardebil) of the beginning of the 14th century, which may, however, be a reworking of a Seljuk building.

The gigantic mosque of ʿAlī Shah in Tabriz seems to have consisted of a single huge liwan which opened onto an enormous court. However, the typical plan of the Iranian mosque, best known from monuments of the Timurid and Safavid periods (see SAFAVID ART), is an open rectangular court with four large liwans on the four principal axes; one of these liwans opens onto a domed room with the *qibla* wall, indicating the direction of



Varāmīn, plan of the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ (first half of 14th cent.).




Sulṭāniya, tomb of Chelebi Oghlu: (*a*) Plan; (*b*) section.

Mecca and prayer. The earliest example of this plan is the Seljuk Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ of Zavāra of A.H. 530/A.D. 1135. Under the Ilkhan rulers this ideal was completely realized only in the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ of Varāmīn (Veramin; FIG. 789), and, later, in the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ of Kirmān (Kerman) A.H. 750/A.D. 1349, built under the Muzaffarid dynasty. The mosque at Farūmad, dated by D. N. Wilber (1955) about 1320, has two liwans opposite each other; A. Godard (1949) describes this plan as typical of the Masjid-i- Jāmiʿ of Khurasan.

The funerary monuments are mostly derived from Seljuk models. They can be divided into two large categories: the tomb-tower and what will here be called the mausoleum, a form in which horizontal elements predominate. The tomb-tower has a square, round, or polygonal plan and is covered by a dome, often hidden by a pointed roof. This roof, conical or polyhedral, derives from a Seljuk model widely used in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In northern Iran the exterior walls are articulated by semicolumns and triangular projections. The mausoleum of Öljeitü (Uljeitu) at Sulṭāniya, A.H. 705–13/A.D. 1305–13 (PL. 400), was the principal model which inspired later Persian and Indian tombs. This mausoleum — like the lost tomb of Ghāzān — lay in the center of a walled complex of buildings. Both buildings and walls have disappeared. The mausoleum is an enormous octagonal structure with walls 22 ft. thick enclosing a domed chamber 80 ft. in diameter. The north façade is extended by two blunted triangular elements which give a rectangular appearance to the building and contained spiral staircases. The upper wall is hollowed out to form a gallery with three large openings on each side. Over the gallery runs a large stalactite cornice which encircles the drum. The terrace at the base of the dome is reached by a third staircase on the southwest. A small minaret stands on the terrace at each corner of the octagon. The dome is ovoid in section and has but one shell — not two, as is sometimes claimed. Its thickness decreases in steps from impost to crown. This construction, which was left in view in the dome of the Masjid-i-Jāmiʿ of Varāmīn, is here covered with a thin veneer of bricks carried by light arches. Originally the dome was completely covered with blue glazed bricks. The exterior decoration consists of shallow, slender, blind arches characteristic of the period. The most important decorations are on the east, west, and north façades. The building gives an impression of lightness, in spite of its enormous mass, because it is articulated by galleries, openings, and niches — unlike its forerunner, the mausoleum of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar at Merv (ca. 1157). Also in Sulṭāniya is the famous complex of Chelebi Oghlu with an octagonal tomb (FIG. 790). Datable about 1320 is the mausoleum at Ziāret discovered by Wilber in 1937, which is an interesting link in the evolution from the Seljuk enclosed block plan to the richer Safavid plan, an octagonal exterior with four portals within high, deep niches leading into a square hall covered by a double dome. The Hārūnīya of Ṭūs, dated by A. U. Pope (1938) to the beginning of the 14th century, is directly inspired by the earliest Safavid tomb, the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar.

A group of mausoleums at Qum, datable between A.H. 677/A.D. 1278–79 and the end of the 14th century, occupies

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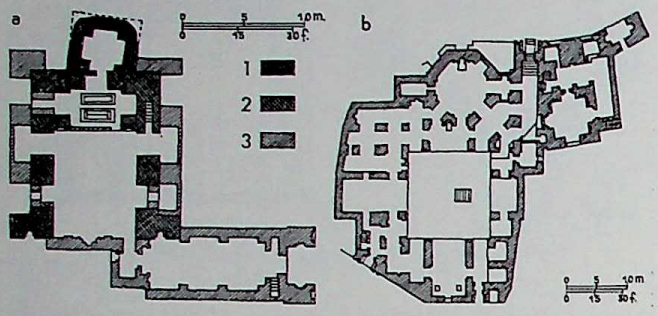
a special place in the history of this architecture. The plan and elevation seem to be derived from the older architecture of Azerbaijan; the decoration, for the most part, is influenced by the mausoleum of Öljeitü. The plans are octagonal, and the buildings are covered by domes hidden beneath pyramid roofs.




*Left* (*a*): Linjān, near Isfahan, plan of sanctuary of Pīr-i-Bakrān (early 14th cent.): *Key*: (1) Pre-Ilkhan period; (2) first Ilkhan period; (3) second Ilkhan period. *Right* (*b*): Naṭanz, plan of the complex of structures (first half of 14th cent.).

The exterior walls have a characteristic batter. The Imāmzāda Ja'far (A.H. 677/A.D. 1278–79) has segmented arches on the exterior walls, a decorative motif almost unknown in Seljuk art but very common in the Mongol period. Two tombs near Isfahan, the Pīr-i-Bakrān (FIG. 791) and the mausoleum at Gārlādān, 1315–20 (FIG. 792), are of a different type; their structure consists essentially of a large deep liwan.

Picturesque sanctuaries were often constructed around the tombs of venerated persons, complexes including a shrine, a monastery (khankah, *khānaqāh*), and a mosque. Two famous examples of this type of complex are the sanctuary of Bāyazīd at Bisṭām, developed between A.H. 700/A.D. 1300 and A.H. 713/A.D. 1313, and that of Sheik 'Abdu' ṣ-Samad al-Iṣfahānī at Naṭanz (FIG. 791), which includes a mosque with four liwans of the type previously mentioned. The oldest khankah is that of Pīr Ḥusayn at Bākū — very ruined now — erected in A.H. 641/A.D. 1242 by a local dynasty.

*Secular architecture.* Almost nothing is known about Ilkhan secular architecture. Even in the time of Abū-Sa'īd, 1316–35, the Mongol court had not lost the habits of the steppes: the ruler and his court spent the winter in a city of tents on the plains of Azerbaijan and at least a part of the summer in a different village of tents in the high valleys of western Azerbaijan. The sources do mention many royal and noble palaces, but none of these remain, probably because they were built of easily perishable material. For example, the palace of Jalā'īr at Tabriz is known only through the report of R. González de Clavijo (*Historia del gran Tamorlan, e itinerario y enarracion del viage*, Seville, 1582). The only remaining fragments of the great palace at Takht-i-Sulaymān, in part reconstructed by Abāqā (1265–81), are the piers of an enormous liwan, perhaps the throne room of the palace. The façades of the piers are decorated by two stories of niches with stalactite heads. There are also some badly preserved caravanserais at Sīn (A.H. 730–31/A.D. 1330–31), Sarcham (A.H. 733/A.D. 1332–33), and Marand (ca. 1330–35). The plan is the usual one for these buildings, a very spacious rectangular court with a single entrance and quarters along the four sides. Except for its proportions, this plan is quite similar to that of the madrasah-mosque. Polygonal or semicircular projections generally appear on the external perimeter and at the corners. The entries of the caravanserais of Sīn and of Sarcham are especially worthy of note. Besides the usual portals, the former has a hexagonal vestibule extending into the interior of the court, the latter a marble and sandstone entry of a type inspired by Syrian models.

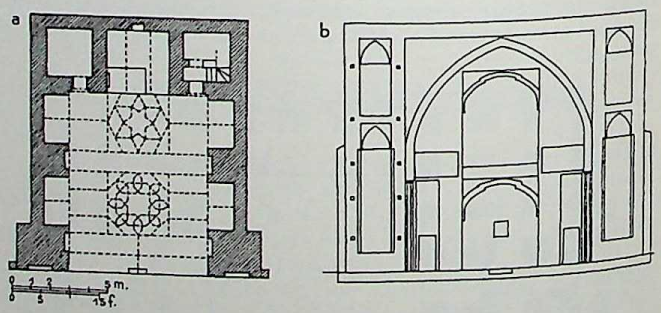
*Architectural decoration.* The decorative display of brick, which had been one of the distinctive characteristics of Seljuk architecture, was not completely abandoned in the Ilkhan period but gave way before an ever-growing use of glazed ceramics. Large interior and exterior surfaces were covered with great faïence mosaics of geometric, floral, and calligraphic motifs.

As far as can be determined, large wall surfaces were first decorated with mosaic faïence in Iran only in the 13th century. The technique was probably reimported at that time from Asia Minor, where the Persian artists had fled before the Mongol invaders. One of the first Iranian monuments with large areas of mosaic faïence is the mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sulṭāniya. Here the palette is limited to four colors, light and dark blue, white, and a little black; in Isfahan about the middle of the 14th century, green and light brown are added to these. A prominent characteristic of the architectural decoration of the interiors is the widespread use of stucco, variously plain, modeled, appliqué, and painted.

The mihrab — prayer niche marking the direction of Mecca — of A.H. 710/A.D. 1310 in the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Isfahan (PL. 403) is still close to the Seljuk tradition. Perhaps the example most remarkable for its style is the stucco decoration of the Gunbad-i-'Alaviyān, dated about 1315. On the other hand the baroque flavor is more accentuated in the mihrab of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Abarqūh, dated A.H. 738/A.D. 1337–38 (PL. 403). Although the surviving monuments suggest that stone and marble were rarely employed, the sources frequently mention marble decoration, as in the court of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of 'Alī Shah at Tabriz. The subject has not yet been sufficiently studied. Besides the portal of the caravanserai at Sarcham, three decorative sculptures which may come from Hamadān, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, deserve mention. Two of these are parts of a balustrade, dated A.H. 703/A.D. 1303–04, decorated in relief with geometric plaitwork designs and lions close to Seljuk prototypes.

PAINTING AND MINIATURES. In painting, as well as in ceramics and metalwork, Far Eastern influence is most evident in the repertory of motifs and especially through a particular esthetic concept which completely renews Iranian art. Pictorial design and the impressionistic tendencies of the great Sung and Yüan Chinese traditions (see CHINESE ART) take the place of the ornamental spirit and linear methods of Iran, because of the Mongols' cultural dependency on China. It is not known whether Persian artists went to China before the 15th century; but it is certain that Chinese artists, imported by the Mongol rulers, went to Iran, like those whom Arghūn called in to paint the walls of Buddhist temples.

The works of these artists, as well as the whole corpus of secular mural painting, a form still popular in the Ilkhan period, are lost. Al-Makkari reports, for example, that Sharīf al-Dīn Juvaynī (who was related to the great Mongol historian Juvaynī) had in his luxurious palace a bath decorated with murals representing the arts of love. Thus, the only paintings of the period to survive are miniatures, many of which are of a high artistic level. The major center of Ilkhan painting was




Gārlādān, near Isfahan, liwan: (*a*) Plan; (*b*) section.

Tabriz, including Rab'-i-Rashīdī, the focus of culture and art, where the forms which renewed Iranian painting were developed.

The most characteristic and important elements of the Chinese influence are the new conception of space and the lively, often romantic feeling for nature. Drawing becomes nervous

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and agitated, with vibrant, indefinite contours suggesting the changing aspects of nature. The dazzling Iranian sense of color gives way to Chinese monochrome, grays enlivened only by touches of subdued tints. The human figure, which had been depicted in a stocky and stereotyped fashion, is now painted more gracefully and with truer proportions; drapery folds give the impression of depth. In accordance with Iranian practice, figures constitute the main subjects, but the background landscapes are no longer merely schematically and symbolically represented. Skies are enlivened by typical curly white clouds with twisted garland shapes: ground lines are broken to suggest depth; light crests of foam top water surfaces; mountains lose their smooth, sugar-loaf appearance; animals are observed more carefully than before and lose their heraldic and decorative rigidity; the horse is the favorite animal subject; trees become larger and assume twisted and varied shapes; leaves are not minutely drawn. The blossoming tree lacking leaves but covered with flowers first appears as a motif.

Architectural depiction, on the other hand, follows the preceding traditions more closely. Interiors are always evoked or suggested rather than spatially defined. Only rarely is Chinese influence evident in a detail, such as the profile of a roof. Not until the middle of the 14th century are new elements introduced; furnishings are more varied, and rugs and cushions appear more frequently. Typically Chinese is the motif of the window opening onto a landscape.

Chinese influence first appears in details of minatures at the beginning of the 13th century, then progressively fuses with Iranian painting traditions, and is finally assimilated into new forms. This process illustrates the typical "capacity for synthesis of heterogeneous elements which is surely a general and fundamental characteristic of the Iranian spirit" (A. Bausani, 1959).

The sources give numerous names of miniature painters of the Ilkhan period, but in no instance can the known works be attributed with any certainty. An attempt has been made by E. Schroeder (1939) to assign a body of works to two painters who, according to Dūst Muḥammad, were the most important of the Mongol school. These are Aḥmad Mūsā, to whom is attributed the *Fables* of Bidpai in Istanbul, and his disciple, Shams al-Dīn, who is supposed to have painted at least some of the miniatures of the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* ("Book of Kings"). Not until the end of the 14th century, however, is a miniature signed by its painter, Junayd Naqqāsh; he illustrated the *Divan* of Khwājū Kirmānī, dated 1396, already within the Timurid period.

The *Manāfi' al-Ḥayavān* (a bestiary, Pierpont Morgan Lib., New York, M. 500), which was copied at Marāgha by order of Ghāzān in 1295, 1297, or 1299, is the earliest dated manuscript known from the Ilkhan period. Its 94 miniatures, done by different hands at different times, can be divided into four groups: *A*, traditional Iranian style; *B*, early Mongol style, showing strong Chinese influence; *C*, later than *B* because of the particular blending of styles *A* and *B* and their motifs (for example, Persian flowers and leaves on Chinese stems and trunks); *D*, the latest, datable to the middle of the 14th century, showing a complete assimilation of the Chinese influence, molding the elements of style *C* into a unified Iranian style.

The *Jāmi' at-Tavārīkh* ("Universal History"), which tells the history of the Mongols in relation to the history of the world, survives only in fragments, in spite of the care of its author, the famous minister and historian, Rashīd al-Dīn, to commission many copies in both Persian and Arabic translation from his calligraphy ateliers. The most important of these fragments are collected in two volumes, one in the library of the University of Edinburgh (X, PL. 90) and the other in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London (Arabic ms. 26). The former is dated A.H. 707–08/A.D. 1307–08 and has 70 miniatures; the latter, A.H. 714/A.D. 1314, is illustrated by 100 miniatures. These two series of paintings, executed by many hands in a variety of styles, are exceptionally important in the history of Ilkhan art for their documentary and esthetic value. Except for one group that still follows the conservative Iranian current with Byzantine additions, most of the miniatures result from a combination of traditional and Chinese forms, in which the predominating human figure is elongated, elegant, and more richly expressive; the series of battle scenes is particularly beautiful. Twenty-one miniatures from the fragmentary manuscript of the *Jāmi' at-Tavārīkh* in the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta have been published by Basil Gray, who attributes them to various hands, all from the second half of the 14th century.

Most of the miniatures of the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* are to be considered among the masterpieces of all times. This manuscript is one of the oldest copies of Firdausī's great poem, which was frequently illustrated in the Ilkhan period, probably because the Mongols developed a pronounced taste for epic during the 13th and 14th centuries. The 58 large miniatures of the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* (PL. 401; X, PL. 88) — unfortunately scattered among numerous public and private collections in Europe and America — are executed by different hands, with two artists often collaborating on a single painting. There are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the dating of this manuscript, which took many years to produce. Eustache de Lorey — followed by Ernst Kühnel — dates the pictures about 1335, while Eric Schroeder sees no trace of the style of Rab'-i-Rashīdī and puts them at 1350, taking 1375 as the final date for the latest. On the other hand, Ivan Stchoukine would fix the date between 1320 and 1330, holding that the earliest paintings are still in the style of the atelier at Rab'-i-Rashīdī; they show contacts with those of the *Jāmi' at-Tavārīkh* of 1314 and present a balance between the Chinese and Iranian elements. He assigns a second group, which shows a strong revival of Iranian characteristics, to the second part of the reign of Abū-Sa'īd, between 1330 and 1335, and says the latest were done under the Jalā'-īrid Dynasty, perhaps in the time of Shah Ḥasan-i-Buzurg (1337–56). A group of *Shāh-nāma* miniatures of small format, like those now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and the Kofler-Truniger Collection in Lucerne, and the manuscript formerly in the Schultz Collection, is datable to about 1330. In this group heterogeneous Chinese and Iranian elements coexist; the Iranian predominate. The oldest dated example of the *Shāh-nāma* (1330), with 89 illustrations, is in Istanbul (Topkapi Saray Library); this manuscript, together with one in the Leningrad State Library dated 1332 and some leaves dispersed in various collections (one in the Vever Collection, Paris, dated 1341) can be attributed to a provincial school of hybrid character, perhaps Shiraz. In an equally provincial but different style which includes occasional Chinese influences is the *Kitāb-i-Samak-i-'Ayyār* of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Ouseley 379–81), datable to about the middle of the 14th century. Any accent on realism has been lost in the Galen manuscript in the Vienna Staatsbibliothek (A.F. 10). From the middle of the 14th century, the Mongol school is completely Persianized; the *Kalīla u Dimna* in Paris (Bib. Nat., Ms. arabe 3467) and the less fine miniatures of the copy in Oxford are quite typical of this period. They mark a return to the traditional coloristic vision; pictorial space no longer expresses an emotional relationship between man and the nature surrounding him. The new spatial interpretation of this text becomes typical in Timurid painting.

CERAMICS. All activity at Rayy (Rhages) ceased following the Mongol destruction in 1220, but the potteries of Kāshān recovered immediately from the hardships suffered in 1224, as we know from the famous mihrab signed by Ḥasan ibn-Arabshāh al-Naqqāsh, dated A.H. 623/A.D. 1226 (Berlin, Staat. Mus.).

The production of lusterware is quite conservative and repeats old Seljuk motifs throughout most of the 13th and into the 14th century, but the later products reflect Far Eastern influences. This progressive change of style can be traced in the abundant series of pieces dating at least to 1339. Luster-painted tiles in eight-point star and cross shapes are perhaps the most notable group of this type of pottery. From Kāshān, the center of their production, tiles got the name of *kāshī*. Tiles were widely used both in architectural decoration and in mihrabs, as in the Imāmzāda Yaḥyā of Varāmīn, which has a mihrab of about 1265 bearing the signature of a famous Kāshān potter, 'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ṭāhir. A *kāshī* signed by his son Yūsuf, as well as a related group dated 1310–11,

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bear new motifs from China, such as the lotus flower, the peony, and the phoenix; Chinese influence is also reflected in the more naturalistic style of the ornaments.

Relief decoration, previously applied only around inscriptions, begins to be used more widely. Cobalt blue and turquoise are ever more widespread. Naturalistic motifs decorate tiles datable to the third decade of the 14th century, such as that of the British Museum dated A.H. 729/A.D. 1329 (PL. 402) and products of the last phase, dated 1337–38. A similar evolution starts at the beginning of the century in bowl design; for example, a bowl in the Metropolitan Museum has some figures in Mongol dress, and one from the Rabenou Collection, New York, has a phoenix.

At the beginning of the 14th century the production of the *mīnā'ī* type of ceramics (see CERAMICS) seems to die out. It is followed by the more limited palette of white and red and gold leaf applied on a turquoise or deep blue ground, the *lajvardina* ware, mentioned by Abū'l-Qāsim, son and brother of the two potters of Kāshān mentioned above. His short treatise, written at Tabriz in 1301, gives important information on certain contemporary ceramic techniques. We have only one dated example of *lajvardina* ware, which was used both for bowls and revetment tiles; this is a fragmentary tile of A.H. 715/A.D. 1314 in the Ettinghausen Collection in Washington, D.C. The plant and animal decoration has a characteristically naturalistic quality.

The major portion of the Ilkhan production, however, consists of underglaze ceramics. A rather fine class comes from an unidentified center — perhaps Kāshān — active between the last quarter of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century. The decoration, usually limited to a medallion, is painted on a plain ground in dark green and pale blue with touches of purple under an alkaline creamy white glaze. A few pieces are painted in a somewhat naturalistic manner with feathery, archaistic foliage enlivened by birds, hares, and horses. Examples are the bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dated A.H. 672/A.D. 1274, and one with radial decoration and no figures, dated A.H. 729/A.D. 1329, in Toronto (Royal Ontario Mus.).

However, the pottery whose style is most typical of Ilkhan ceramics is Sulṭānabād ware, no examples of which are dated. The very numerous pieces, divided into three groups, are usually called by this name because the first bowls of this type to become known in the West were found mostly in the environs of the modern city of Sulṭānabād, founded in 1808. The body, composed of quartz and white clay, is not very refined and has a sandy appearance; the color is pinkish or buff with gray discolorations. Decoration in greenish black, cobalt blue, pale blue, and turquoise is covered by an alkaline glaze which is rather thick and tends to form pools, crackle, and become iridescent. The favorite forms are bowls with hemispheric or angular profiles and a flat rim which projects inward.

The decoration, a flowery and leafy pattern usually enlivened by birds, hares, phoenixes, or felines, is treated in a naturalistic manner inspired by Chinese influence, which can also be seen in the treatment of the elongated human figures wearing Mongol dress that often appear in the circular bottoms. The decoration, organized in zones which are often divided into rectangular sections or interrupted by medallions, probably derives from Mongol textiles, In general the effect is sober and refined, held down to gray or brown tones reminiscent of the taste of the Chinese monochromes.

Although the center of production of Sulṭānabād pottery is unknown, since no kiln has been discovered, the fine body and the general style of the first class of ware provide some evidence for attributing this class to Kāshān. The decoration is usually distributed in radiating, wedge-shaped sectors, each given over to a single motif (e.g., interlace, arabesques with large leaves, inscriptions, and running animals) repeated in alternation in other sectors. The ornaments are outlined in black directly on the body of the vase, allowing the white forms to stand out on a background of little strokes or dots. Cobalt or pale blue are used to emphasize certain sections. One of the most refined examples is the handsome polylobed bowl of the Hitchcock Collection in Los Angeles. In contrast, the second class has a tendency to hide the white ground of the bowl as much as possible under gray dashes or dark blue hatching, which include the plant motifs painted directly on the bowl in various dark colors ranging from black to gray. Patterning with little dots, often in groups of threes, on clothes and animals, is characteristic. The third class has many points of contact with the second, and it has been thought that they might come from the same center of production. The bowl is completely covered with a grayish or brownish-gray slip, on which the decoration is executed in the thick white slip of the body clay that stands up in low relief with the contours and details marked with black or dark gray; the color is also used for the background cross-hatching. Occasionally the relief sections are emphasized by touches of dark blue. Pseudo-calligraphy, also in relief, completes the decoration. From the great mass of material can be distinguished a beautiful bowl with brown slip in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the small jar with gray slip in the De Ciccio Collection in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Some of the most typical Syrian and Egyptian ceramics of the 14th century and some classes of the ceramics of the Golden Horde found in Sarai Berke, U.S.S.R., are derived from the Sulṭānabād wares.

METALWORK. The great smithies for metalworking which had flourished in northeast Persia, Khurasan, and Transoxiana also suffered from the Mongol invasions, but their activity seems not to have died out completely during the 13th century. The production of this period has not yet been sufficiently defined, but some existing works certainly belong to it: for example, the silver inlaid bronze candlestick in the Teheran Archaeological Museum, which repeats favorite motifs of Seljuk metalwork. A group of objects dating about the middle of the 13th century, on the other hand, shows a rather crude mixture of traditional Persian motifs and forms and the decorative repertory of the Mesopotamian school, as in the ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The combination of the Persian style with the Mesopotamian and the Mameluke (see MAMELUKE ART) is characteristic of all the Ilkhan metalwork in more or less obvious forms. Mesopotamian metal inlay seems to have been inspired by Persian technique, which it developed and perfected. By the third decade of the 13th century, Mesopotamian metalwork had already realized completely its forms and repertory: the famous ewer dated 1232, from the Blacas Collection in the British Museum, is one of the most beautiful and typical examples of this art. Brass is substituted more and more for bronze, and gold inlay replaces red copper; human and animal figures are always well defined in their details; there is a strong tendency to mask the entire surface of the object by minute patterning of the ornament. Persian works, on the contrary, show preference for a technique of inlay and engraving which avoids rigid and precise contours. There is also a reluctance, due to the ancient tradition, to cover the whole surface with ornaments. Toward the end of the 13th century, the Far Eastern influence is evident in both the Persian and Mesopotamian styles in the more naturalistic treatment of the plant ornaments (among which appear the lotus flower and the peony) and the typical elongated human form. The pen box decorated with signs of the zodiac in the British Museum, dated A.H. 680/A.D. 1281 and signed by Maḥmud ibn-Sunqur of Bagdad, certainly belongs in the Iranian sphere. Far Eastern influences are evident in certain ornaments and in the battle scene occupying the interior bottom. This object is to be considered one of the earliest certain attributions to Ilkhan metalwork (PL. 404).

Three important objects, bronze spheres inlaid with gold and silver which were joints for the bars of a window grating, can be placed at the beginning of the 14th century — they bear the name of Öljeitü, 1304–16. Mesopotamian influence, absent in the pen box, is predominant here and in the little bucket in The Hermitage, Leningrad, dated A.H. 725/A.D. 1325, on which are small medallions with lotus flowers. Mesopotamian elements are organized according to the simple Iranian system of overall distribution of motifs in the beautiful polygonal box in the Louvre, perhaps datable to the second or third decade of the 14th century. Not much later is the splendid polygonal brass

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basin (Met. Mus.), which is completely Iranian in style, although the type of decoration is Mameluke (PL. 404).

Iranian taste was revived in an even purer form in the middle of the 14th century as, for example, on a polygonal box in the St. Louis City Art Museum, where the Mesopotamian motifs are relegated to the margins. Here the fillers are conceived according to the older examples of Khurasan — although they have become somewhat more rigid — but organized in perfect balance with the figure medallions. The same over-all distribution scheme can be seen in a goblet in the British Museum; here, however, the more naturalistic plant ornaments effect a better fusion of the various components. Similar but more stylized designs appear on little caskets inlaid in gold and silver in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Harari Collection (Cairo). Perhaps these belong to the last quarter of the 14th century; the surfaces are ornamented with airy circling designs containing medallions with elongated human figures. Similar figures appear on a series of bowls datable within the second half of the 14th century in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and from the Cartier Collection, now in the British Museum. The court scenes, hunts, and polo games within medallions and cartouches which often decorate these bowls probably were inspired by contemporary miniatures; these designs clearly anticipate Timurid art.

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Umberto SCERRATO

Illustrations: PLS. 400–404; 4 figs. in text.

**ILLUSTRATION.** See GRAPHIC ARTS.

**IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM.** Suppression of the human image has been a recurrent phenomenon in the history of art; and since this phenomenon usually reflects a definite religious (or magico-religious) attitude, its incidence in widely scattered times and places should be an important consideration in any study of images. Although disavowal or avoidance of images is sometimes associated with primitivism in art and reli-

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gion, it often represents — especially when it occurs in cultures having a highly developed artistic tradition — a thoroughly considered point of view that is consciously intellectual in character and polemical in intent. It must not, therefore, be confused with the taste for geometric abstraction and with other nonfigural artistic tendencies manifest in many periods and cultures (see GEOMETRIC STYLE; MIMESIS; NONOBJECTIVE ART; ORNAMENTATION). Nonetheless, when the deliberate rejection of the image on religious grounds becomes a pervasive cultural element that endures for centuries, as in the Islamic world, it inevitably fosters the development of rich and highly refined ornamental art.

SUMMARY. "Iconic" and "aniconic" (col. 799). The problem of "aniconism" in prehistoric art (col. 801). The aniconic concept of the supreme being in primitive religions (col. 802). Iconism and aniconism in the civilizations of antiquity and the Far East (col. 805): *Antiquity; The Far East.* The tradition of aniconic monotheism in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (col. 808): *Judaism; Early Christianity and iconoclasm; Islam; Reappearance of aniconism in medieval and modern Western civilization.*

"ICONIC" AND "ANICONIC." The boundary between the concepts "iconic" and "aniconic," which would at first appear to be quite precisely definable, since they are nominal antitheses, is anything but simple and clear-cut. In the narrowest sense, the term "iconic" refers only to portrait representation; and in this context, "portrait" may mean either the generic or the specific effigy of a human being: that is, it may refer to a category of persons (e.g., the statues of Greek athletes, which are simply representations of the "idea" of the human category of athlete), or it may present a recognizable individual (see CHARACTERIZATION; PORTRAITURE). Suppose, however, that the subject is an animal, the representation of which is equally realistic in intent — hence, an icon of its kind; or a plant, so characterized as to be identifiable as an oak tree or an evergreen; or perhaps a meticulously drawn hut or temple. How are all these cases and others like them to be judged? Clearly, on the theoretical plane the definition of "portrait icon" should be broadened to include such cases; thus, by extension, only art that shrinks from making images of any aspect of visual reality would be termed "aniconic." In practice, however, the term "aniconic" is understood to convey rejection of the human image, and a divinity represented as a cat or an oak tree or a house — or even one that simply lacks certain characteristic human features such as the face (PLS. 406, 411) — is therefore considered aniconic.

To the mutability of the concepts themselves is added still another complication, namely the variation inherent in the process of perfecting artistic forms or in their degeneration. It is possible, for example, to regard as essentially iconic a religious image that has been only partially successful in its attempt to render the human figure, so long as such intent was present. Should a representation of this kind be considered iconic, despite its technical limitations? It would seem so. If, however, in the course of frequent and successively geometricizing repetition, such a form ultimately developed into a complex of lines and shapes entirely divorced from the original meaning and intention, how should the figure thus achieved be judged? In the same way, a geometric or abstract representation of a numen (deity), conceived not as a human being but as an elemental force or symbol and rendered in terms of conventional lines, volumes, and colors (thus constituting a genuinely aniconic or preiconic representation), through an accompanying process of humanization of the religious principal may gradually assume external human characteristics, until it becomes at least potentially a human figure. In this form, then, iconic? Evidently it is, since the most feasible method, when one categorizes objects, is to abstract the end product from the preceding stages in its chain of development.

Does there exist a single criterion that would serve to distinguish the iconic from the aniconic representation? Formally and objectively, it does not seem so. The only valid procedure would be for the scholar to record, perhaps even case by case, the coefficient of will or intention on the part of the maker of an object: his desire, conscious or not, to present an accurate likeness of a man. Such judgments are necessarily precarious in some ways, however, involving as they do the anthropomorphic prejudice of our society — normal, comfortable, and appropriate for us but untenable for objective appraisal. The notion that only something fashioned in human form can be called iconic, though rooted in the contemporary situation, is in principal antihistorical, since it tends to posit future judgment on the basis of what many well be a summary and incidental knowledge of the past. Our criterion for what constitutes an icon or image very likely may not coincide with that of the different environment which produced a certain artifact. Hence, creation and criticism often do not agree in their canons, for the creator generally reveals a psychological process differing profoundly from that of the people who appraise the creation centuries later. For example, the magnificent bronze head from Nineveh (I, PL. 508) is termed "iconic" (it has even been ascribed the name of Sargon, the great king of the 3d millennium B.C.), because it possesses all the elements of the human physiognomy; yet it is not a portrait of anyone in the modern sense but is actually the product of a confluence of representational conventions. Strictly speaking, the term "iconic" should be reserved for those areas, peoples, and periods which did in fact produce "portraits" (such as the Greeks, who made idealized portraits before the 4th century B.C. and individualized ones later, the Etruscans, the Romans, etc.). In these borderline cases, it is obvious that our judgment should be generous. Both forms of "portrait" representation will here be considered iconic; however, the identifiable image of particularized iconism must be distinguished from the idealized image of conventional iconism. The latter may be defined exactly as the Stoics explained the iconic nature (the portrait character) of the Phidian *Zeus* (Dio Chrysostom, *Olympic Oration*). That is, the creation and existence in the mind of the artist of a figure at once human and superhuman is presupposed. This interior image, of a superior nature and worthy of a god, is then realized with suitable technique in the precious materials of gold and ivory, thus producing a true and proper "portrait" of Zeus.

If the iconic concept is to be identified, both in its broader and its more restricted senses, with a portrait intention, then conversely the aniconic principle must signify deliberate rejection of the portrait. The characteristic physical traits (above all, the face) that represent and evoke a particular human or — by way of obvious anthropomorphic metaphor — divine personality are eliminated; thus, the human figure is at times represented as faceless (PLS. 406, 411). Latent in the aniconic principle itself, however, and governed by the intensity of the fear or the religious proscription that motivates it, is the implied sanction of total repression of even the generalized human image, or, indeed, of the representation of any living thing. At this extreme, aniconism inevitably provides a stimulus toward purely decorative art, as in the Byzantine Empire during the iconoclastic period and in the Islamic world (PLS. 408, 409). Disavowal of explicit representation (which might be termed "limited aniconism"), on the other hand, encourages cryptic and symbolic representation, often by this means attempting to reconcile the desire for some expression of reality with the professed avoidance of specific representation. In one sense, therefore, that art is also aniconic which presents human or divine reality by means of allusions or symbols (PL. 405; see SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY) or which seeks to distort and disguise it (see MASKS), as is often found not only in primitive or folk art but also in the imagery of some of the great spiritual movements of civilization, such as Judaism and Christianity.

Silvio FERRI

The forces of iconism and aniconism have been of fundamental importance in the history of art. In theory, religious manifestations of the iconic type are commonly accompanied by closely related development of painting and sculpture. (The most obvious examples are Greek and Hindu art, with their multitudes of divinities and supernatural beings, individually portrayed.) Aniconic forms of religion, on the contrary, are believed to repress any impulse toward figural representation. In reality,

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this hypothetical correlation between iconism and aniconism has not always been so simple and straightforward.

Religious iconism, through its demands for massive production of devotional images (in which interest is concentrated more on the subject than on workmanship or esthetic quality), can constrain the favored forms to mere artisan production or commercial manufacture (as has happened, for instance, in the modern output of "holy images"). Conversely, the proscription of religious subjects has not invariably caused the gradual decline of the visual arts but has frequently channeled their energies to secular themes, such as landscape (PL. 407), still life, and genre. It has also been demonstrated that strict aniconism can orient both the creative imagination and the public taste toward pure ornament and symbolism (the latter without entirely renouncing figural motifs such as animals, plants, etc.).

The more spiritualized religious conceptions — in general, the monotheistic religions — tend more or less rigorously to aniconism: the more severely aniconic the attitude, the less anthropomorphic the conception of divinity and the less important the place assigned in the theology to intermediaries between God and man. (These intercessors may be conceived either as personifications of divine attributes or as human natures, chosen because of their preeminent virtue to perform a mediatory function for man before the divinity.) The various forms of polytheism were and remain iconic in the highest degree, and not infrequently the iconism of preexistent or neighboring polytheistic cults has influenced monotheistic belief, resulting in the introduction into the latter tradition of such intercessors between God and man. In this way, injection of the artistic concepts of polytheism into a monotheistic culture may serve to modify the original rigid monotheism, with a consequent defensive reaction on the part of its unswerving adherents. This reaction sometimes takes the form of a sweeping rejection of all figural art; the heated controversy and ideological tension that may accompany it has on occasion erupted in vandalism and iconoclasm.

Outside the religious sphere proper, the contraposition of iconism and aniconism has extended to philosophy, politics, and morality, particularly in those historical situations where philosophy and politics have been intimately connected with religion. "Sacred" iconism and aniconism, then, have secular counterparts: the more stringent and rationally derived social, political, and philosophical systems tend to reiterate the aniconism of monotheistic religions; symbolic-fantastic cultural currents incline to a form of iconism analogous to that of polytheism; and historicism (both idealistic and materialistic) places a value on the image comparable to that characteristic of forms of monotheism which are anthropomorphicizing or inclined to admit intercessors between man and God.

Rosario Assunto

THE PROBLEM OF "ANICONISM" IN PREHISTORIC ART. Great prominence has been given to — and many generalizations formed about — the assumed absence or, at any rate, the rarity of representations of the human figure in relation to the preponderance of animal subjects in the great mural art of the Upper Paleolithic age. In truth, however, the anthropomorphic theme is anything but rare in paleolithic art, and representations of the human figure are particularly common in its earlier phases. For example, the art of the Aurignacian-Perigordian period is characterized by abundant production of the so-called "Venuses," female statuettes usually interpreted as representations of a mother goddess, which have been found throughout most of Europe and beyond the Urals as far as Siberia (PL. 351; VIII, PL. 235; IX, PL. 247). These are sculptures in the round and are decidedly realistic, even though some of them reveal a tendency toward extreme exaggeration of certain parts of the body. Although facial particulars have been omitted in the great majority, there are examples (such as the little head from Brassempouy; VIII, PL. 235) in which they are clearly and accurately indicated. The general lack of delineation in the faces — and indeed, very often, the absence of arms and feet — seems due not so much to a deliberate purpose of omission as to the great value the paleolithic artist placed on the attributes of femininity, an emphasis that led him to slight the parts of the body not connected with sexuality and maternity.

Succeeding phases of paleolithic art, particularly the Magdalenian, have left us other representations of the human body, both male and female, in the form of statuettes in the round (rare), carvings on artifacts of bone and on stones, graffiti, rock paintings, and low reliefs. Still, these examples are conspicuously fewer than the zoomorphic representations, to which the interests and energies of the Magdalenian artist were almost exclusively devoted. Moreover, the human figure, whether represented in mobiliary or mural art, was in most cases disguised and expressed in hybrid anthropo-zoomorphic forms (X, PL. 133). Often the facial features were in some way masked and thus rendered undecipherable, even when the body of the figure was represented in an absolutely lifelike manner; this trait gives rise to the impression that the paleolithic artist wanted to depersonalize the figure he had created. However, along with these anonymous or deliberately monstrous beings, there exist genuine attempts at portrait accuracy — heads of individuals, both male and female, in which the taste for physiognomic details is manifested in a perfectly free and spontaneous form. A series of such portraits, incised on fragments of stone, have come to light in France, in the cave of La Marche.

In brief, on the basis of the available evidence, it is not possible to regard paleolithic art as characteristically aniconic. Nevertheless, since the known documents are chronologically distributed (or better, scattered) over a period of thousands of years, one cannot exclude categorically the possibility of periods when there was no anthropomorphic representation between the periods represented by the relatively few surviving examples. The same judgment may be advanced for the surviving examples of post-paleolithic art, which are indeed rather modest in number compared with the vestiges of the Paleolithic period. In the mesolithic rock art of eastern Spain, anthropomorphic iconography approaches and in many cases outweighs the zoomorphic in sheer quantity of representations. The beautiful and dynamic human figures are, like the animal figures, executed in solid-color silhouettes, with no interior suggestion of bodily or facial details. Often, however, the nose, forehead, mouth, and chin are clearly described in the simple profile of the face; hence, in this type, it is not accurate to speak of a depersonalization of the human figure. Numerous examples of anthropomorphic representation survive in the schematic rock art of the Spanish Neo-Aëneolithic period, in the severe geometricism reduced to simple crosses with forked bases, to the so-called "φ figures," and to comb-shaped and semicircular marks, the anthropomorphic interpretation of which is unanimously accepted.

In the rock art of the later metal ages, whether in the petroglyphs of the Alpine region or of Scandinavia, the human figure recurs constantly, in modes by turns realistic, schematic, or emphatically abstract. As with earlier epochs, because of the vague chronology of the known examples of post-paleolithic art, the possibility of the existence of aniconic phases no longer discernible cannot be denied a priori; but on the basis of the evidence available, such a hypothesis would be impossible either to prove or to support.

Paolo Graziosi

THE ANICONIC CONCEPT OF THE SUPREME BEING IN PRIMITIVE RELIGIONS. In the general consideration of aniconic attitudes toward the "sacred," particular significance attaches to the question of the figural representation of the supreme being in primitive cultures. The richest source of information on the subject, even though it requires some modification in details, is the multivolume *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1926–55) of Wilhelm Schmidt. Wherever the sources permitted, the author explicity noted whether each group with whose religion he dealt knew or — as was more often the case — were ignorant of figural representations of their supreme being (see DIVINITIES).

The conclusion of Schmidt is that, in general, the supreme being is conceived as invisible. As the reason for this, a disembodied nature, or resemblance to the spirit, is often adduced; not infrequently, the deity is compared to the wind. Usually,



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even when the supreme being is believed to have lived among men at the beginning of time, he could (or should) not be seen, neither then nor subsequently. Very often he is imagined as dwelling in some part of the sky, from whence derives his traditional title of "Sky God" or "Sky Father." Less often, in Africa and Asia, a conception of the supreme being as appearing in dazzling light is encountered; in other, even rarer cases the rainbow is thought to be the border of his mantle. Neither these last mentioned visible characteristics nor the figure of the supreme being as such are the objects of graphic representation (a fact not uncommonly explained in the words "we do not know what he looks like"); and even the attempt to present the supreme being figurally may be a religious offense, as among the Masai of Kenya and, according to H. Baumann (1935), among the Balunda of Angola. In fact, the Balunda believe that whoever tries to represent the supreme being (Ndjambi-Kalunga) will surely perish.

Naturally, the fact that the more primitive tribes are usually without the technical capacities for producing graphic, sculptural, or other visual representations should not be undervalued; nevertheless, this lack is not the sole reason for aniconic tendencies at such cultural levels.

At this point, it is necessary to indicate the exceptions to the general rule that primitive belief in a supreme being coincides with the absence of representations of that supernatural being. Such exceptions require special consideration, since they enable us to arrive at some general understanding of how the evolution from aniconism to represention of the supreme being comes about. One such exception occurs in southeastern Australia, where representations both of the supreme being and of semidivine terrestrial beings are found, for example, among the Yuin and the Wiradyuri-Kamilaroi. The explanation lies in the fact that only where syncretism of the supreme being and the tribal ancestor had taken place, with the consequent formation of the special figure of Daramulum, was the chief god endowed with a representation. In places where the concept of the supreme being remained pure (e.g., Mungan-ngaua of the Kurnai), this did not happen. A similar phenomenon has been described by Schmidt in connection with the Yuki-Kato Indians of north central California. Here, too, representation occurred only where the concept of the supreme being had been united with that of the primordial ancestor, thereby becoming a composite figure that took the form of a man. A like development is found among the Maidu, who represent the herald or intermediary rather than the being himself.

In northern Asia, among the Samoydes and the more northerly Tungus, the nature spirit (dispenser of good fortune in the hunt), who is in a sense a fragment of the supreme being, is often represented in human likeness under the trees of the forest. This materialization is in contrast to the conception of the supreme being, who is never represented. Such images indicate a second possibility for determining a divine iconography, not of the supreme being himself but of one of his notable attributes: that is, representation of a hypostasis. A third case, met among the primitive peoples of Asia and North America, concerns the so-called "sacred pole," in connection with which a precise distinction between the central pole of the house and the freestanding pole must be made. The sacred pole, while it does not *represent* the supreme being, is often clearly in symbolic relation with him. Schmidt holds that this third phenomenon could have developed only in northern regions, where climate requires dwellings more substantial than the beehive and screen huts built by primitive hunters and food gatherers elsewhere in the world, to whom such poles were unknown. It should be noted, however, that freestanding sacred poles have also been found in Brazilian territory. While the relationship of these poles to those in North America must be investigated further, the importance of this discovery lies in its having demonstrated that other hunter and lower food-gatherer groups were capable of symbolic conceptions and acts regarding the supreme being and his cult. Those besides Schmidt who have been concerned with this interesting problem include W. Müller, M. Eliade, and J. Haeckel (*Hochgott und Götter im alten Mexico*, Salzburg, 1959). Although further research is required, the problem of the sacred pole should probably be considered with the notions of the "cosmic tree," the "cosmic column," and so on, that have appeared both in ancient Europe and in the Orient and India.

Where systems of communication based on pictorial ideograms exist, there may also arise the tendency toward, or the necessity for, representation of the supreme being, either in symbolic terms or in actual images. According to Haeckel, among the Ojibwa (Algonquians) the pictorial ideograms carved into birch bark had a partially ritualistic character, since they served as memory aids in the recitation of sacred myths and chants. Since the supreme being was mentioned in the ritual, he was of necessity represented, in this case symbolically as a circle divided into four sectors (also the symbol of the world or the cosmos). The ideographic text *Walum Olum* of the Delawares, which was composed at the beginning of the 19th century and which narrates the creation of the world, opens with the phrase "In the beginning there was the Great Spirit" (with an accompanying text in the Lenape language). Thus, even the Great Spirit was represented by means of a symbol. As will be seen below, ideograms also served to denote the supreme divinity in Mixtec pictorial manuscripts.

In Africa representations of the supreme being are rare; for example, as various experts have observed, none of the thousands of Congolese figurines preserved in Tervueren, Belgium (Mus. Royal de l'Afrique Centrale) can be considered as such. In reality, those objects described by some authors as images of the gods or goddesses of certain tribes of central and southern Africa are, according to G. Vaast van Bulck, images of culture heroes, either ancestors or tribal progenitors. Particularly common are the representations of ancestors, their incidence reflecting a widespread cult; but these are usually generic representations rather than individual portraits. There are exceptions to the general rule of aniconism relating to the supreme being in Africa, especially in western Africa (the Ewe, for example, have represented their supreme being Mawu, or Mau), but these are to be considered the results of influence from the higher cultures of the Mediterranean Basin, discernible also in other areas.

Aniconic conceptions of the supreme being are often to be observed also among the Asian peoples who have not developed writing. The Konyak Nāga, studied by Fürer-Haimendorf, believe in a supreme deity named Gawang, "who lives in the sky and existed before all other beings, and who made the vault of heaven and calls forth the thunder and lightning." Representations of him are unknown, and apparently such an occurrence is not even mentioned. The same holds true for the chief god of the Ao (neighbors of the Konyak), who is called Lunkitsungba, and the comparison made between this god and the wind may, as Fürer-Haimendorf believes, be a primitive attempt to express his incorporeality.

In a monograph on Mori Karaéng, the supreme being of the Indonesian Manggarai, J. A. J. Verheijen notes the answers regularly given to his questions about the appearance of the god — "We can never see him" or "He is invisible" — answers that readily explain the absence of representations. The Maori of New Zealand honor a well-defined supreme being, Io. Esoteric in nature, since he is known only to the highest priests, Io is considered to be the source of life, the father, eternal, unalterable, and omniscient. He lives in the twelfth heaven, and images of him are not made. Divinities similar to Io are known elsewhere in Polynesia, in Rarotonga, Tahiti, and the Tuamotu (or Paumotu) Archipelago, but their position is less clear. In general, it seems that the geographical dispersion of the islands may have contributed greatly to a process of fragmentation of the great divinities, bringing about various displacements and reversals in the heavenly hierarchy.

Turning to the higher civilizations of the New World, among the Maya one encounters Hunabku, who, F. Anders (1957) relates, was considered the supreme god. His name, in fact, means "the only god" (*hun*, one; *ab*, being; *ku*, god), and he might also be designated the "god without beginning and without end." Since no representations of him existed, he was probably regarded as incorporeal. Because Hunabku held himself aloof from day-to-day events, he had a very limited role in

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the everyday life of the people. It is not suprising that such a remote conception of the supreme deity made a great impression on the Spaniards.

The ancient Mexicans were not without corresponding divine beings. "The belief in a supreme being that we meet in the ancient Mexicans traces its origin to the most primitive stratum of the religion and is not based on a late philosophical speculation. The Aztecs called the supreme being by the name of Tonacatecutli, "Lord of our flesh," since he had created corn and all other means of sustenance that permit the growth of the human body. They put at his side a wife (Tonacaciuatl, "Lady of our flesh") and placed the couple in the highest heaven, from whence they caused the souls of babies to 'trickle down' into the bosoms of their mothers. As authors of procreation and birth the couple came to be called also "Ometecutli" and "Omeciuatl," that is, the "Lord and Lady of duality" (W. Krickeberg, 1956). The latter were not originally connected with specific elements or natural phenomena and did not enjoy a distinct cult, although they were considered the authors of all things, of the cosmos, of gods and men. These are all characteristics frequently attributed to the supreme beings of many peoples. Another common feature is to be found in the fact that the divine couple of the Aztecs gave only the first impetus to the act of creation, which was then left for completion to one or more culture heroes. The various versions of the Aztec myth of creation speak of a pair of culture heroes (Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca), while the Spanish interpretation of a lost manuscript even refers to four children of the supreme beings, all having the same function.

The Mexican supreme beings correspond in important respects to Hunabku, supreme being of the Maya, especially in that in both conceptions the supreme being is the creator of gods and men. Since there are, however, notable differences (such as the addition of a wife and of one or more culture heroes), it appears justified to inquire whether such changes are not to be connected with the fact that figural representation has strongly influenced the mythic types in question. For example, in the Codex Vindobonensis are found representations both of Ometeotl ("god of duality") and of Tonacatecutli and Tonacaciuatl (represented as husband and wife in the highest heaven). Consequently, as demonstrated by M. Léon Portilla (1956), it may be presumed that this god of duality may in the last analysis be traceable to a unitarian principle.

Ideographic representations of this supreme divine couple (or the god of duality) are known. In the Mixtec manuscripts, they are depicted by the figures of an old man and woman in the sky (painted with stellar eyes and with the images of the sun and moon). To this couple — not, properly speaking, to the supreme being (Moyocoyani, "who made and thought himself") — the Mixtecs turned for an explanation of the divine origin of kingship, as in the Codex Vindobonensis and the Selden Codex. The images show that the divine couple had sent Quetzalcoatl, the "primordial king" (also culture hero, god of the wind, mythical king-priest, historical prince-priest of the Toltecs), from heaven to earth, bearing sacred standards and thereby bringing sacred kingship to men.

In recapitulation, it can be stated that primitive peoples do not in general represent their supreme being. Exceptions embrace the cases where fusion has occurred between the cult of the supreme being and that of another supernatural being. In North America and in parts of northern Asia, veneration of the "sacred pole," which functions as a symbolic representation of the supreme being, has developed. The herdsman tribes of Asia and Africa, and also more advanced tribal groups such as the Konyak Nāga, the Manggarai, the Maori, and the great civilizations of pre-Columbian America, share with the majority of the more primitive food-gatherer groups an aniconic conception of the supreme being.

Wilhelm Koppers

Iconism and aniconism in the civilizations of antiquity and the Far East. *Antiquity*. Since the Greeks viewed the dual concepts of iconism and aniconism with their typical clarity, later treatment of the problem has been virtually chained to Greek reasoning. According to Greek thought, the first stage of development had been the veneration of unworked stones (ἄργοι), that is, of formless products of nature. The second stage had seen these replaced by geometrically worked stones (obelisks, pyramids, tetragons or parallelepipeds, cones, cylinders, etc.), which were aniconic from the human point of view; the third, by geometric solids of stone representing the body, on which had been indicated the head, two stumps of arms, and the genitals. Finally, in the splendor of the historical age, ultimate perfection had been achieved when, in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., differentiated human types were created for the various divinities — Zeus could then be distinguished from Poseidon or Aesculapius. These images of the gods were not merely anthropomorphic; they were potentially iconic and were definite, even though conventional, portraits.

All this appears to be the direct application of a Democritean evolutionary concept; however, from the historico-ethnographic point of view, which is more valid in general terms, the problem must be set forth otherwise. Examination of the civilization of the ancient world discloses many traces of animistic and naturalistic conceptions, whose numina, or active forces, were conceived not anthropomorphically but as natural objects or symbols (PL. 405). In predynastic Egyptian tablets (IV, PLS. 322–324), and perhaps originally, the power of the king was represented by an enraged bull. In the Hellenic world some attributes of a god, such as the trident of Poseidon or the thunderbolt of Zeus, signified the divinity itself. The Germans "call by the name of god that hidden presence which is seen only by the eye of reverence" (Tacitus, *Germania*, ix, 2). The Romans, says Augustine (*The City of God*, lv, 31), worshiped gods who had no visible form ("sine simulacro") for the first 107 years, that is, for the whole period of the kings. Similar facts are related in other sources (Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, i, 39; Apuleius, *Florida*, i, 1; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, iv, 154; v, 354).

At the same time, there is evidence of an anthropomorphic conception of the divinity from the very beginning of the agricultural civilizations of the Near East and the Mediterranean basin. As early as the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C., the anthropomorphic conception found a fertile field for development in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Expressed in a rich repertory of representations of supernatural beings, which were vested with human forms and distinctly individualized, the attitude was truly iconic in nature. It matters little that the tone of this iconism was at times not anthropomorphic but theriomorphic (or a mixture of human and animal elements), since the animal or monstrous nature, whatever its origin, represented in fact the portrait of the god or demigod, exactly as he was imagined in his corporeal being.

There is no evidence of evolution from a preexisting aniconism or, more properly, from a preiconic to an iconic concept of divinity. On the contrary. it seems certain that the two views coexisted from the beginning in an inextricable complex of attitudes and in infinite variations. It is thus possible to speak of aniconism in this connection, if at all, only as isolated instances of either total or partial repudiation of the particularized image, resulting from a circumstance of the individual tradition, from fear, or from magico-religious proscription. In this sense, aniconism is always consequent upon iconism and is almost a direct reaction to it. In the great religions of the ancient world, the veneration of stones and shafts was a noted cultural phenomenon; for example, in episodes such as the famous arrival in Rome of the Black Stone (ἄγαλμα διῖπετής) of the goddess of Pessinus (Livy, xxix, 10, 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 255 ff.) or in the creation of the figural type of the herm, which in a sense combines the form of the pier or pilaster with the human body. However, in the herm it is evident that the human parts incorporated, the head and the genital organ, constitute the elements which most tellingly characterize the individuality of the god; these are apt to accentuate rather than lessen the iconic character of the images. Decidedly opposite in intention were the curious funerary busts of Cyrene, which represent the human body, its hair, and clothing; in these the face, awesome as befits chthonian deities, comprised a segment of smooth column (PL. 406).

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Here it becomes possible to speak of authentic aniconism, artistically manifested. The same attitude, albeit in a different form, was manifested in the destruction of images (explicitly, of the "damnatio memoriae"), with its Near Eastern precedents and its application during the Roman Imperial age.

Silvio Ferri

*The Far East.* The religious experience of Asian peoples comprehends a vast range of attitudes, some of which have given rise to varying degrees of aniconism. The god Tengri of the Mongols and, in general, the heavenly divinities of the shamanic tribes, to whom allusion may be made through cosmic symbols (such as the structure of the house or tent), do not seem to engender images. This is true also of the earth divinity Itoga, while the divine beings who protect the house are represented by figural images that are consubstantial. These instances do not, however, constitute an expression of genuine aniconism, for they are more in the nature of a simple nonfigural religious attitude toward incommensurable and inexpressible divine powers. Very different is the case of primitive Shintoism (q.v.), to which there attaches a theogonic mythology related to the imperial genealogies. Since the human world intimately partakes of the divine, and the *kami* (deities) can take up fixed or temporary abode in any object whatsoever (which is then called a *shintai*), the efforts of the faithful are limited to building a temple (in the form of an ancient house) over the *shintai* or to considering the *shintai* itself and the surrounding area as a point of intersection and contact between the human and the divine, at the same time fulfilling the functions of a temple. Within such a religious framework, it was logical that representation of the *kami* should hold little interest in comparison with the search for and preservation of *shintai*: that is, the possibility of direct contact with divinity in the *shintai* obviated the need for and interest in representation, which only later (as a result of Buddhist influence) was developed with difficulty. In Buddhism itself, however, the earliest schools of art to illustrate the sacred word were wholly aniconic and represented the Buddha in terms of generally accepted symbols (PL. 412; II, PL. 375). The distinctive element here is not the simple symbolic forms (which can be found in other religions as well), because these symbols were used in the presentation of edifying episodes from the life of the Buddha. The aniconic intention is evident in the contrast between the symbols for the protagonist and the narrative content — historical, in its fashion — of the scenes in which they appear. The reasons for using symbolic representation (with its obvious inconvenience for the artist, who was thus prevented from depicting any scene where the Buddha must be represented in motion) are to be sought in the fact that the Buddha was to some degree identified with the Law (Dharma), the principle of the universe which he had preached. Moreover, his absolute supremacy over the universe itself, together with canonical interpretations according to which the Buddha was not visible after Nirvana, favored the use of certain symbols which were already common in the preceding Vedic tradition and which, with variations, identified him with the universal and absolute principle. Only occasionally in the texts, however, do there appear explicit indications of the proscription against anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha. In the *Shih sung lü*, a Chinese version by Punyatara and Kumārajīva in A.D. 404 of the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* (*Tables du Taishō Issaikyō*, XXIII, no. 1435, Tokyo, 1931), which originated at least three centuries earlier, the elder Anāthapiṇḍada in turning to the Buddha says, "Lord of the World, since it is not permitted to make a likeness of the Buddha's body, I pray that the Buddha will grant that I make likenesses of his attendant Bodhisattvas. Is that acceptable?" Other traces of this attitude can be found in the *Kāliṅgabodhi-jātaka* and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. Eventually, perhaps through foreign influence, an anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha did appear, in which elements that expressed the universal significance of the Buddha were combined with others that referred to his human personality (the monastic garb, the ears bare of heavy earrings, etc.), thereby giving rise to the characterization of a type (see CHARACTERIZATION; GANDHARA; MATHURA). Repeated representation of the anthropomorphic image fostered the development of the hypostasis of Śākyamuni, through a process that has been closely studied by Paul Mus. Still, the use of symbols was not eliminated as a consequence of these developments but persisted in various Indian schools, alongside anthropomorphic representation.

Buddhist aniconism is without doubt both the most interesting and the most clear-cut example of this phenomenon in Indian art. The presumably aniconic concept of the sun-god Sūrya should instead be considered a simple symbolic representation, and therefore a manifestation of a quite different type.

Mario Bussagli

THE TRADITION OF ANICONIC MONOTHEISM IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. *Judaism.* In Hebraic monotheism, which rejected any anthropomorphic conception of divinity, iconism became a force to be combated as idolatry. This attitude is apparent from the initial commandments of the Decalogue, which traditionally dates back to the Exodus (probably 13th cent. B.C.) and which reflects a conscious differentiation of the Hebrew religion from those of the peoples from whom Israel aspired to free herself politically. It would seem that this strict aniconic monotheism met some resistance, however, since the precepts concerning it are often repeated in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The episode of the golden calf may be viewed as an example of such resistance; further resurgence of iconic inclinations — this time not zoomorphic but anthropomorphic — is attested by the incident of the sanctuary of Micah (Judges), where a likeness of the God of Israel himself was raised.

Iconic revivals became more frequent after the division of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah following the death of King Solomon (ca. 933 B.C.), partly through the influence of neighboring states, with whom in turn one or the other of the Jewish kingdoms had to ally itself. The prophets, as defenders of religious traditionalism, cultural integrity, and political independence, fought against these revivals. When King Jeroboam I of Israel, in order to challenge the religious ascendancy of the rival kingdom of Judah (in whose territory stood the national sanctuary, the Temple of Solomon), actually favored the resurgence of iconism (making the temples of Bethel and Dan its center), the prophet Hosea rose against the move. Ahab, another king of Israel (ca. 875–853 B.C.) and a supporter of the Syro-Palestinian cult of Baal, set up statues of anthropomorphic divinities and built the "ivory house" in Samaria, where excavations have uncovered small-scale depictions of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Syro-Palestinian deities. In Judah, commercial and cultural contacts with bordering populations brought about iconic-idolatrous infiltrations. These tendencies culminated in the reign of Manasseh (7th cent. B.C.), who was led by his Assyrian-oriented policy to place statues of Mesopotamian deities in the Temple of Solomon itself. Tradition ascribes to Manasseh the murder of the prophet Isaiah (in reality, probably of the preceding generation), who was particularly violent in his condemnation of idolatry and iconism. Like Isaiah and Hosea, other prophets (Jeremiah, Micah, Ezekiel) spoke out vehemently in the fierce struggle against idolatry and iconism in Judah and Israel. A description of the manufacture of anthropomorphic idols, found in a diatribe of Isaiah, is worthy of mention, since it involves a rudimentary appraisal of their esthetic quality and of the skill shown by the artisan, who "stretcheth out his rule; . . . he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man, that it may remain in the house" (Isa. 44:13). In the Wisdom of Solomon, which originated in the Jewish community of Egypt between 100 and 50 B.C., a similar incipient esthetic appreciation occurs in connection with the origins of idolatry, in the argument against assimilation of Egyptian-Alexandrian iconism: the artist, "wanting perhaps to ingratiate himself with the sovereign, with art forced the likeness to greater beauty; and the multitude, attracted by the charm of his workmanship henceforth considered as a god him who had previously been honored as a man" (Wisd. of Sol. 14:19–20, D.V.).

The Biblical accounts also attest the persistence of small

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family idols (teraphim) even after the establishment of aniconic monotheism. In reality, aniconism never triumphed absolutely, and concessions to iconism were made. The episode of the brazen serpent (magico-propitiatory in character; Num. 21:8–9) may be evidence of one such gesture; but the greatest concession was the admission of representations of the cherubim (similar to the winged genii of Egypt and Mesopotamia) on the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle, and the Veil of the Temple, as in the Temple of Solomon, where zoomorphic motifs also made their appearance. Even the prophets in their visions seem to affirm these concessions to iconism: Isaiah mentions the seraphim as having six wings, thus differing from the cherubim; Ezekiel, besides elaborating a description of the cherubim, seems actually to have lent credence to an anthropomorphic conception of the divinity, as did Daniel.

The simultaneous existence of iconism and aniconism has been confirmed, furthermore, by excavations in Palestine, from which artifacts such as ivory plaques, small bronzes, seals, (VIII, PL. 332), ceramics, and coins dating from various periods reveal an almost constant use of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and theriomorphic images (usually borrowed from Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Syro-Palestinian mythology), which must have been accepted primarily for their decorative qualities. In later centuries, especially after the Roman conquest, iconism was firmly established in the art of the synagogues. The frescoes of Dura-Europos (VIII, PLS. 335–337) and the mosaics of later synagogues (Isfaya, Beth Alpha; VIII, PL. 337) reveal a form of narrative painting not unlike that of the Christians, in which even themes from Greco-Roman mythology (Phoebus, the Zodiac, etc.) were used, probably for their symbolic value.

Hebraic aniconism could not altogether withstand exposure to Western representational art in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; hence there arose a substantial body of illuminated manuscripts (VIII, PL. 338), and later of woodcuts, illustrating Biblical subjects (see JEWISH ART), which differed only in details from current Christian iconography (e.g., in giving animal rather than human faces to the people represented). Even so, it was only after the triumph of secular bourgeois art in Europe at the end of the 18th century that Jewish artists appeared who were sufficiently emancipated from religious strictures to reflect only differences of individual temperament and of thematic selection (generally showing Jewish life) from their Christian counterparts. Severe aniconism continued to exist, however, with regard to the decoration of synagogues and liturgical implements (VIII, PL. 338), which were often quite elaborate and of the highest esthetic quality, as well as in the small household ceremonial objects that imitate or reproduce in miniature the liturgical implements and symbols.

*Early Christianity and iconoclasm.* The conflict between iconism and aniconism recurrent in the history of Jewish monotheism was to reemerge as a central problem of Christianity (q.v.). The suggestion of an aniconic attitude is to be found in St. Paul's sermon on the Areopagus (Acts 17:29): "Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." Although this position paved the way for distrust of images, especially statues, as a safeguard against idolatry, St. John prepared the ground for the rehabilitation and even for the veneration of images through his concept of the incarnation of the Logos (John 1:14): "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory . . . ." To the same current belongs the Apocalypse, with its visionary character (which was to furnish a wealth of themes for the symbolic and allegorical iconography of medieval art), and its concept of the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgment (see ESCHATOLOGY). Asceticism predisposed to iconoclasm, on the one hand, and iconism bordering on idolatry, on the other, the two extremes between which Christian thought has oscillated and which have jointly conditioned the Christian attitude toward the visual arts, thus may be traced to the very beginnings of the religion; in the earliest Christian communities the contrast of these positions already constituted a source of difficulty.

The problem of images and the necessity of opposing the spiritual essence of the new religion to the idolatry of popular paganism must have been present in the first Christian school, that of Alexandria (supposedly founded toward the end of the 2d century and directed in the early 3d century by Clement of Alexandria). In the *Exhortation to the Greeks* Clement unleashed a tirade against paganism, which accorded divine honors to insensate man-made objects, and opposed to these idols the God of the Christians, Who could be perceived only with the mind and Who was the true God. The position of Clement (who used polemic methods employed earlier by the prophets of Israel) was therefore hostile to images on philosophical grounds: the introduction of images into Christianity was seen as readmittance of pagan idolatry, as well as a concession to anthropomorphism and naturalism. Furthermore, in Clement's time, as in all later iconoclastic movements, there appeared the intellectual bias that leads not only to the rejection of images as objects of worship but also to the denigration of painting and sculpture themselves, on the basis of their material and sensual essence. An absolute reality, perceivable only as a nonpersonifiable idea, was held to be far superior to an image embodied in a material substance and perceivable by the corporeal senses. Concepts similar to those of Clement of Alexandria were later formulated by Origen in the eighth book of *Against Celsus*.

Less violent in his criticism of idolatry was St. Gregory Nazianzen (b. 329/330), who in the first of his theological discourses sought to explain this phenomenon historically and psychologically as an inferior form of religious experience that Christians should rise above. Gregory, recalling the reasoning advanced in the Wisdom of Solomon, also acknowledged that the beauty of the statues put up by the idolators was an important factor in inviting the adoration of the people. Thus, interwoven with the condemnation of idolatry was an implicit recognition of artistic beauty as a potential attractive force in the service of religion. The period when St. Gregory lived (after the Edict of Milan, 313) was one in which the masses flocked to Christianity; the Church, in the East as in the West, no longer had to devote its energies primarily to assaults on paganism but turned instead to strengthening its own organization, systematizing its doctrine, and perfecting its rites. These aims were accomplished in a manner and on a scale attesting its transformation from a small persecuted sect to a religious association embracing most of the known world.

The preceding generation, writing while Christianity was still a minority religion, had been faced with the problem of absorbing the philosophical doctrines of classical antiquity, which constituted the cultural heritage of the intellectuals who had hastened to embrace the new faith. That assimilation had been the chief task of Clement of Alexandria, who had interpreted Greek philosophy as a preparation for the New Testament, parallel to the law of the Old Testament. The problem confronting the 4th-century theologians, however, was that of providing doctrinal sanction for a practice long in use in Christian communities, namely, the adoption of late-antique painting and of sculptured sarcophagi for Christian purposes (see CATACOMBS) and of accepting officially into Christian thought this influence of the classical artistic tradition, brought to Christianity as their inalienable patrimony by the multitudes of converts. The assimilation and preservation of this heritage, along with the simultaneous need to channel it into the spirit of the new faith and yet guard against the dangers of idolatry, was the problem posed for the Church Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries. Hostility to images thus gave way to their rehabilitation as a valid function of the new manner of conceiving and fulfilling the religious experience.

In the latter tradition was St. Gregory of Nyssa (b. ca. 331), who in his *Eulogy on St. Theodore Martyr* dwelt on the beauty of places of worship as the coefficient, not merely the accessory, of religious experience. An important part in this beauty was occupied by paintings which recounted the deeds of martyrs and exposed the cruelty of their persecutors, composing a kind of pictorial book, both didactic and ornamental. Thus, the acceptance of the visual arts into religious practice was oriented toward narrative painting by Gregory of Nyssa. While serving to illustrate the acts of the saints to whom the churches were

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dedicated, such works did not in theory encourage idolatry any more than did images of the dead or commemorative representations of their life on earth in the sarcophagus reliefs.

Furthermore, the speculations of Gregory of Nyssa on the dignity of man — seen by him as the highest order of being in the visible world, the conjunction between nature and God, a being who partakes both of corporeality and of pure spirit and is made in the image and likeness of God — provided a philosophical basis for figural decoration of churches, since the corollary of this exalted view of man was the recognition that this inherent dignity made both himself and his acts worthy objects of representation, even in places of worship. In a discourse on the relation between the first and second persons of the Trinity in his late-4th-century anti-Arian treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, St. Basil the Great, brother of Gregory of Nyssa, spoke of the unity of the image and its object, thereby justifying the devotion bestowed upon images of the saints. At the same time, however, the following passage checked the descent into idolatry: "How, then, if one and one, are there not two Gods? Because we speak of a king, and of a king's image, not of two kings. The majesty is not cleft in two, nor the glory divided. The sovereignty and authority over us is one, and so the doxology ascribed by us is not plural but one, because the honor paid to the image passes on to the prototype. Now what in the one case the image is by reason of imitation, that in the other case the Son is by nature; and as in works of art the likeness is dependent on the form, so in the case of the divine and uncompounded nature the union comprises the Godhead . . . ."

This concept of similitude was intended both to justify, through an esthetic of narrative representation, the devotion to images and to keep it from degenerating into idolatry. Also since its earliest days, the Christian community had had recourse to symbolic representations in order to express the mystery of the Incarnation. The offering of various forms of homage to images continued in some quarters, however, to be viewed as a religious exercise with no such clear sanction in early Christian practice (indeed, as something absolutely proscribed by the Commandments), and it was eventually to develop into a source of violent contention.

Rosario Assunto

The exceptional growth and exaggeration of image worship in the Eastern Empire during the post-Justinianic period, especially marked from the end of the 6th through the 7th century, established the background for the most severe and protracted wave of iconoclasm in history. The miraculous power attributed to *acheiropoietoi* such as the Christ image of Edessa or that of Camuliana (see DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES) was gradually extended to the holy icons coming into widespread use outside the church confines. Popular belief in the apotropaic qualities of the ever-multiplying icons, in their curative and preventive powers, reached such extremes that images were taken as baptismal sponsors and were used to administer the Eucharist. The icon had by this time superseded even the generally revered symbol of the Cross and the relic (which remained the prime object of veneration in the West) as the devotional focus for the great mass of Eastern communicants and had become, in Ernst Kitzinger's (1954) phrase, "a receptacle for divine substance," a shell to be invested with grace and magic force from on high. When the large-scale, official attacks on the image cult began, the iconodule theorists were confronted with an accumulation of naïve animistic beliefs and practices that had either to be justified with an acceptable theological basis or to be rejected as ignorant superstition. Undoubtedly, whatever the ultimate motives, a religious issue could have achieved such vital importance in imperial policy for over a hundred years only because its material effects and the opposition they generated were too grave to remain purely theological concerns, perhaps even to the extent of threatening the traditional Byzantine caesaropapism and ruler cult, as some scholars have suggested (Grabar, Ladner).

As Kitzinger's magnificent study has demonstrated, evidence of opposition to religious imagery is to be found regularly from the late 4th century, when the first formal Christian defense of the visual arts — the pragmatic "books of the unlearned" argument of the Cappadocian Fathers — was undertaken, through the great outbreak of the 8th century. Aside from theological dissenters such as the Monophysites and a rigorist party within the Church that scorned anthropomorphic image worship as a departure from early Christian ideals of spirituality and the Commandments, there had been early attacks by the Jews, subsequently echoed with the emergence of Islam, in which Christian image practice was denounced as a lapse into pagan idolatry. Such criticism encouraged the Christian adoption of pagan argumentation concerning the symbolic nature of images that occurred by the 7th century. Other eruptions of iconoclast opposition prior to the epoch in Byzantine history named for this policy include the image denunciations of the Paulicians of Asia Minor and Albania and of a Messalian sect in Armenia (all, late 6th and 7th cent.). A notable isolated instance was recorded in western Europe, that involving Bishop Serenus of Marseilles at the end of the 6th century. The incident derives its prominence from the rebuke the bishop's removal of images from churches elicited from the Pope, Gregory the Great. Although he gave qualified approval to the indignation of Serenus against excess of image adoration, Gregory at the same time opposed wholesale elimination of religious imagery and affirmed its didactic value, particularly for the illiterate, in what some regard as an essential statement of the continuing Western image attitude.

In 726, nine years after his accession to the throne, Emperor Leo III the Isaurian made his first pronouncement against the worship of images, and the momentous century-long iconoclastic heresy had begun. This indication of his leanings was followed in 730 by an edict ordering the destruction of holy icons and by the deposition of the iconodule Patriarch Germanus. Although Pope Gregory II had excommunicated the exarch of Ravenna and condemned the heresy in the interim, a temporary reconciliation between East and West had been achieved in 729; but the Emperor's decree of 730 was remarked in the convocation of a Roman synod by Gregory III in 731, a meeting that excluded the image opponents from the body of the Church.

Repressive measures against image supporters, which had in actuality been moderate and sporadic under Leo, were intensified during the long reign (741–75) of his son Constantine V, described by his enemies as the "archheretic" and identified with the insulting epithet "Copronymus." Ruthless persecutions were initiated after the iconoclastic council summoned by Constantine at Hieria in 754, in order to implement the series of anathemas (e.g., against Germanus, the "wood worshiper") and the *Horos* ("definition") promulgated by the gathering. A particularly harsh wave of oppression was directed against the image cult in 764–65, when an oath renouncing images was imposed on all imperial subjects and wholesale obliteration of images was carried out. It was during Constantine V's time that the antimonastic tinge of subsequent iconoclast policy became evident, with monastic abuses and the role of the monks as image diehards probably used as justification for checking the alarming growth of monastic power and possessions as well. Constantine also extended suppression of images to the Virgin and saint cults.

After the brief reign of the moderate iconoclast Leo IV (775–80), who largely abandoned the attacks on the Virgin cult and the monasteries, the succession of his son Constantine VI at the age of ten inaugurated the eventful regency of Leo's widow, Irene, the first woman to become absolute sovereign of the Byzantine state (797–802). An image sympathizer who found it advisable to move cautiously, Irene made her first significant gesture in 784 with the appointment of the Patriarch Tarasius and the announcement of preparations for an ecumenical council to nullify the acta of 754. Abortively convened at Constantinople in July, 786, and disrupted by the iconoclast soldiery, the Seventh Ecumenical Council did not get under way until September, 787, at Nicaea. This Second Nicene Council quickly repudiated the *Horos* and anathemas of Hieria, proclaimed the restoration of images, and judiciously received back into the Church contrite iconoclasts who publicly abjured their heresy. In its doctrinal rehabilitation of images the Council

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adopted the precise distinction which had been devised by John of Damascus: namely, that made between veneration, or *proskynesis* (προσκύνησις), which might validly be offered to images, and the absolute adoration, or *latria* (λατρεία), reserved to God alone. The Council also ruled that the production of holy images was thereafter to be regulated both in choice of subject and in execution.

It was at this point that an influential spokesman for the persisting Western attitude once more arose, in the person of Charlemagne. Strongly disapproving of Pope Hadrian I's wholehearted acceptance of the doctrinal implications of the Second Nicene Council, Charlemagne reiterated in the *Libri carolini* the classical Western view, the Gregorian middle road between the iconoclastic definition of 754 and the extreme iconodule formulation of Nicaea. Admitting the didactic value and devotional stimulus to be derived from holy images and denouncing their destruction, the Carolingian statement nonetheless rejects the decisions of the Nicene Council and condemns the performing of acts of homage to sacred representations, but it does sanction such reverence for relics. The most inviolable of the Carolingian tenets was the injunction "Deus pingi non posset" ("God the Father cannot be depicted"). As a reflection of the obdurate attitude of Charlemagne and an assertion of Frankish independence, the Frankfort Synod of 794, in the presence of representatives of Hadrian I, disclaimed the veneration of icons set forth by the Seventh Ecumenical Council as the duty of every pious Christian, a decision with which legates of Hadrian I had also concurred.

The military setbacks of Irene's successors Nicephorus I and Michael I Rhangabe, particularly the Bulgarian menace of 811–13, fostered a climate of opinion favorable to the resurgence of iconoclasm, for the great iconoclastic rulers Leo III and Constantine V had been celebrated for their martial prowess even among their opponents. Upon the deposition of Michael I, this second phase of the iconoclastic era found its champion with the accession of Leo V the Armenian (813–20), whose Eastern origin — like that of Leo III the Isaurian — has been assigned great importance in the explanation of his iconoclast leanings.

Although he attributed the disasters of the preceding regime to its iconodule policy, Leo V did not take any decisive action against images until he had been on the throne for almost two years. Then, upon securing the necessary ammunition from his theological adviser, Patriarch John the Grammarian, he called the second iconoclastic synod in 815, the Council of St. Sophia. The assemblage condemned the worship of the "spurious" images (τῶν ψευδωνύμων εἰκόνων; an accusation used earlier by Constantine V and in the rulings of Hieria, on the grounds that the true image was the Eucharist), invalidated the "soulless" decrees of 787 in favor of those of 754, and declared the making and adoring of images to be an "unprofitable practice, unwarranted by tradition" in comparison with "worship in spirit and truth." It should be noted that, although the Council ordered the destruction of icons, perhaps in a spirit of conciliation its *Horos* significantly avoided denouncing them as idols, "because there are degrees of evil."

Leo V, motive force of the iconoclastic renewal, was murdered before the high altar of St. Sophia on Christmas Day, 820, by the followers of the upstart Michael II the Armorian (820–29). He refused to reestablish image orthodoxy, despite some concessions to the iconodules, and forbade discussion of the issue though he was very likely of iconoclast predisposition. His son Theophilus (829–42), tutored by John the Grammarian and an enthusiast of Moslem art and culture, initiated the final vigorous wave of iconoclasm. When he elevated John the Grammarian to the patriarchal throne in 837, iconodule persecution was intensified, with the monks as its special object again. But the movement, by many regarded as merely an imitative reaction in the 9th century (and without its former zealous support in the Near Eastern regions), had definitely spent its force. With the death of Theophilus in 842, reestablishment of orthodox veneration was only a matter of time under the auspices of his widow Theodora, an image sympathizer and regent for her young son Michael III. After the deposition of John the Grammarian, the rehabilitation of image worship was accomplished by still another synod in March, 843, but the acta of this conclave have been lost. This action is commemorated by the Greek Orthodox Church on the first Sunday of Lent, known as the Feast of Orthodoxy.

To conclude this historical survey of the period, it should be observed that some authorities extend the iconoclastic epoch to the year 867, for it was not until then that ceremonious public installation of icons was apparently resumed. Moreover, pronouncements against iconoclasm and anathemas against notorious iconoclasts are found as late as 869, in the proceedings of the Ignatian Council of Constantinople — evidence of intransigent image opponents 25 years after the imperial restoration.

It has long been recognized that the great legacy of the iconoclastic era, including the preceding century and a half with its proliferating image cult, was the elaboration of image and anti-image doctrine imposed upon both parties to the controversy. And the peculiar contribution of the Eastern Church was the elevation of the argument to a more speculative theological plane, for the pragmatic reasoning of the Cappadocians and of Gregory the Great did not furnish wholly convincing answers for the sophisticated Byzantine apologists. While the Old Testament proscriptions and out-of-context patristic quotations had also been incorporated in the discussions centuries before, it was only during the 8th-century controversy that image antipathy was given a systematic doctrinal foundation; and this iconoclast progression from the sensible to the intellectual was in turn met with more recondite polemic from the image camp, such as that collected by the second Nicene Council. Furthermore, it should be remembered that none of the pre-6th-century "apologetic texts" cited by the disputants had actually been prompted by this question and had treated images only incidentally. Sometimes the same reference, once removed from its original context, conveniently served both sides. Another fact to be kept in mind is that the dispute did not simply involve whether homage should be offered to images but also whether such images, particularly those of Christ, should be made at all.

The most significant change of emphasis in the argumentation has been astutely characterized by Kitzinger (1954): "The essential innovation of the post-Justinianic era is that attempts were made to justify images, not on the basis of their usefulness to the beholder, but on the strenghth of a transcendental relationship to their prototypes .... For the first time the Christian artist is exempted by the apologist from the necessity of justifying his work by educating and teaching the beholder or by appealing directly to his emotions .... Instead the artist is charged with the task of creating an image timeless and detached, in contact with heaven rather than humanity, an image capable of mirroring, as if by direct reflection, its divine or sainted prototype and, indeed, of serving as a vehicle for divine forces ...." It is a reasonable hypothesis that the excesses of image worship, the widespread apotropaism, of the period influenced the development of this line of reasoning, for when magical efficacy is attributed to the icon the logic of the pagan "symbolic nature" argument no longer seems valid. The distinct barrier between image and prototype is broken down by such exaggerated practices. Removing the icon from the human sphere entirely and creating a transcendental relationship with the Godhead — justifying it as such and assigning it a place in the universal order — became the new aims of the theorists.

Each of the two phases of the iconoclastic epoch had its outstanding protagonists on both sides. The Isaurian and Armorian emperors (ignoring the much-debated question of their religious sincerity versus their mundane ambitions) were perhaps their own best apologists: Constantine V, with his "Monophysite-Nestorian" dilemma, the most brilliant image baiter of the first phase; Leo V and Theophilus, aided by John the Grammarian, the most dedicated of the second phase. Iconoclastic support for the imperial policy centered on the court and the army, largely of Eastern origin, as well as much of the episcopate. The main iconoclast arguments may be summarized as follows: (1) Images were a reversion to pagan idolatry, forbidden both

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in the Testaments and by the Church Fathers. (2) The ingenious Christological dilemma of Constantine V: Since Christ is both God and man, images of Him involve either circumscribing the uncircumscribable Godhead (Monophysite confusion of two natures) or dividing the human from the divine, producing a separate hypostasis of Christ and introducing a fourth member into the Trinity (Nestorian). Thus, any representation of the Godhead would be a denial of His divine nature. (3) The Eucharist was the only true image of Christ. (4) With respect to saint icons, texts were cited to show that the only admissible images of the saints were their virtues, that is, emulation in the virtuous Christian himself.

Outside the general populace, the iconodule position found its most staunch adherents among the monks. Hence, the most vocal of the imperial antagonists in both phases were monastics: in the 8th century, John of Damascus (d. 754); in the 9th, the fiery extremist Theodore the Studite. In the latter phase should be added the erudite, more temperate Patriarch Nicephorus (d. 829), a former opponent of Theodore who found himself aligned with him in the image conflict. To counter the accusation that the icon cult was a revival of pagan idolatry, in his three treatises *Against Those Who Depreciate the Holy Images* John of Damascus adopted the Neoplatonic approach of Pseudo-Dionysius. The image became a symbol or mediator, a "memorial" set up to remind us of the divine activity; and homage to images was to be construed as a sign of respect and affection, not as idolatry. He also invoked what was probably the most persuasive of the iconodule claims, the Incarnation argument, as well as the older didactic justification. The introduction of the Christological issue provided perhaps the most effective weapon, for images of Christ were deemed confirmation of the reality of His becoming man. Thus, by rejecting such images, iconoclasts were guilty of denying the historicity of the Incarnation. John argued, in addition, that so long as man is in the body his spiritual life, like the rest of his existence, must involve sense stimuli from material objects.

To these, the chief elements of image defense, Theodore the Studite brought a more mystical strain of Neoplatonic emanationist ideas, in which Christ's image becomes identical with Him by participating in the second hypostasis of the Trinity — the spiritualized Orthodox icon concept. The mystique of Theodore strangely belies his passionate involvement in the heated church-state struggles, one of the characteristics of the second phase of the controversy. Besides repeating the iconodule armory of ideas, the value of the *Refutatio et Eversio* (ca. 820–28) of Nicephorus is enhanced by its reconstruction of the patristic florilegium of the Iconoclastic Council of 815, which is refuted in the second part of his treatise. Such a collection of patristic quotations had been attached to the *Horos* of each iconoclastic council.

In their most crude formulations, the main counterclaims of the two parties might read: "No one has seen God" (iconoclast); "Christ has come to us in the flesh" (iconodule). Coming upon the heels of such heady theological speculations, these bald statements might seem nothing more than gross simplification, until it is remembered that the long conflict was very likely resolved by the overriding power of popular sentiment and traditionalism, a victory for popular religion and ways of thought. The outcome is sometimes couched in terms of a victory of the indigenous Greco-Roman spirit over a Semitic importation, but the ultimate importance of Oriental influence remains questionable. It is curious that the epithet "Saracen-minded," though most often hurled at iconoclasts such as the Isaurians, was also applied to John of Damascus, who lived much of his life within the Arab caliphate. Because of such paradoxes, many prefer to regard the iconoclastic outbreak as primarily a conspicuous eruption of the abiding rigorist opposition to images within the Church rather than as an engrafting of foreign attitudes.

In dealing with the art of the iconoclastic period (see BYZANTINE ART), one must bear in mind that the official hostility was directed against religious imagery, not at the visual arts in general. Like the palaces of the rulers, the denuded churches became settings for the favored secular subjects — ornamental motifs (PL. 408; II, PL. 433), still life, and genre scenes. Landscapes with birds and animals, the circus and games, horse races and hunt scenes, and military victories were all in evidence, in execution reflecting the revived taste for antique traditions of the pictures as well as Near Eastern decorative influence. The only representation officially sanctioned as symbolic of Christ during the iconoclast ascendancy was the Cross with the apocalyptic letters α and ω suspended from its arms.



Nevertheless, along with the secular imperial art, a popular religious art persisted surreptitiously within the monasteries and was eventually to emerge triumphant with the restoration of orthodoxy. The events of the controversy are mirrored in the illustrations of the so-called "monastic" or "marginal" psalters of the 9th century, such as the Pantokrator (Mt. Athos, Cod. 61) and the Khludov (Moscow, Hist. Mus., Cod. add. gr. 129) psalters. In the latter work, for example, the patriarch Nicephorus is shown carrying a Christ icon and trampling upon the impious John the Grammarian (fol. 51v). The inscription reads: "The Patriarch Nicephorus is pointing out Iannes [John], another Simon [Magus] and an iconoclast." Also to be found are scenes depicting the whitewashing of images by the iconoclasts. . . . (See also HERETICAL SUBJECTS.)

John KREMITSKE

*Islam.* The attitude of early Islam (7th cent.) toward the visual arts was generally conditioned, first, by the lack of a highly developed figural tradition among the Arabs and, second, by the fear (common to many primitive peoples) of the presumed magical powers of the image, which might be invoked to harm the person or animal represented. More specifically, a Koranic injunction (V, 92), "O believers, wine, games of chance, statues, and (divining) arrows are an abomination of Satan's handiwork; avoid them," influenced the later development. This verse, although it expressed a general antagonism to the customs of the pre-Islamic period (particularly to the making of idols), did not yet present a wholesale indictment of the representation of all living creatures. Thus, in practice, the first decades of Islam reveal an ambivalent attitude toward the image: on the one hand, violent measures of destruction or repression against idols and holy pictures; on the other, occasional leniency that could even tolerate the performance of Friday prayer in a captured palace decorated with paintings or the use of a censer adorned with human figures in the Mosque of Medina.

Toward the end of the 7th century, however, antagonism toward figural depiction seems to have become more rigorous, for after 695 Muslim coinage ceased to display any figural designs and was, with few exceptions, decorated with inscriptions only. On a larger scale, the mosaic decorations of the Dome of the Rock (691) and the Great Mosque of Damascus (PL. 407; II, PL. 441; VIII, PL. 145) were composed entirely of floral or architectural motifs, and representations of living creatures were excluded from them. The increasing aniconism of Islam at this time may possibly have been reinforced by the influence of converted Jews, but this likelihood has not been fully explored. In any case, such influence was remarked by the second ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787), at which the origin of the iconoclastic edict of the Ommiad Caliph Yazīd II was attributed to a Jew. In the 9th century the iconoclastic position found full expression in the by-then codified Hadith, the collection of genuine or apocryphal sayings and accounts of Mohammed and his companions. These writings clearly show that the main objection to making images of living things was the fear of idolatry; moreover, such activity represented an encroachment upon the creative powers of God. It is stated, for instance, that on the Day of Judgment the painter will merit the punishment of hell; he will be called upon to breathe life into the form he has fashioned, and since he cannot, his creative efforts will prove to be a mere mockery of the divine act and will therefore elicit the harshest penalty. It was also said that the angels of mercy would not enter a house in which there were images. The painter himself was compared to the lowest elements of society and was relegated to the same level as people who performed despicable actions, the texts even going so far as to compare him to the murderer of a prophet.

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Theologians thereafter elaborated on the prohibition of figural painting. In legal texts such paintings were usually mentioned in connection with weddings, for their presence (just as the drinking of wine or the presence of mixed company) would make attendance — otherwise obligatory — a forbidden act. The making of figures under any circumstances was outlawed; but the ownership and use of objects with figural decoration, especially those which did not lend themselves to worship, was considered somewhat less objectionable. In particular, exceptions included artistic creations used in a depreciatory fashion, such as carpets or mosaic pavements to walk on or textiles to sit upon. In the same way, pictures on the outside of buildings, in corridors, or in anterooms were less objectionable, since they were held in less esteem than those in a reception room; however, some later, more rigorous teachers even forbade their use on floors and household objects. This general attitude precluded the use of figural designs in mosques and deterred to a large extent the inclusion of human beings in the public art of Islam, thus channeling artistic endeavor into purely floral and geometric ornament or calligraphy (PL. 409). In keeping with the prevailing opinion, for example, al-'Umarī (d. 1349) abstained from having the zoological section of his encyclopedia illustrated, but not the botanical. When figural images did appear, their creators very often were non-Moslem. It is significant that in the mid-17th century the guild of portrait painters in Constantinople, unlike practically all other groups of craftsmen, had no patron saint.

At all times, nevertheless, there was a great discrepancy between official dogma and private practice, especially since there were no religious or public bodies capable of enforcing the iconoclastic strictures in the inaccessible private rooms of palaces and houses. By virtue of their connection with age-old popular beliefs, certain figural designs remained in public use, such as the magic figures on city gates and walls and those in bowls used for curative purposes. The largest body of figural paintings, however, was prompted by the eagerness of the rulers to have their palaces and belongings decorated, particularly with court scenes, episodes of war and the hunt, and depictions of various entertainments. This is demonstrated by finds from 9th-century Samarra, residence of the Abbasside rulers (see ABBASSIDE ART), and from 10th-century Cairo and by such literary records as that which tells how Khumārawayh, a 9th-century ruler of Egypt, had in his palace a room called the "House of God," which had images of himself, his wives, and singing girls, all richly attired, round the walls. The account of a mid-11th-century artistic competition, for which a high-priced Iraqi painter was called to Cairo by a vizier, indicates the painter's rise in the social scale, as well as the possibility of gaining international reputation and high honors through artistic ability. Another form of figural painting occurs in the illustrated manuscripts (PL. 410), the production of which flourished from the 13th to the 19th century, especially in Iran, Turkey, and India. Like the decorative paintings mentioned above, most of these manuscripts were executed for members of the royal family and the nobility. Aside from the important luxury demand for painting, scientific manuscripts also required illustration for thorough comprehension and were often executed for the urban professional class, especially in Iraq, thus gradually opening the way for illustration of other literary works (12th–14th cent.).

This marked rise in esteem for art and the artist is reflected both in law and in literature. The 10th-century theologian Abū-'Ali'l- Fārisī maintained that only the corporeal representation of God was forbidden, but such an extreme opinion remained rare. However, the 13th-century Persian poet Sa'dī thought God to be the source and inspiration of everything, including the visual arts; one of his contemporaries, the mystic Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, upheld the value of painting for didactic purposes, that is, paintings of beautiful and ugly creatures might afford an appropriate explanation of how evil can emanate from God. About 1500, in an album containing works by the celebrated painter Bihzād (q.v.), the Persian historian Khwāndamīr set forth the most laudatory expression of the new evaluation of painting. Here, God himself was depicted as a painter, and the efforts of the human artist to follow Him were no longer regarded as mockery but as noble emulation, so that realism was deserving of the highest praise; indeed, painters, and calligraphers were classed among "the most distinguished sons of Adam." While calligraphy with a reed pen (*qalam*) had always been viewed in Islamic civilization as the highest of the arts, painting was now put on the same level. This attitude was most clearly expressed by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr Munshī, who wrote (ca. 1606) of two sorts of *qalam*: the vegetable (the traditional reed pen) and the animal (the brush). He also linked both implements with the sacred figure of the fourth caliph and Shiite Imam 'Alī ibn-abī-Ṭālib, who thus became the patron of the two techniques. Finally, no less a personage than the Moghul emperor Akbar (1556–1605) is said to have regarded painting as a path to cognition — for, when the painter is forced to realize his limitations in depicting life, his awareness of an all-powerful creative God must necessarily increase. The growing regard for painters made them an appropriate subject for classification and analysis, and the earliest example of this literary genre seems to have been the lost work of the Egyptian historian Maqrīzī (d. 1442). Painting also became highly esteemed socially and was even practiced by rulers, such as Aḥmad ibn-Uvays of Iraq (1382–1410), Shah Ṭahmāsp of Iran (1524–1570), and the Moghul emperor Akbar.

The two strongly divergent tendencies have nonetheless persisted until the present. In 1950–51 Aḥmad 'Isā, librarian of the celebrated theological university of al-Azhar in Cairo, published a long article in its official journal in which he denied that Islam opposes figural representations or even statues, since they can elevate the mind and answer an undeniable human need. In 1955, on the contrary, the Washington embassies of several Islamic states were successful in their efforts to have a statue of Mohammed removed from a New York courthouse, where it had stood for fifty years as one of ten statues of famous lawgivers.

Richard ETTINGHAUSEN

*Reappearance of aniconism in medieval and modern Western civilization.* With the defeat of the iconoclasts, all possibility of an aniconic interpretation of Christianity was excluded from the official doctrine of the Church, both East and West. Still, this setback did not prevent the sporadic outbreak of aniconistic tendencies in later centuries, particularly within movements of intense mysticism. In the 12th century a form of aniconism arose in Cistercian mysticism, whose greatest theoretician was St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In the twelfth chapter of the *Apologia ad Gulielmum sancti Theodorici abbatem* ("Apologia to William, Abbot of Saint-Thierry") Bernard wrote that iconism should be allowed to the brutish and ignorant religiosity of the laity, the "carnal folk" who were incapable of ascending to pure mystic ecstasy, but that it had no place in monastic religion, for the monks — having risen above all allurements of the senses — could profit nothing from the contemplation of sculptured or painted images. (He was particularly against the allegorical-symbolic imagery connected with the Cluniac order.) This aniconic tendency of Cistercian mysticism, at least in its formulation by St. Bernard, emerges even more clearly in the *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* ("Sermons on the Song of Songs"), in which Bernard dwells on the theme and supports his conviction with references to the essential inwardness of the mystical experience. To the *imago aeternitatis* attained by the mystic no visible beauty, which is destined to deteriorate and die, can be compared: "Not the painted face soon to decay, nor precious garments destined to age, nor the glitter of gold and the splendor of jewels, nor any other such, for all these things are subject to corruption" (XXV, iv, 6).

In a strain of mysticism such as that described by Bernard in these sermons, iconism naturally constituted an element of distraction and disturbance that was not suitable within the cloister; but this strict formulation of Cistercian mysticism was an ideal to which the order did not long remain faithful. As early as the beginning of the 13th century, some of its more rigorous

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members lamented that the order had drifted away from the spirit of St. Bernard; furthermore, figural representations, the index of iconism, soon reappeared in manuscripts illuminated in Cistercian monasteries. Indeed, the images evoked by Cistercian mysticism, which was based on love rather than on supernatural dread as was Cluniac mysticism, had great effect on monastic iconism. This benevolent theology succeeded in gradually replacing the stern Christ in Judgment favored by the Cluniac monks with a benign Christ, and it gave great importance to the image of Mary as loving mother rather than as the majestic Queen of Heaven.

Franciscan mysticism, on the other hand, from its inception in the early 13th century was emphatically iconic. The miracle of the crèche that St. Francis built at Greccio (1223) was stressed by the early biographers of St. Francis, a fact attesting both the realistic nature of Franciscan iconism and the definitive break between Western and Byzantine imagery. About a hundred years afterward, in a late formulation of Franciscan mysticism, Ugo Panziera da Prato, defined its iconic orientation as follows: "When the mind is, for a long period of time, concentrated on Christ, bringing Christ into the imagination, Christ does not permit Himself to be divested of the corporeal virtue [being] called forth by the mind. The first time the mind begins to think of Christ, in these circumstances, Christ appears in the mind and the imagination as if written. The second [time] He seems to be outlined. In the third, He seems to be outlined and shaded. In the fourth, He seems painted and individuated. In the fifth, he seems individuated and modeled."

Equally iconic was the devotionalism promulgated by the Dominicans. In the 15th century the Blessed Giovanni Dominici and St. Antonius Pierozzi determined the iconic program that Fra Angelico, himself a Dominican, put into practice artistically. In this period, only the pietistic severity of Savonarola and Cardinal D'Ailly in respect to Renaissance art presaged the avowed aniconism of the Reformation. Protestant aniconism led to iconoclastic outbursts of violence, agaist which Erasmus and Cardinal Sadoleto protested in vain (see CHRISTIANITY; REFORMATION AND COUNTER REFORMATION). Despite such exhortations to moderation Reformed Christianity, in all its denominations, could not desist in its aniconism, the premises of which were deeply rooted in the theology of the Reformation itself, for Protestantism was ultimately based on a strict return to the radically monotheistic and antianthropomorphic interpretation of Christianity. At the end of the wars of religion, the boundary between Catholic (and Eastern Orthodox) and Protestant Europe might also be said to have constituted the boundary between a culture that had absorbed into Christianity the anthropomorphism and naturalism of the Roman and Greek tradition and a culture that, renouncing the historically established ties between Christianity and classical antiquity, had restored Christianity to its Hebraic origins and renewed continuity with the aniconic tradition of the Old Testament.

This division between an iconistic and an aniconistic Europe was not without effect on the development of art in the various territories: Protestant aniconism severed the bonds between the visual arts and worship, thereby translating artistic experience into a wholly secular province, whereas Catholic iconism was intensified by the Counter Reformation and was stamped with its particular character by the esthetic orientation of the Society of Jesus. In the 18th century, Catholic iconism was challenged by the Enlightenment, which was aniconic in its spiritual concepts and naturalistic and realistic in its esthetic doctrine, thus encouraging decidedly secular tendencies in painting and sculpture. Diderot's *Essai sur la peinture* is an expression of this esthetic orientation, violent in its polemic against Catholic iconism; to this religious imagery the author opposed serene and true representation of natural reality, vestiges of which were the only quality that he admired in the art inspired by Catholic iconism. The spiritual program formulated by Rousseau in his *Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard* was basically aniconic in inspiration: ". . . contemplating God in His works, and studying Him through those of His attributes that He means to be known, I have come to extend and augment by degrees the idea, at first imperfect and limited, that I had of this immense being. . . . God is no longer corporeal and sensible . . . the worship that God asks is that of the heart; which, when it is sincere, is always the same. . . ." Though mainly inspired by the deism of Rousseau, the Cult of the Supreme Being, which Robespierre established by his decree of May 7, 1794, also derived elements from the English Puritans and Nonconformists and was outspokenly aniconic in character. This aniconism was apparent in the liturgy produced by Robespierre's friend the painter Jacques Louis David (q.v.) for the Feast of the Supreme Being, celebrated on June 8 of the same year. The liturgy of David and the theology of Robespierre (which was opposed to the atheism of Hébert and Anacharsis Cloots) sanctioned the aniconic religious impulse common in France during the revolutionary period. Among other acts, this spirit had given rise to the order to "have cast down within the week all the stone statues around the Temple of Reason," a directive issued in the city of Strasbourg on Nov. 24, 1794.

Aniconic religion and secularist art were the two analogous ends of the polemic of the Enlightenment, which culminated in the attempt at religious reform made by Robespierre in collaboration with David. A few years later (1802), however, Chateaubriand spoke out warmly in defense of Catholic iconism and in reaction against religious aniconism and secularism in art in his *Génie du Christianisme*, where he wrote of "images that proffer the greatest mysteries to our weak senses." In the same year Friedrich Schlegel, working in Paris, began to publish his writings on painting in the review *Europa*, in which he declared himself from the beginning receptive only to the painting of the old masters: "Only this do I mean and understand, only of this can I speak." The guiding theme running through the judgments and preferences of Schlegel, as shown in the "Third Appendix on Old Master Paintings" (1804), is an explicit vindication of Christian-Catholic iconism (or of a philosophic-scientific conception similarly iconistic) as the principle and foundation of art: "Religious sentiment, devotion and love, and the intimate, calm inspiration of these, guided the hands of the old masters; and only to a special few is given that one thing which can in some way replace religious sentiment: the most profound meditation, the striving toward a serious and authoritative philosophy, such as is freely manifested, in the usage of art, and with full clarity, in the works of Leonardo and Dürer. In vain will you try to waken pictorial art to new life if first you have not renewed religion or mystical philosophy, or at the very least the idea of them." These concepts of Friedrich Schlegel were partially and emphatically repeated by Madame de Staël in the chapter of *Corinne* (1807) devoted to painting and sculpture. Perhaps the work was also influenced by Schelling, whom Madame de Staël had met in Germany a few years earlier and who, in his lectures on the philosophy of art (given at Jena in 1802–03 and again at Würzburg in 1804–05), had asserted that "mythology" was the "material of art" (by mythology meaning the treatment of ideas truly considered, that is, ideas regarded as divinities). In this so-called "philosophy of identity," which succeeded the system of transcendental idealism, and in the later "philosophy of mythology," Schelling advocated an iconism not only religious but metaphysical as well, stating that art reveals "the forms of things as they are in themselves, that is, as they are in the Absolute."

The extension of iconism to the philosophical sphere effected by Schlegel, and even more decisively by Schelling, foreshadows the tension between iconism and aniconism found in the modern consciousness, without any definite religious grounds. In fact, the present success of nonobjective art can be explained as a return to aniconic tendencies, in relation either to a non-institutional, sometimes private, religious attitude — for example Theosophy (Kandinsky) or Bahaism (Mark Tobey) — or to a kind of mysticism free of any decided religious conception (Klee). Similarly, the defense of the realistic, figural tradition by Communist artists and critics, for instance, can be seen as the transferal of iconism from religion to politics: oriented toward laudatory ceremonial iconography (in the Soviet Union) or toward polemical iconography and provocation (in Western

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countries), but in both cases based on the traditional iconistic motivations of art as the "memoria rerum gestarum" or as the concrete expression of feelings, intended through its force to arouse similar response in the spectator and thereby to dispose him to action.

Rosario Assunto

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Illustrations: PLS. 405–412.

**IMHOTEP.** Egyptian architect (fl. 3d dynasty) whose name acquired a mythological character during the later course of the history of ancient Egypt. During the Greek period he was regarded as a healing deity under the name of Imuthes (Ἰμούθης); as he was believed to be the son of the god of Memphis by a mortal woman, shrines and even temples were dedicated to him. From the Saite period onward, statuettes of Imhotep as a seated priestly figure reading a scroll are very frequent (PL. 413). Earlier, he was considered the patron of scribes; in the New Kingdom it was customary, when writing, to pour the first drop of ink to him, as an offering. In a text on the vanity of all things, dating from the First Intermediate Period, Imhotep is mentioned as an ancient sage whose wisdom would never be forgotten, even if his tomb were lost. Tradition ascribed healing and magical powers to Imhotep; literary texts and foundation rituals as well as priestly functions were attributed to him. One special tradition depicts Imhotep as an architect, the originator of the use of stone as a building material and the creator of the plans for the Temple of Edfu. It was therefore not without reason that a certain architect of the Persian period placed Imhotep at the head of his genealogy.

The historical evidence, full as it is, is not always clear, but sufficient data may be gathered to present a fairly consistent portrait. Imhotep lived during the reign of Zoser (3d dynasty, ca. 2650–2600 B.C.) and was high priest of Heliopolis and chief minister. His name appears on a statue found in the serdab near the tomb of the King. Whatever the significance of so unprecedented a fact may be, it is indicative of a close connection between Imhotep and the monument, and of the very high position which he held. Imhotep may be said to personify a very important phase in the development of Egyptian civilization — transition from the archaic monarchy to the full development of the Old Kingdom, when the unification of Egypt had been accomplished. By this time, conservative and separatist tendencies had given way to the necessities of a more modern, rational, and homogeneous system. The worship of Ra (Re; the sun) had become the basic element of a pan-Egyptian religion, in which the theology was simple and the mythology very limited; science had ceased to be the prerogative of the

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priestly caste. To this period belong also the beginning of medicine not based on magic and the introduction of a solar calendar founded neither on religion nor on agriculture but linked instead to practical and administrative requirements. On the basis of legends, the name of Imhotep can be related to these cultural developments. (The Greeks associated him with Aesculapius as the founder of medical science.) On the evidence of a passage in the writings of Manetho (Egyptian historian of 3d cent. B.C. who wrote in Greek) and of the appearance of the name of Imhotep on the statue of Zoser (IV, PL. 331) as well as on the enclosure wall of the unfinished pyramid at Saqqara attributed to Sekhemkhet, the Greeks also attached special importance to Imhotep as an architect.

With the symbolic values of the above characterizations in proper perspective, Imhotep can be considered one of the outstanding figures of his time. A direct or indirect connection undoubtedly exists between him and the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, the most significant and important monument of this period (PL. 413; IV, PLS. 329, 330, FIG. 633). In the center of a large rectangular enclosure (about 1800 × 900 ft.) formed by a wall (about 32 ½ ft. high) that is decorated with recessed niches and bastions, rises a pyramid built in six steps, which originally rose to a height of about 200 ft. The entrance (PL. 414) in one corner consists of a colonnaded passage leading to a large court on the south side of the pyramid. To the east a series of smaller courts forms a complex of buildings, some of which were connected symbolically with the ritual celebrations of the royal jubilee and others with the official administration of the two parts of the Egyptian kingdom (PL. 414). Attached to the northern side of the pyramid is a funerary temple, divided into two parts for Upper and Lower Egypt. The functions of a number of other buildings of this complex have not been determined. The tomb of the king is underground, at the bottom of a well shaft in the center of the pyramid. A complicated system of subterranean passages served for the storage of offerings and for the burial of other members of the royal family.

In this architectural complex the elements of the oldest Egyptian culture have been drawn upon and put to the fullest use to bring about the creation of an entirely new world. The large-scale use of stone, as yet unusual for construction material, enabled the builder not only to obtain dimensions of almost fabulous size (the area enclosed within the outer encircling wall is a hundred times larger than the tomb of Menes, the founder of the united kingdom of Egypt) but also to create a work which was to last for all time. The elements of a primarily technical nature have an additional significance, for every single part of the complex alludes to or recalls something else. The limestone enclosure wall, on which are traced a number of false doors (there is only one real entrance) recalls the White Walls of the fortifications around which the future city of Memphis would arise. The tomb, successively enlarged from a low mastaba into a pyramid, first of four steps, then of six, seems to signify the reformulation, even as the actual building was going forward, of the underlying concept. Originally designed on the pattern of the typical royal tomb of an earlier age, the dwelling and resting place of the dead king's earthly remains, the tomb assumed the form of the first solidification of the waters of formless chaos upon which the sun could "find a place where he might stand and from whence he might shine forth" (Manetho). Later this same structural design was incorporated into the base of the royal throne. The symbolic meaning is probably the same in each; the tomb is transformed from a resting place into the scene of triumph, according to the cycle of solar rebirth. This concept can surely be ascribed to Imhotep as high priest of Ra at Heliopolis. Other symbolic elements are evidently present on other portions of the complex, although certain secondary structures remain as yet unexplained because they seem to fulfill no functional purposes whatever.

The manner in which the stone is used is striking, the technique employed to cut the fine limestone having been essentially that of the sculptor, undoubtedly because of inexperience in the use of stone as a construction material. Moreover, every part of the structure recalls methods of building with materials other than stone. The enclosure wall imitates the use of sun-baked brick; the columns are in the form of sheaves of reed bundles or of other vegetable material (PL. 414). The solutions achieved in certain older architectural methods involving wooden construction reappear in some details of the work in stone; for example, the ceilings reproduce the trunks of palm trees laid side by side. Because of a lack of technical knowledge in the use of a new material, many construction methods seem to have been adapted from traditional ones. The fact that such an interchange is not the result of a mere haphazard commingling of techniques is borne out by other examples. The valves of the doors, for instance, are all symbolic. They are carved in stone as if open and swung back against the walls of the room into which they lead, with the hinges and other structural details clearly depicted. (Because of this device the entrances to the temenos can be considered to be always open, since the doors exist only as images carved upon the wall.)

All this is an allusion, by representational means, to the functions inherent in the original objects. The extent to which such simulacra take the place of the objects they represent is shown in a more complicated manner by the kiosklike chapels in the Court of the Jubilee. In the celebration of the jubilee (festival of *Heb-Sed*) it was customary to build a kiosk, supported by small pillars on a high base, where the sovereign took his place. Along the whole length of a wall of one of the courts is found a series of solid stone blocks, each carved to represent a kiosk, with the pillars which would support the curved roof shown in relief (PL. 413). Because the stone is solid, there is no interior space, but the inner hollow is suggested by a forecourt in front of the cubic structure. This forecourt is theoretically closed off by a door, but here, as elsewhere, the door is represented as open, set against the wall, and its function is assumed by a gate. Other examples of such symbolic representation to be found in the Saqqara complex include buildings without interiors, false windows in the underground portions of the pyramid, and columns engaged to the enclosure wall by means of small cross walls so that they are deprived of their real function. All these are aspects of an accurate transposition of architectural reality into representations and symbols of that reality. Such examples can be interpreted in various ways: as the adaptation of one technique from another; as resolutions based on the translation of a design from a solid to a plane or vice versa; as structural motifs of a symbolic nature; or lastly as scale models so enlarged as to be dimensionally greater than the originals which they represent, yet maintaining the character of models and not of real edifices.

One factor, however, stands out as characteristic of Imhotep's architecture at Saqqara. Here he is faced with new technical problems, but their solution is not so much architectural as magical. In accordance with the concepts of archaic Egyptian culture, the emphasis lies entirely on a significance achieved by realistic, symbolic, or allusive means. To this end, the architect is allowed to forget the rational concept of architecture as an art of building with a concrete purpose. In the step pyramid, with its daring antinomy between new technical requirements and solutions on the one hand and magic, evocative concepts on the other, the archaic period reaches its apex and its possibilities are exhausted. Immediately afterward begins the severely classic Memphite period. In the almost mythical figure of Imhotep is found the man who brought to maturity all the trends of the oldest Egyptian culture and, at the same time, opened the way to a new era.

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Sergio DONADONI

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**IMPRESSIONISM.** Although impressionism was a limited artistic movement — limited in time and in the relatively small number of artists who belonged to it — the term "impressionism" has acquired a broader meaning. It is used to describe almost all the painters who, in the second half of the 19th century, took a stand against academic tradition and (apart from any question of content) led art back to the concrete problems of vision. They tried to resolve these problems with an immediate rendering of sensory perception by means of color and light.

SUMMARY. Introduction (col. 825). Definition of the term and history of criticism (col. 827). Chronology (col. 843). Impressionist painters (col. 847). Neoimpressionism (col. 853).

INTRODUCTION. Impressionism is important because of the changes it brought about, throughout the Western world, in painting, sculpture, music, poetry, and even literary criticism. Impressionism resulted in the creation of numerous masterpieces. An understanding of impressionism, however, will merely be obscured by pat definitions that are applicable only to single artists or to single systems of ideas; historical periods, because of their complexity, cannot be defined. It seems preferable, therefore, simply to relate what happened.

The origin of impressionism was rather simple. Several young artists who considered themselves realists, but who did not come from a common school and who differed greatly in temperament, met in Paris between 1860 and 1870, felt a certain sympathy and solidarity, and followed parallel lines of art. This unity was spontaneous; each worked after his own manner, without formulating any common poetics, theoretical premises, or artistic systems. After the war of 1870–71, which had separated them, the artists formed a group and faced the public in exhibition for the first time in 1874. The high point of their collaboration as a group was reached in their exhibition of 1877. After 1880 they broke away from one another — as a group and as a style; each proceeded along a path different from that of his colleagues. The community of vision, feeling, and painting of these men, who had formed a group without program or statute, lasted only a few years. It is amazing that in those few years the impressionists were able to mark such an important turning point in the history of art.

The realists — principally Courbet — attempted to master nature in order to represent it in their paintings with the greatest possible vividness. The impressionists took a different direction from the realists, since, instead of trying to represent nature in its entirety, they selected one element — light — to be treated as an independent and organic element of style. Their aim as painters was not to represent nature but to reveal it through style. In its development impressionist art depicted nature but retained an awareness of its distinction, its own abstraction from nature; for this reason modern art traces its origins back to impressionism. The tendencies that appeared after 1880 and were introduced in the name of structure, of the division of colors, and of symbol militated against impressionism, although they were derived from it. These new movements offered programs, theories, and principles which were borrowed or stolen from the sciences to build an intellectual superstructure that seemed to relegate the impressionist masters to the discard. The period of spontaneous creation, of a style which stressed feeling and immediate sensation and which was not bound by any intellectual structure, was over.

Before impressionism the "historical" genre, then most appreciated, had reduced paintings to the simple illustration of a subject chosen for its own merit. Today it is recognized that those illustrations were false both to history and to art — the very reason that the impressionists excluded historical and mythological subjects from their canvases. They excluded genre scenes as well, harmless as these may be, because they called attention to the subject rather than to the painting itself. The "subject" was replaced by a motif that had no other purpose than to call attention to the painting; this abolition of subject matter was an inevitable revolution in painting, and recent attempts to revive an interest in subject have all failed.

In their time the impressionists painted chiefly landscapes. In fact, it was easier to make acceptable the distortions necessary to create an organic effect of light when the subject was a tree or a field than when it was a human figure. Precisely because of a respect for the human figure, which he had learned from Ingres, Degas never became wholly an impressionist, while the human depictions of Manet, Renoir, and Cézanne seem an achievement of the impossible by artists of genius.

One consequence of a stylistic emphasis on light was that the paintings looked unfinished. Before impressionism a finished work had been considered one in which the subject was complete in detail, a subject organized through line rather than through light. One of the major scandals of impressionism arose from the conviction of observers that the works were mere sketches rather than finished paintings; the organization of light demands finished quality of what is unfinished.

To be more than simple chiaroscuro (which is really a means to create plastic form), light must be separated into its individual colors if it is to create a world of art complete in itself. The novelty that attracted most admirers to impressionist painting was its bright color in contrast to the darker colors of both the romantics and the realists. In breaking down colors, the impressionists began that synthesis of light which the divisionists (following the pattern of scientific treatises) were to develop systematically.

Finally, the impressionists did not select subjects distinguished for monumentality or richness. Since a palace is less adaptable to effects of light and shade than a straw-roofed shanty, the impressionists happily painted huts and banished impressive buildings from their canvases. Trees and fields, which seemed to be formed of light, were fitting subjects. Because of this lack of discrimination in subject matter, Parisian collectors and the art-loving public considered the impressionists vulgar; and in fact, from a social point of view, the impressionists marked the end of the "notable" subject in painting, as well as the end of class distinction. Even the poorest theme became the subject of art. The impressionists were revolutionaries without being aware of it; they painted life out of doors because it was the world they knew. Pissarro was an anarchist idealist who felt a connection between the emancipation of the artist's sight and that of man; Monet was a friend of Clemenceau; Renoir was an ingenuous person to whom any kind of politics was foreign. It is curious that their paintings, born of inner necessities, should extend to the whole world, encompassing all of social existence.

Rejection of subject — particularly the "significant" subject — concentration on light, finishing of the unfinished, splitting up of colors, and an autonomous view of reality are all aspects of that revolution of taste which bears the name "impressionism."

Each of the impressionist painters contributed to the common effort. Edouard Manet turned away from the realism of Courbet, renouncing relief and mass in order to brighten his palette and to accentuate contrasts of color. His break with realism was the result of his distaste for "illusion" and his desire for a unified personal style. The simplification of forms and contrasts of color required the "unfinished" effect. Manet started with paint and canvas (i.e., without sketches), and when he was not satisfied with a work, he painted the same picture on subsequent canvases without correcting the previous ones. His was an elaborate technique intended to maintain the effect of improvisation.

The break with realism shocked the public, but the vivacity of the pictures aroused the enthusiasm of other artists and of the writer Emile Zola. Manet became both a scandal and a symbol of artistic renewal. One may say that he created the esthetic of impressionism but not the technique; this remained to be developed by Claude Monet in the years after 1870.

It was Monet who created the type of painting that later came to be considered impressionist, and therefore he may be considered the leader of the school.

His rebellious nature led him to a sharper break with tradition than Manet's. Monet centered the whole meaning of painting in landscape. Not only his sketches but also his finished paintings were completed out of doors. He caught the vibrations of light on the moving waters of the Seine so remarkably that

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he eliminated all static elements from his pictures. When that effect of vibration was no longer felt to be merely a rendition of life but was considered a requirement of painting style (involving the consequent division of colors), then impressionism was truly born. It was Monet who created true impressionism and purified it of all foreign elements, whether literary or social. In 1877 Georges Rivière was able to express the intent of the impressionists as follows: "To treat a subject for its tone and not for itself, that is what distinguishes the impressionist from other painters." This idea has remained fundamental in modern painting.

Camille Pissarro was less fanciful than Monet, and while in appearance he seems more of a realist, he was, in fact, more meditative. He brought a strong sense of construction to his painting; his feeling for structure and composition and the moral qualities that inform his art made him truly the teacher of the impressionists. He taught impressionism to Cézanne and Seurat, even though for a while he was also their follower; he trained Gauguin, too, who later broke away from his teaching. Actually it was from Cézanne, and not Pissarro, that those who continued impressionism derived their constructive element.

Alfred Sisley, because of his Englishness and because of his own timidity, received much more from the impressionism of Monet than he gave to the movement.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir was, with Monet, one of the main pillars of impressionism. It was he who brought impressionism to the representation of the human figure and the figure composition. If Monet purified impressionist style, Renoir extended it to include all of creation, with a grace that became famous and that inspired the best production of his colleagues.

Paul Cézanne owed his liberation from an impressive but excessive pictorial introspection to Pissarro, who revealed to him the existence and beauty of the external world. But Cézanne's assimilation of impressionism did not prevent him from pursuing his ideal of an architectural world in three dimensions, and of chromatic volume as a synthesis of form and color. Cézanne was the first of the colleagues to formulate a theory; impressionism had been born without a theory, and to this lack of theory it owed many of its most attractive qualities. But the intellect has its rights, and creative spontaneity exists even beyond theory, as Cézanne himself proved. In any case, his theory brought about a change in impressionism. Reformers and revolutionaries such as Seurat and Gauguin also felt the need of theory.

Born without theory, impressionism lived little more than ten years and was killed by theory. Today, after more than sixty years of intelligent, very intellectual artistic experience, impressionism appears as a period of spontaneous grace, when sensation and feeling gave art an infinite wealth within a limited sphere. After the diffuseness of romanticism, the impressionists were obliged to limit their field and to purify art by starting again from the beginning. And this was their greatness.

Lionello Venturi

Definition of the term and history of criticism. The definition "impressionists" was adopted by the painters who in 1874 had given an independent show in Paris at the studio of the photographer Nadar. The term came from the title of a painting which Claude Monet entered in the show, *Impression — Sunrise* (pl. 418). The second word of the title was added by the painter to make his idea clearer to the public. Before the show of 1874 the term "impressionism" had been applied disparagingly by hostile critics. Even after the show, in a famous article that appeared in the satirical paper *Charivari* (Apr. 25, 1874), the newspaperman Louis Leroy, who was violently opposed to the new painting and noted for his ferocious attacks on Manet, coined the phrase *école impressionniste* to describe a manner of painting that he ridiculed. Later Leroy could only regret that he had ironically given the new movement its name. In fact, as John Rewald (1939) has pointed out, the term "impression" had already been used by critics. According to Rewald, Castagnary had written ten years earlier that in front of a canvas by Corot one must give oneself up to the impression that the artist has tried to render. The same writer admired Jongkind and said that in this artist's work everything lies in the impression. In a preface for a one-man show of Manet, in 1876, there is the following phrase: "the painter has only tried to render his impression." Even earlier than Leroy, Armand Silvestre (in *Opinion nationale*, Apr. 22, 1874), with critical conscience and not the resentment born of misunderstanding, wrote of "impression": "What is certain is that the manner of seeing of these landscapists [Monet, Sisley, Pissarro] has nothing in common with that of any earlier master; this way of seeing has its plausible side and is expressed with such conviction that it cannot be dismissed. If one is looking for definition, one will find that it is above all decorative. It attempts an effect of impression, leaving the search for expression to those who are enamored of line" (Lethève). Although he did not use the world "impression," Silvestre had expressed the same ideas in his preface, written the year before, to the print exhibition held in the Durand-Ruel gallery in Paris. In 1877, on the occasion of the third exhibition of the impressionist painters, Georges Rivière, writing for a journal called *L'Impressioniste* that survived for only four numbers, explained why these artists called themselves "impressionists." "It's very simple. They have hung the word 'impressionist' on the door of their exhibition in order not to be confused with others and because this term clearly describes them to the public. It was the public and the journalists who first gave this name to these painters, and these godfathers are inconsiderate now to ask the meaning of a name that their godchildren have only respectfully accepted. What meaning did the words 'classic' and 'romantic' have in 1830? As far as I know, nothing particularly clear in itself, and yet these words served to distinguish two quite different schools" (*L'Impressionniste*, no. 2, Apr. 21, 1877, p. 3). Rivière here tried to ignore the meaning of the word "impressionism" in itself, concerning himself with an attempt to understand the painting rather than with mere nomenclature.

Even though the artists and the public soon accepted the term "impressionism" — which replaced other definitions such as "intransigents" or "the school of the eye" (the latter proposed by Montifaud; cf. Lethève, p. 63) — agreement on the interpretation of the new painting was less easy. Differences of opinion still exist regarding certain aspects of impressionism, and the problem becomes even more complex when one tries to give definite dates to the development and the demonstration of the impressionist vision, since the two matters are interrelated. Disregarding negative reactions to impressionism — or putting aside at least those that concern history of taste — one must turn back to the first critical interpretations, which preceded the exhibition of 1874. It becomes evident that this date cannot be considered the beginning of the affirmation of impressionist taste, for it marks merely the first unified, public manifestation of the painters who later called themselves impressionists. By 1874 the full maturity and consciousness of their style had already been achieved for some years.

Another important manifestation, eleven years previously, had been the *Salon des Refusés*. Still earlier, in 1860 — in an attempt to meet the crisis of realism that even Courbet faced — there had appeared works heralding a new pictorial concept, original in its conception of the relation between the artist and the reality that surrounded him. Then, in 1863, courageously reacting against official conformism, Manet, Guillaumin, Cézanne, Pissarro, Jongkind, Fantin-Latour, and Whistler sent some of their works to the *Salon des Refusés*. Among these paintings was a picture by Manet entitled *The Bath*, which was later called *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (*Picnic on the Grass*; pl. 416). The *Salon des Refusés* was established by Napoleon III to conciliate the many artists who had been rejected by the jury of the official *Salon* of that year, although a generally negative response on the part of the press and the public was anticipated. The apparent generosity of Napoleon III, which was dictated by careful political calculation, was part of his paternalistic concept of power and demagogy. At the same time, the Emperor himself did not dream of dislodging from their privileged position the artists of the official academic milieu, which controlled all exhibitions, prizes, and artistic life in general. Although

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so many artists had been rejected by the official *Salon* of 1863 that a second *Salon* was deemed necessary, the cultural policy of the Empire (which was dictated by Count Nieuwerkerke, *intendant* of the Beaux-Arts) could not have been more reactionary. Such was the situation that Courbet was discredited and even Corot and Delacroix were looked on with suspicion, while scores of second-rate artists from Couture to Gleyre were comfortably ensconced in the official chairs of the Academy, which selected the jury that ruled on admissions or rejections for all official art exhibits. This procedure was part and parcel of the political system of the time, but the situation did not change even after the fall of the Empire and the suppression of the Commune, probably because middle-class taste did not change at all in the years immediately following 1870–71.

By 1863 all the future impressionists were already seeking a more precise formulation of their own style that would, despite their contributions to it, distinguish it from romanticism and realism. One of the most attentive critics of the realist movement, Castagnary, was able to admire, albeit with considerable reserve, the works that Pissarro sent to the *Salon des Refusés*: "Pissarro. Since I cannot find his name in earlier catalogues, I suppose that he must be a young artist. He seems to have a taste for the manner of Corot: he is a good master, but one must avoid imitating him" (*L'Artiste*, Sept. 1, 1863). The new painting, which was at that moment in search of itself, had effectively planted its roots in French artistic culture. In 1824 Stendhal had written of the *Salon* of that year: "I love the young painters with fire in their souls and sincerity of spirit" (*Journal de Paris*, Aug. 31, 1824). In 1866 Zola, the first defender of Manet's painting, wrote: "What I ask of an artist is not that he give me delicate visions or anguished nightmares, but that he liberate himself heart and soul, that he express a powerful and particular spirit." These are two somewhat different positions, which characterize two separate historical periods and which accompany the rise of two distinct pictorial visions; both, however, belong to the development of French painting in the 19th century.

When the impressionists began to evolve their vision, the climate of official French painting was that of official painting everywhere: it was heavy with rhetoric and worn-out sentimentalism. The artists found it necessary to reestablish a feeling for painting itself by putting aside entirely picturesque subjects and the banality of superficial sentiments. Such a painting as *Romans of the Decadence* (1847, Louvre) by Couture, who had been Manet's master at the École des Beaux-Arts, was not only an ugly picture but, since it was painted in 1847, an anachronism. Such were the painters that young artists found in the schools and with whom they had to study until the moment of rebellion came. But it would have been impossible for them to turn back to pure and simple realistic representation. The pictorial endeavor of Courbet had been chiefly one of sincerity, an endeavor to synthesize his human condition with his artistic expression. His was a lesson of incalculable importance, but it did not go far enough to meet the new requirements of art. One might say paradoxically that it was not so much the Academy (which was nothing but a walking corpse) as realism that impressionism killed. After Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia* (IX, PL. 278; both 1863), which were not impressionist works, Courbet's realism was no longer revolutionary and could not serve as a model. The connection with the Barbizon school became even more tenuous, although Barbizon painters, particularly Diaz and Daubigny, were admired by the younger artists. The problem of art underwent profound change, and even Zola (1866), who at first had asked the artist to master nature, modified his statements: "A work of art is nothing but the combination of a man, a variable element, with nature, a fixed element. For me, who believe that reality must be subordinated to temperament, the word 'realist' means nothing." The impressionists went even further and refused to acknowledge nature as a fixed element. Instead, for them nature was simply an inspiring moment to be transformed by the painter into a pictorial motif. However, even Zola, the leader of the literary movement known as "naturalism," acknowledged (at least until 1886, when he published his novel *L'Œuvre*, which marked his break with the impressionists) that his painter friends intended something quite different from realism. So he called them "naturalists," a term so equivocal and so incomprehensible that it was hard for Zola himself to define it.

The *Salon des Refusés* of 1863 had no sequels, since in succeeding years fewer artists were rejected by the official *Salon*. In 1864 Manet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Berthe Morisot were admitted. Manet was admitted again in 1865 and submitted *Olympia*, which revived the scandal that the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* had created two years earlier. Degas, Pissarro (admitted as a student of Corot), Monet, and Berthe Morisot were also accepted in 1865. Cézanne, however, was rejected in 1864 and 1865, and again in 1866, when Corot and Daubigny were part of the jury. Manet and Renoir also were rejected in 1866, but Monet's *Camille*, a work of Bazille, and pictures by Degas, Sisley, Pissarro, and Berthe Morisot were admitted. Although the *Salon des Refusés* was the first rupture — the first stand against official taste — the *Salon* of 1866, more for the absence of Manet than for the presence of other painters, widened the breach. This breach found the new artists, supported by a few critics, on one side; on the other was the great majority of public and press, hostile to works which even yet were not fully impressionist. The public and the press were to remain hostile to impressionism for long years to come. In 1866 Cézanne wrote his famous letter to Count Nieuwerkerke declaring that he no longer wished to be judged by artists he did not esteem, whose opinion of his works he never would have asked, and requesting the reestablishment of the *Salon des Refusés*. Cézanne never received a reply. But Zola was inspired to write, under the pseudonym Claude (the hero of his *La Confession de Claude*, 1866), critical articles for *L'Événement*. In answer to the protests of a large part of the public, the director of the newspaper felt himself obliged to publish alongside Zola a "right-thinking" critic named Pelloquet, who immediately reassured a public provoked by the praises of Manet: "I have read the articles of Claude, and I am far from sharing his opinion of the role he attributes to Manet in the French school" (*L'Événement*, May 16, 1866).

Zola's *Mon Salon* (1866), which was a commendation of Manet and the new painting, also marks an innovation in critical opinion: "I have seen again *Le Dîner sur l'herbe* [*sic*], the masterpiece shown at the *Salon des Refusés*, and I challenge any of our fashionable painters to give us a broader horizon or one more full of air and light." And, more specifically: "His [Manet's] whole being leads him to see in patches, in simple and energetic pieces. Of him one can say that he is content to look for the right tones and then to juxtapose them on his canvas. The result is a canvas covered with solid strong painting. In the picture I see a man in search of truth, a man who extracts from the true a world that has its own powerful and individual life." It is apparent that Zola, in this particular moment, intuited the visual symbols of the new painting. It is in this early criticism of Zola and a few others that one must look for the first definition of impressionism that goes beyond the mere name, although the name itself does contain some connotation. It must be kept in mind that impressionism was never a school of painting with a rigid theory. In fact, since impressionism had no formal theory at all, it would be absurd to look for a theoretical esthetic as the origin of the movement. The merit of the impressionist painters was that they abandoned any fixed program; although these artists achieved similar results, differing, of course, from painter to painter, and although they lived in contact with one another, their personalities were profoundly different; so that their works might often appear to be at opposite poles. Impressionism was a particular period of taste which, while it lasted but a few years (after a preparatory period), left an indelible mark. Aside from the matter of time, there is nothing in common, for example, between Monet's cathedrals and Cézanne's still lifes.

It is interesting to see how its contemporaries defined this period of taste. We have seen Zola's opinions on Manet. He resumed his articles on art for *L'Événement illustré*, with greater freedom than previously, in 1868, the year Manet was admitted to the *Salon* of 1868 with a portrait of Zola. Berthe

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Morisot, Renoir, Monet, Degas, Pissarro, and Sisley were also admitted, but Cézanne was again rejected. In an article dedicated to the naturalists, Zola spoke of Pissarro; in another article on May 24, which he dedicated to artists he termed *actualistes*, he spoke of Monet: "This year only one of his pictures was accepted: *Boat Leaving the Pier at Le Havre* . . . . What struck me in this canvas was the frankness, the boldness of touch . . . . He is one of the few painters who know how to paint water, without silly transparencies, without tricky reflections. In him the water is alive, deep, and above all true. It laps around the boats in little greenish billows, broken by white lights; it spreads in sea-green waves that a breeze suddenly shakes; it lengthens the reflections of the trees, breaking their images; it has faint and subdued tints that are illuminated by sharp bits of brightness." Although it is impossible to identify the picture of which Zola spoke, one must remember that by 1868 Monet's handling of water was already essentially impressionist, and Zola (albeit with a certain satisfaction in his own theory of naturalism) gives a description of a genuine impressionist picture. What one can conclude from these early opinions is that the essential elements in painting are light and clarity, which illuminate the faded colors. Zola does not describe the pier at Le Havre, nor does Monet. All interest is in the light, only one component of a landscape, but in this painting the most important element. However, Zola did not realize that this extraction of a single element from nature (in order to strengthen that element for pictorial ends) was exactly contrary to any rigidly naturalistic esthetic. If at this time the impressionists, as they may now truly be called, could still be considered a branch of realism, they were far from their origin, and not even the naturalist interpretation of Zola seems justifiable; this is one of the causes of his later misunderstanding of impressionism. In his review of the *Salon* of 1880 Zola's position remained unchanged: "This is what the impressionists bring to painting: a careful investigation of the causes and effects of light, which influences design as well as color." Although this statement is quite correct, a little later in the same article Zola shows the reserve that led to his break with these painters: "It is a great pity that not one of the artists of this group has with force and finality entirely achieved the new formula, part of which each of them demonstrates in his works. The formula is there, infinitely fragmented, but in not one of them is it applied by a master." Zola, then, failed to find a unity in impressionist endeavors, and consequently he did not realize that this great merit — the diversity of solutions arising from a common culture — was another demonstration of the eruptive personality of the individual artist. One must grant that he recognized a unified moment as far as taste was concerned, and that he passionately defended the new painting, but his naturalist preconceptions led him to look for an impossible classification of these artists. Therefore, in creating the character of Claude Lantier, the hero of *L'Œuvre*, although Zola took Cézanne and Manet as models, he depicted Claude as an artist of genius but an *artiste manqué* — an artist who would have liked to paint scenes of modern life but who was incapable of it. He did not realize that neither Cézanne nor, even less, Manet (not to mention the other impressionist painters) wanted to represent modern life.

Zola's naturalist interpretation of impressionism is, after all, unacceptable. Other contemporary critics who sought a definition of impressionism started out from different theoretical positions. In 1868 Castagnary realized that something was happening in painting which would revolutionize all preceding tradition. In 1870 Théodore Duret, the first genuine critic of impressionism, reviewed the *Salon* of that year. In his article on Manet he gives something that resembles a first definition of impressionism: "We will call by the name of artist only him who has a powerful vision of things, receives a personal impression from them, and manages to fix his vision in appropriate form on a canvas and communicates to us his impression . . . . We only look at a picture in order to feel it, to feel an impression or an emotion in its presence" ("Salon de 1870," *Critique d'avant-garde*, Paris, 1885). Duret's interpretation is not concerned with either realism or naturalism; he does not demand a faithful reproduction of subject from the artist, nor does he ask of the artist any of the "scenes of modern life" that were so dear to Zola. Duret used the word "impression" almost as if it were equivalent to emotion, and he implied that this was a rapidly felt emotion, an effect of synthesis rather than of analysis. Even before 1874, then (and before Silvestre and Leroy), the word "impression" defined at least one of the characteristics of the new painting; it is not improbable that this led Monet to call several of his works "Impressions." Duret, notwithstanding the incomplete logic of his critical interpretation, is a writer to be reckoned with in any attempt at a precise definition of impressionist painting. Born in 1838 and living until 1927, Duret not only observed closely and completely the development, success, and decline of impressionism but, as a contemporary of the artists, he followed their individual careers even when they advanced beyond impressionism pure and simple. It was Duret who wrote the first pamphlet about the impressionist painters (1878). He discusses them there at greater length, and he helps us to understand the reactions that impressionist painting aroused in those who tried to understand it and to place it in a solid context, that is to say, within the French artistic tradition. As early as 1870 Duret understood the difference between the new painting and the old. He understood what the younger painters had learned from their predecessors, and he justly cites Corot and Courbet, as well as Manet, as masters who influenced impressionism. To this stimulus he adds the influence of Japanese art, which, he maintains, was necessary for arriving at a synthesis of the various aspects of a landscape in plein air. He implies, therefore, not only an impression of, but a direct communication with nature, above all with the effects of light in nature. "The impressionist sits on the bank of a river; according to the sky, his angle of vision, the time of day, and the calm or agitation of the atmosphere, the water assumes various tones, and the painter paints, without hesitation, the water with all its tones. If the sky is overcast and it is rainy, the painter paints a sea-green, heavy, opaque water; if the sky is calm, the sun brilliant, he paints a brilliant silvery blue water; if there is wind, he paints the reflections created by the small waves; if the sun is setting and darts its rays over the water, the impressionist, to capture the effect, puts yellows and reds on his canvas . . . . During the winter, the impressionist paints the snow. He sees that in the sunlight the shadows on the snow are blue, and without hesitation he paints blue shadows." Duret is saying, in effect, that the impression of which he had spoken in 1870 is not achieved by a mere synthesis of linear elements, but chiefly by a chromatic synthesis. And he adds that a color, a particular color, even though it is taken from nature, is used in a completely autonomous fashion.

Philippe Burty, a critic in the realist tradition, was also aware of the difficulty of defining impressionism. He was interested in the first exhibition of the impressionist painters and wrote the preface to the sales catalogue (Paris, Mar. 24, 1875) of paintings and water colors by Monet, Berthe Morisot, Renoir, and Sisley. In an impressionist painting, he says, "the detail is suppressed . . . the picture expresses the effects of light and the oppositions of tone . . . . It is as if there were small fragments from the mirror of the whole world . . ." (L. Venturi, 1939). In this definition of fragments Burty, unlike Duret, seems not to understand the deeper value of impressionist painting, its capacity for synthesis. Because of this capacity even the fragments have a place in a unified vision. In this connection it should be pointed out that the poetics of impressionism had nothing to do with that of the later and unrelated decadent movement. This problem is closely allied to the establishment of the chronology of the impressionist period. Since it is held in this article, as will be seen below, that the impressionist period did not extend much beyond 1880, one must reject any later "fragmentist" interpretation of impressionist painting. Impressionism was, therefore, distinct from all subsequent movements (particularly symbolism). Unfortunately, symbolism, from Gauguin to the Nabis, has too often been considered an extension of impressionism, if not an integral part of it. In 1880 Burty published a curious love story, *Grave*



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*imprudence*, the hero of which, the painter Brissot, is modeled after the impressionists, Monet in particular. In Brissot's history, Burty shows the impossibility of crystallizing impressionism in a single formula. After having experimented with innumerable nuances of his pictures, after having analyzed nature's luminosity, Brissot believes he has found the formula of the new art. But at this point he realizes that "the formula had infinite variations, depending on country, season, atmospheric pressure, and a thousand local or psychic causes" (L. Venturi, 1939, p. 295).

Another critic well-versed in realism was Duranty, who in 1876 attempted a definition of impressionism. He went even further than Rivière, who had written that what distinguished the impressionists from all other painters was that they treated the subject not for itself, but for its tones. Duranty said that the impressionists' achievement was their "realization that strong light discolors tones and that sunlight reflecting from objects tends, by its very brightness, to alter their colors in the direction of the colorless brilliance of white light itself, which is composed of the seven rays of the prism. From intuition to intuition [the impressionist painters] have gradually split up the light of the sun into its rays, its elements, and they have restored its unity in the shimmering harmony of colors that they spread over their canvases." Émile Blémont's definition (1876) attempts to be even more penetrating: "What is an impressionist painter? No one has given a satisfactory definition, but to us it seems that the artists thus described are all working, with different manners of execution, toward the same end: to render with absolute sincerity, without compromise or dilution, with broad and simple manner, the impression aroused in them by the various aspects of reality . . . . They are synthesists and not analysts, and we believe that they are right in this, for if analysis is the scientific method par excellence, then synthesis is the true method of art. The impressionists follow no other laws than those affecting the necessary relationships of things; like Diderot, they believe that the idea of the beautiful consists in the perception of these relationships." It is important to emphasize that Blémont does not make a general formula for impressionism that is valid for all artists and for all times. If in theory he believes that they are right (and in this connection he approves of them fully), in practice he distinguishes in their works between attempt and genuine achievement: "One does not always achieve what one attempts, nor execute it as it should be done; one does not always bring about the desired end even when one sees that end clearly." According to Paul Mantz (1877), the impressionists are heavy-handed, ignorant, and, fortunately, harmless to future artists. Nevertheless, one can find one of the most precise definitions of impressionism in this otherwise negative judgment: "In theory the impressionist is the sincere and free artist who, breaking with formal schools and fashionable refinements of style, falls ingenuously under the absolute spell of nature and who translates simply and with the greatest possible sincerity the intensity of the impression received. The depiction of great spectacles implies a consequent elimination of detail. The painter is on the top of a hill: he sees the immense plain below, but he does not see the pebbles in the road or the blades of grass in the field. A cloud rushes across the evening sky: in a few minutes it will have changed color and shape. Three or four touches will be sufficient to catch the fleeting image."

Naturally, all these writers were chiefly interested in establishing the relationship of impressionist painting to reality. Since the most recent revolutionary movement in painting had been realism, they saw impressionism as a continuation of that movement and felt that it should interpret nature realistically. The painters themselves sometimes fell into this ambiguity. In 1884, when he was no longer, strictly speaking, an impressionist painter, Renoir said that there is irregularity and variety in the real aspects of things. Consequently, any painting that fails to take this into account, and tries to adhere to rules and formulas of impossible symmetries and perfection, betrays its own truest essence. In fact, it is impossible to judge the impressionist vision without continually taking into account the particular relationship that exists between the individual artist and the reality surrounding him. The problem is to interpret the manner in which he integrates his vision of reality with the stylistic principle that dominates his painting. With this in mind one realizes that the poetics of impressionist painting could not be farther removed from the principles of realism formulated about the middle of the 19th century in France. Only a critic whose cultural orientation was not bound to realism or naturalism would attempt to interpret impressionist painting from the point of view of the visual sensitivity of the individual artist. He would try to interpret impressionism in terms of what purely visual criticism might call "the symbols of vision." The poet and critic, Jules Laforgue (1883), who was influenced by the ideas of Konrad Fiedler, considered the impressionist to be a painter who succeeded in forgetting the traditions and paintings amassed in museums, and who achieved "a natural eye." In this interpretation everything depends on optical sensitivity, as opposed not only to the preconception of the immutability of nature, the fixity of rules, and the ideal of absolute beauty, but also to "the three invincible illusions that have always nourished technical painters: design, perspective, and studio light." The impressionist eye reacts against each of these principles: "Forms are not achieved by means of design and outline but solely by means of the vibrations and contrasts of color; theoretical perspective is replaced by the natural perspective of the vibrations and contrasts of color: studio lighting, which a picture contains when it is painted at any time of day in the uniform light of the studio (whether the picture depicts a street, the country, or a lighted salon), is replaced by plein-air. Such a picture is executed in the presence of the object, no matter how impractical that may be or how quickly it must be painted because of the rapid variation in natural lighting."

*L'Art impressionniste*, published by Georges Lecomte in 1892, is generally considered the first history of impressionist painting. Actually it is a collection of essays about painters, some of whom have no connection at all with impressionism. In an introductory chapter Lecomte simply repeats the familiar definition of the particular sensitivity of the artist in the presence of nature, of the rendering of impressions, and of light as a constructive element in the composition. In 1894 another history of impressionism appeared in Gustave Geffroy's *Vie artistique*. This work contains profiles of numerous artists and a rather literary attempt at definition: "Impressionism, in its most representative works, is a kind of painting that approaches phenomenalism; it tends to represent the appearance and meaning of objects in space, and attempts to synthesize these things in the semblance of a moment." For all the nebulousness of this definition, there is importance in the stress that Geffroy lays, albeit superficially, on the problem of space, a problem hitherto ignored in attempts at definition. Furthermore, Geffroy tries to place impressionism in the general evolution of French painting. Unfortunately neither the work of Lecomte nor that of Geffroy faces the problem of the chronology of impressionism. Without attempting to establish the temporal limits of the development and maturity of impressionist taste, and without distinguishing the moment at which the individual artist goes beyond impressionist taste, a definition can be only approximate. In addition, one runs the risk of distorting a definition by applying it to later artists who were no longer impressionist; thus Geffroy dedicates a substantial essay to Jean-François Raffaëlli, whose mediocre work has nothing to do with impressionism or the creators of that movement.

This lack of chronology and, consequently, of any historical order, long hampered the criticism of impressionist painting. The absence of chronology is particularly obstructive when one passes from a consideration of such painters as Pissarro and Monet, for example, to a contemplation of other painters who may have roots in impressionism but who have drawn away from it, and to artists who have modified the means and ends of impressionism and have thus altered the type of relationship between observed reality and the form in which it is represented. Postimpressionism was something profoundly different from impressionism; this difference is attested not only by the paintings but also by the theories of artists who symp-



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tomatically called themselves "neoimpressionists." As P. Signac pointed out (1899), this name was adopted in order to pay homage to the impressionists as well as to underline the common ends pursued by impressionists and neoimpressionists alike, ends that consisted in handling of light and color. But "the technique of the latter painters has nothing impressionistic about it. While the technique of the impressionists is based on instinct and instantaneity, that of the neoimpressionists is based on reflection and permanence." Thus Signac acknowledges that the goal of the impressionists was a realization of light — a rendering of the various aspects of reality in terms of the element of light. He also realized that it was to the impressionists' credit that they banished impure colors from the palette. He was aware, too, that they refused to mix colors on the palette, as the neoimpressionists did. Signac defines and distinguishes the two groups on the basis of technique. He sees that the simplification of the palette led the impressionists to split up colors and multiply elements, with the result that for the first time in painting (at least for the first time in this manner) "the entire surface of the picture glows with sunlight; the air circulates; light embraces, caresses, and irradiates forms; it penetrates everywhere, even into the shadows which it illuminates." In this way the impressionist painters succeeded in rendering the astonishing mutability of nature, in mastering the dynamic rhythms of nature, and in revolutionizing the traditional conception of landscape. This achievement has endured, significant not only for the work of the neoimpressionists but for that of succeeding generations of artists. Signac, while he is establishing the differences between his own paintings and those of the masters to whom he is indebted, implies that impressionism ceased to exist at a certain date. Furthermore, he feels, no impressionist painter remained impressionist to the end of his career. Cézanne, for example, broke away from impressionism after 1877 and attempted new techniques. In years to follow, all the other impressionists noticeably modified the characteristics of their style and their concepts of visual reality. Monet himself, who is considered the impressionist par excellence, modified the role of light in his painting after 1894.

So far this article has considered the interpretations of impressionism given by contemporary critics. However, it is from a precise delineation of the duration of impressionism that one finally arrives at the real meaning of that movement. If, for example, Renoir's paintings after 1880–82 or Pissarro's association with pointillism were considered continuations of impressionism, important variations in impressionism itself would be altogether missed: the moment at which impressionism was left behind for reasons of composition and construction (Cézanne) or for reasons of light and form (Monet). Cézanne and Monet are mentioned to indicate two different and opposed positions that went beyond impressionism.

Fritz Novotny (1960) maintains that impressionism did not make its first appearance in painting in the years after 1860. While making the same distinction between the noun "impressionism" and the adjective "impressionistic" that has been made between "romanticism" and "romantic," Novotny maintains that throughout the centuries there has always been an impressionistic element in painting. The idea of the eternal reemergence of this element was stated by Werner Weisbach in 1910. Weisbach, however, failed to understand the impressionist period and, in consequence, the historical importance of impressionism. Novotny, on the other hand, is fully aware of the importance of impressionism and raises the significant question of the proportionate relationship between realism and artistic form in the work of the impressionists. Although he propounds impressionism as an extreme of illusionism (a difficult statement to accept), Novotny recognizes the necessity of defining impressionist taste in terms of the various contributions of each individual artist, and he is fundamentally right. Although impressionism was described as a school of painting after 1874, one must repeat that there never was an impressionist "school." While the impressionists rebelled against the École des Beaux-Arts, they included in their exhibitions rejected artists who had nothing in common with impressionism. Furthermore, the greatness of the impressionist period consists precisely in the immense variety of solutions to esthetic problems, as well as in the discovery of light as the principal element of composition and as the intensifier of perception. Unquestionably the independence that the image of light finds in impressionist painting is achieved in different ways by Manet, Renoir, and the other painters. What they have in common is the will to modify the structure of the real image in order to give the pictorial image its own truth. It was the impressionist painters who abandoned the accepted idea of immutable reality and who subjected reality to the most audacious changes when they deemed it necessary; this is one of their greatest contributions to modern painting. Consequently, the proportionate relationship of which Novotny speaks often favors artistic form at the expense of reality. Impressionism did not, however, follow this principle to its ultimate consequences, since it was the impressionists who subsequently emphasized the real value of pictorial form at the expense of the illusionistic value of appearance. Cézanne upset traditional perspective and broke up three-dimensional space; Monet gave light not only to form but to the very material of painting, to the pigments themselves, in order to redouble an illumination which was no longer merely descriptive. Although an impressionistic element has always existed in art, it is nevertheless true that impressionism, as a historically determinable period of taste, developed only in the years after 1870. It was neither a general formula (since it was incapable of absolute definition, as Burty noted) nor an esthetic theory, but rather a principle, varying in individual cases, and above all a new morality. In consequence it is difficult to speak of an extreme form of illusionism. One could cite Charles E. Gauss's observation (1949) that, having discovered in light all the inspiration they needed to create a work of art, the impressionists intuited that "the artist could intensify and transfigure his subject to adapt it to his impression."

For Francastel (1951) "the real problem consists in knowing what real influence the recording of sensations of light had on the manner of representing space." Although impressionism (or at least those works painted up until 1880) does not seem, according to Francastel, to have altered greatly the Renaissance conception of space, it did initiate a new manner of representing three-dimensional space and above all made this distinction: "The cubic vision of the Renaissance was a vision at a distance; modern vision is one that attempts to discover the secret detail . . . . The artist no longer offers the patron a view of that part of the earth which may be dominated; the world of the contemporary artist is full of fearful secrets and eludes the ancient unities of dimensions and values." Francastel's opinion is especially valuable because he treats the effect of impressionism on the most modern artistic trends. He thus refuses any division of movements and maintains that it is absurd to speak of postimpressionism, since he considers the trends of the close of the 19th century and those of the 20th as part of the same continuum. Francastel had already denied the distinction in 1937, while singling out 1875 as the date when a technical difference arose in the painting of the masters whom we call impressionists. He considered 1875 the year that saw the rise of a new sensitivity, a period marked by a kind of painting that he would prefer to call "independent" rather than "impressionistic." His opinions are evocative, but the problem of historical arrangement is, nevertheless, inescapable. True, it would be absurd to persist in considering impressionism only in terms of the symbols of its vision, that is, to recognize its importance only as lying in the dominant role played by light in the composition. The use the impressionists made of light is different from that of earlier painters, because in impressionism light represents an entirely new technique of incalculable significance. However, this new technique and its later changes testify to a mutability that is not merely one of pictorial conception, of the idea of reality, of sensitivity to light stimuli. Seurat's paintings belong, of necessity, to a period succeeding impressionism, not merely because the artist replaced impressionist intuition with a scientific method of divisionism, but because his deliberateness reveals a new attitude of the individual, in both a social and cultural context — for neither culture nor society was what it had been ten years earlier. As far as spatial

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representation is concerned, it is obvious that the careful organization of divisionism is far removed from the luminous and varied spatiality of impressionism. It is at least as far away as Cézanne's definition of space is from Picasso's definition (notwithstanding Picasso's debt to Cézanne). This fact does not deny, however, the historical continuity of modern art, nor the relationship between Cézanne and Picasso, nor the connection between impressionism, on the one hand, and both Cézanne and Picasso, on the other. Furthermore, Monet developed from impressionism to his own particular kind of postimpressionism and, finally, to his last works, which still have a certain importance for particular trends in nonobjective art. And so there always remains the problem of the impressionist period, its background, its rise (ca. 1870), and its decline (ca. 1880).

It was Lionello Venturi who tried, on the basis of an analysis of real facts and real stylistic changes, to establish the exact duration of impressionism. "A phenomenon that was limited to five or six painters before 1880 has become European and international in little more than a decade; it has become literary and musical as well as artistic; it has been adapted to every taste and so transformed as to be unrecognizable" (1935). A distinction should be made between the phenomenon of impressionism in painting and the subsequent period of symbolism, which may have roots in, and reflect certain aspects of, impressionism, but which is quite different. According to Venturi, "1872 marks the end of the preparatory phase [of impressionism], a period of encounters, a phase that was somewhat slow and complex." "The origin of impressionism," Venturi later wrote, "can be outlined in a legendary rather than in an exact manner. In the years immediately preceding 1870, three young men — Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro — developed the habit of going to sit on the banks of the Seine and the Oise to paint landscapes. They were realist painters interested in rendering the reflections of light on water, reflections that resembled continual motion and that gave the water a new vitality. Furthermore, the multiplicity of colors discovered in the reflections suggested the idea of expressing light through the opposition of colors without using dark tones for the shadows. In this way and quite unconsciously, the painters cleared their palettes and divided their colors without knowing the theory of complementary colors. For a while they only painted water in this new manner, and followed the old realistic manner in rendering hills, trees, houses, and the sky. However, on finding a trace of discordance in their canvases, they tried to depict everything, even the human figure, by the same method they used to paint water. They no longer observed things in terms of abstract form, or in chiaroscuro, but instead they saw everything in relation to the reflections, real or imaginary, of light. They had, in effect, selected one element of reality, light, with which to interpret all of nature. But at the same time light ceased to be an element of reality. It became an element of style, and impressionism was born" (1941).

The change from realism to an absorption with pictorial unity occurred between 1867 and 1869; the transformation is evident, for example, in some landscapes that Pissarro painted in 1867 at Pontoise, Monet's work at Argenteuil in 1868 and at Grenouillère in 1869, and Renoir's painting at the same time (sometimes even of the same scenes at Grenouillère). This period therefore can be established as marking the beginnings of impressionist taste, a moment of complete convergence of directions — a subject which Venturi has rightly suggested is not appropriate for esthetic evaluation but only for historical investigation. At about the same time Manet too had already gone beyond realism, as Zola indicated in 1867, when he said "the whole personality of this artist is determined by the organization of his eye: he sees in blond colors, and in terms of masses." Since the fairly precise establishment of the date of impressionism's birth in terms of specific characteristics that appear in the painting of the impressionists, it is now possible to exclude from the movement those painters who are too often confused with it. First to be eliminated are Jongkind and Boudin (PL. 439), although as precursors no one would deny their influence, which was similar to that of Courbet, whom one could not presume to call impressionist. It is true that Jongkind's colors are more delicate, transparent, and atmospheric than the colors of genuine realism; it is true that Boudin's work was important in shaping Monet's concept of the formation of landscape; but neither Jongkind nor Boudin was interested in isolating a single element of reality and modifying it according to his "impression." Impressionism stands in contrast to all earlier painting (even that which influenced it) chiefly because the impressionists' moral attitude toward reality was new.

In this connection Venturi, adopting Halévy's concept of French political life, speaks of "the end of the notables," the end of a pretentious way of viewing nature and reality. Interpretation in terms of light was possible only because of a relationship established between nature and artist which heightened the painter's visual sensitivity and permitted him a certain freedom of interpretation. There was a break with traditional representation, not only with the Barbizon school, with Corot (PL. 415), with Courbet, even with Jongkind and Boudin, but, outside of France, with Constable (PL. 415) and Turner, whose styles should not be confused with impressionism, as they are distinctly within the older 19th-century tradition. They were not looking for a new pictorial idiom, a new interpretation of the relationships between man and nature and man and reality. Consequently, it is also impossible to consider impressionism a perennial continuation of pictorial and moral motifs that had already appeared in European artistic culture. Even if the music, literature, and criticism of a certain period were called "impressionist," they really belonged to symbolism, a movement that followed immediately upon naturalism. In painting, on the other hand, impressionism came between realism and symbolism, making it necessary to limit the impressionist period to the years between 1867–69 and 1880, a limitation justified by the practical consideration that the impressionist painters separated after 1880. The only possible way to define impressionism is as a historical period: no other means exists; any value judgments must be based on the works of individual artists; the convergence of taste that is evident in these artists between 1867 and 1880 is historically important, but it does not provide an esthetic judgment. It merely presents the possibility of analyzing some element of impressionist vision and indicates the turning point in the traditional development of painting. A historical period of the greatest importance, impressionism was an era of the most radical changes in taste, an era impossible to evaluate, since valid judgments can only be made of the individual works created in the period.

The greatest difficulty arises for the critic who tries to base a historical interpretation of impressionism on the degree of faithfulness to naturalistic appearances in the reproduction that is the work of the painter. Observation of reality and the necessity of drawing inspiration from nature are conditions that the impressionists could not and did not wish to avoid. Their revolution, then, took place within the traditional concept of the relationship between the artist and reality. They modified this relationship in favor of the autonomy of pictorial expression, a necessary consequence. Traditional academic painting had not taken into consideration any particular form of lighting, and had even used frontal lighting to heighten the effect of chiaroscuro. The arithmetical balance of masses (the tired imitation of certain neoclassical values) could not permit the adoption of more vivid coloring in mid-19th-century painting, because it would damage that perfection of design which academic painters longed for. On the other hand, Delacroix's use of color had been misunderstood. His coloring, which functioned dramatically with audacious contrasts, was too often taken literally. Color in academic pictures, therefore, became dark, shadowy, and full of literary theatricality. Not even in realism was a coherent solution sought for the problem of light. Although the Barbizon realists used a light more varied than that of the academic painters and more vibrant than that of the late romantic painters, their light was too unchanging, too closely bound to the objects represented. Even Courbet's light did not achieve the high vibration of impressionism, and that of Corot did not achieve absolute independence. Among the

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artists who profoundly influenced the impressionists (in addition to Jongkind and Boudin) were Delacroix, Courbet, Corot, and some of the Barbizon painters, particularly Daubigny (PL. 419). But in none of these painters, except Delacroix (whose influence was more lasting), did light manage to break the too precise arrangement of space as well as the neat outlines of forms. In Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, on the other hand, between the figures seated in the foreground and the bather in the background there is an impalpable atmosphere of color. Although this atmosphere is transparent, it is nonetheless apparent, articulating the recession of planes and substituting a luminous depth for the empty space of traditional perspective. This is not merely a question of illumination or contrasts of light (effects dear to Manet, who had learned them from Delacroix) but of an atmospheric vibration, a corporeality of light, a presence that becomes ever more necessary and consistent. It is quite different from the chromatic nervousness of Jongkind, who was more or less contemporary with Manet. Jongkind was a genuine and sincere colorist. He knew how to make subtle transformations of tones, and especially in a number of water-color views of the beaches of northern France he achieved a splendid counterpoint of blues, yellow-whites, and delicate roses, but his light was undivided. The great quality of impressionist light, in contrast, is that it is broken and dispersed and becomes a free element. Until about 1865–66 Cézanne appears to have felt strongly the influence of Courbet, particularly in the so-called "Uncle Dominique" portraits, in which the paint is thick and the surface seems both heavy and transparent at the same time. The portraits bear the mark of realism. But even within this scheme, which the vigor of the artist hardly seems to tolerate, there is introduced a coloring that tends toward yellow, a coloring that reveals a search for a luminous dimension of reality that would be impossible to demand of Courbet and that is not even to be found in his late seascapes. Again, if we compare the northern beaches of Boudin with the contemporary ones of Monet (and Boudin's influence on Monet has been noted), we find in the latter a dynamic accentuation of brushwork and an audacity of chromatic relationships (although still in the realm of naturalistic representation) never dreamed of in the works of Boudin, even though his colors were gay, lively, and bright.

In considering these questions, one can see why the works of the impressionists so disturbed the critics and the public at the *Salons* and at the first impressionist exhibitions. Not only were the paintings hard on the eyes, but adverse critics must have understood how challenging the new painting was to naturalistic representation. They would probably have been even more antagonistic had they realized what impressionist painting would finally lead to. The impressionists, as has been noted above, diminished the importance of subject matter, denied the importance of genre, and subjected everything to the stamp of their own personalities and sensibilities. The frequent differences among them also derived from the fact that they gave prime importance to the personal interpretation of reality and to the individual establishment of the relationship between reality and pictorial form. Furthermore, the impressionists rejected all historical painting, whether ancient or modern in subject, as well as academicism and romanticism and even certain modern mythological themes preferred by Courbet. The fact that Degas painted historical subjects, such as *The Misfortunes of the City of Orléans* (1865, Louvre), although before the birth of impressionism, was considered by Manet a sin difficult to pardon. This attitude is another consequence of the diminution of the importance of subject matter, which is part of that climate called "the end of the notables" and which was one of the valuable contributions of impressionism to the formation of the modern artistic conscience. Since the subject is important only in so far as it provides the initial stimulus, it is unnecessary to ennoble it and render it imposing by a balanced structure. Above all, it is irrelevant whether the choice of subject is made on the basis of a code of beauty or a richness and refinement acceptable to the public. The impressionists were the first modern painters to strike blows against the conventional ideal of beauty. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they created on canvas a beauty different from that which had inspired the work. This they achieved before they arrived at impressionism itself. An example is Manet's *Olympia*, a work of great pictorial beauty in spite of the small regard the artist shows for the woman's physical grace. This attitude was one of the reasons for the public's hostility to the new painting; even intelligent critics did not always manage to overcome the obstacle of what was considered the "vulgarity" of the subjects treated by the impressionists. Nevertheless, it was precisely this scorn for noble and adulatory beauty, this belief in the possibility of drawing inspiration from any subject however ugly, that bound the impressionist painters to one another. A peasant woman or a country house had for them the same worth as any of the great boulevards of Paris or the Church of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois.

This relationship between artist and subject was logically influenced by Courbet and realism but was realized differently by the impressionists. In general, the realists took any subject relating to everyday experience, but they did not try to diminish the importance of this common reality. The impressionists, however, applied the same principle (that a subject's value depends on its being treated in a certain way, pictorially, for its tones and lights, as Rivière stated) to everything which they observed and from which they drew inspiration. In Courbet's landscapes, even in the simplified seascapes, there is always something of the monumental. It was a social sense that replaced academic vacuity, that produced modifications in the traditional style, pushing it beyond classicism and romanticism, beyond Ingres and Delacroix. But how far did this new style go in breaking the traditional closure of forms? The impressionists did not even ask this question. Breaking away from traditional ideas of balance, upsetting traditional ideas of form, and opening up the contours of forms were the basis of the new style. This was achieved by faith in the independent expressive potentialities of painting. The presence of social interests concerns the individual artist; the impressionist knows that these interests cannot be translated pictorially in the description of a particular type or aspect of reality. Deeply rooted in reality and fully thought out in relation to nature, impressionist painting embraces only certain elements of these, because of the conviction that they are appearance only and not absolute truth. This conviction was shared by artists who otherwise differed in their concerns and in their attitudes toward society and its political systems. Manet was a Parisian bourgeois, elegant and concerned with his milieu; he did not show his works with the impressionists because he hoped for official recognition. Cézanne had the temperament of an anarchist, but toward the end of his life particularly he was a fervent practicing Catholic. Pissarro, Jew and socialist, good friend of Cézanne, felt keenly the problems of democracy and social reform and naturally sided with Zola (despite the break in 1886) when that writer began his campaign in favor of Dreyfus. Nevertheless, it is impossible to find even a trace of social oratory in Pissarro's paintings. Degas, on the contrary, was a sincere reactionary, but his portraits and ballerinas could never have been the expression of a dominant social class. Thus, rather than appearing as social comment, the social attitudes of the impressionists consisted in the humble approach to nature (even though at times they might be ready to violate nature), in the abandonment of all academic pride, and in the ability to draw inspiration from any sort of subject. It consisted, above all, in the rediscovered dignity of man, which freed the artist and made him acutely sensitive to nature and contemporary life because his relationship with the world was no longer one of simple assimilation but of mutual exchange. For this reason the impressionist painters were completely in harmony with the history of the period; they made a contribution to history, participating in it actively through their works, which were a reaction to a past that was, because of its immobility, unhistorical. In this light one can understand the aversion toward impressionist painting that was felt by the paternalistic regime of the empire and by the weakly democratic regime of the succeeding republic. Rivière recounts, for example, that Renoir went to his friend Gambetta to ask him to publish an article

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favorable to the exhibition of 1877. The artist was received by one of the editors of the newspaper *La République française* with these words: "Impossible, it would be scandalous. Don't you realize that you are revolutionaries?"

For all of these reasons it is impossible to say that impressionism was simply an extreme form of illusionism. Impressionism initiated a new manner of feeling and taking part in the life of things. It reaffirmed the independence of the artist and of his personal interpretation of appearance, a personal interpretation that attempted, however, a general understanding that was intuitive rather than scientific. Certain elements that were used by the impressionists, such as light and the particular quality of the pictorial material, already existed in the tradition of French painting and of painting in general, but these elements were used with a new audacity and for new ends. Impressionist coloring is quite different from luminism or tonalism. Impressionist painters did not want to create a rhythm of light and shadow that determined volume, and they abjured a general light that bathed the entire picture in a particular tone. Light and pictorial material worked together. It has already been pointed out that the impressionists, unlike the pointillists, had no scientific intent when they split up colors. Their decomposition of light was intended to accentuate luminous vibration, and was different in nature and technique from that of pointillists (Signac, 1899; Venturi, 1935; Webster, 1944). Signac distinguishes decisively between the curved stroke of the impressionist painter and the dot technique of the pointillist; the latter derived from the former, just as both derived from the *hachures* of Delacroix. According to Signac, it was after 1880 that the technique became more fragmented in the pictures of Pissarro, Sisley, and even Monet. And Cézanne, "applying in neat squares of paint ... the various elements of the broken tints, afterward came close to the methodical 'division' of the neoimpressionists." Certainly the importance of the impressionist period does not consist in the more or less methodical application of a technique. Rather, the technique results from the forces that impel the painter, in accord both with himself and with his historical situation, to change the elements of a language that must be revised so that it can express that new situation. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to note the variation in the pictorial rendering, which is the external characteristic of impressionist painting, and the importance of the material in rendering the intensity of light. The unfinished quality of impressionist painting, which is unlike the unfinished quality of a Constable or a Corot, has already been pointed out; impressionism's opening up of forms — forms no longer enclosed within a plastic chiaroscuro scheme — has also been noted. These elements probably existed before, but their new value comes of the impressionists' breaking not only line but substance as well. If only the contours of figures had been opened up, images would fade off into light. The gradation of material, nervously accentuated by curved brush strokes, achieves an entirely different effect — it integrates the images with the light; light and image are no longer separate elements nor even different or complementary elements, but one. This identity of light and image is found neither in baroque luminism nor in Venetian tonality; it is not in the *hachures* of Delacroix, nor is it found in the violent ruptures of form or luminous synthesis of Daumier (q.v.), who was almost contemporary with the impressionists. The impressionist painter does not spread his color uniformly; the color is broken up so that a chromatic vibration results not only from the juxtaposition of complementary colors (an optical synthesis) but also from the literally physical movement of the material. This is another of the important contributions of impressionism to modern painting, for the material is no longer merely a passive means but becomes an element of vision capable of modifying form itself. Furthermore, varying the thickness of the paint allows the abandonment of those tones which in reality are not colors (i.e., the grays), while at the same time contributing to an atmospheric lightness.

The impressionist painters managed to unite light and image, and to integrate the material as an active part of the composition because they forewent any sense of transcendence. Rooted as they were in reality, they were not turned aside by literary or ideal considerations. They mastered reality and began to show the public that real life goes much deeper and is far more complex than mere appearance. It would be difficult to give impressionism a philosophical justification; all attempts at explanation must be merely historical. No other movement so abjured the abstract ideas of pictorial practice. From Manet to Cézanne, from Renoir to Monet, the impressionist painters never assumed intellectualistic attitudes. They left no theory but, instead, based their work on the practice of painting itself. To his son, who wanted to talk about esthetics, Pissarro replied that he considered himself in no sense an esthete. He added that estheticism is a kind of romanticism mixed with more or less roguery; it is a way of tracing a crooked path. They tried to make a theory of genre out of impressionism, while in reality impressionism did not wish to be other than a theory purely of observation, without losing imagination, liberty, and grandeur — in short everything that makes an art great (Rewald, 1943). False, then, is Zola's interpretation of Cézanne in the character of Claude Lantier, who would have liked to paint scenes of modern life on large canvases. Cézanne went far beyond impressionism and was one of the first to conceive of a picture as an object, a reality in itself, in which everything can take place without reference to the external appearance of things. All the impressionist painters denied mythology, the mythology that idealizes nature as well as that which idealizes history. They were not pantheists, although some of them were religious. They looked at reality with a critical spirit and with an unprejudiced mind; their sensitivity did not obscure their reason. The impressionists had their feet planted on the ground and did not paint transcendence. One could say that with the impressionists the painting of landscape was relieved of all the mystery, mythology, and contemplative mysticism which had hitherto characterized it. There was still a certain mysticism in Courbet, although not of a religious nature, to say nothing of the delicate fables of the forests in Corot. The impressionists embraced one element of nature, the least palpable but not least real or important element — light. Theirs was a conscious choice, because it enabled them to renew conceptions of space, composition, and structure, and it was a critical choice as well. The Barbizon landscapist nearest to the impressionists was undoubtedly Daubigny, the only one who worked directly *sur le motif* and who was able to break with the traditional compact layout of subject. But in Daubigny light was still appearance; it was not the full reality that was one of the wonders of impressionist painting.

It was evident that once light had become the uncontested protagonist of painting, the impressionists could not continue to represent nature as had been done previously. First, there was no further need to search for picturesque detail, since their vision of things went beyond surface contemplation and their frame of mind was averse to sweetening the pictorial image. For these reasons they avoided any kind of special angle or foreshortening effect. On the other hand, they renounced panoramic views in order to concentrate on the sensations of light, and in order to free themselves, once and for all, from that sense of monumentality that invested academic representations of nature. Impressionist landscapes were no longer "views," in the usual sense of the word; they acquired a new character, distinct from that of realistic or romantic landscapes. Cézanne and Monet, toward the end of their careers and in their individual ways, substituted their emotionally derived perspective for the perspective that had dominated painting since the 15th century. But the basis for this break with tradition already existed in impressionist landscapes. Not that perspective was broken and varied before 1880, but impressionist light required a more effective modulation of space and an atmosphere in which it could be resolved. Impressionist light had to be able to refract from a series of planes and to adjust continually the perspective vanishing point. As Francastel (see above) pointed out, the impressionists had lost faith in the traditional pictorial unities and felt that established means of composition were no longer satisfactory. As the depiction of space was gradually modified, form could no longer be treated

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according to the canons of 19th-century painting, however advanced these may have been. Not even Delacroix's violent slashes of color, which heightened dynamic rhythms, would suffice. On the other hand, Corot's atmosphere of shaded grays and silvers was too mythological for the impressionists, and they were excluding gray from their palettes. The luminous atmosphere in impressionism exists in the continual relationship of a primary color and its complement; its vibration is achieved by the commalike brush stroke and the continual breaking of the surface of the painting, so that a constant modification of form results. Since the form of the image is the form of light (because of the integration of the two elements), color, which is the basic component of light, can be infinitely varied. In this way the impressionists, although they draw their sensations from nature, can achieve an independence of color which may or may not coincide with that of nature. (Van Gogh and others carried this independence of coloring to its extreme consequences.) However, they were forced to seek in nature the first sensation of light, so their choice of motif was important. It has been said that the reflections of the waters of the Seine, at the island of Grenouillère, influenced the division of color. Undoubtedly the diffused light typical of the beaches of northern France, which were particularly admired by Monet, was a notable source of inspiration, just as the light of London, for example, has been for other painters. Still more influential was the light of certain localities around Paris, from Argenteuil to Bougival, from Auvers-sur-Oise to Pontoise. Cézanne painted some of his most beautiful pictures at Pontoise and Auvers, but when he tried to go beyond impressionism he preferred to return to the more violent light of Provence and the Mediterranean. This serves to point out that even where light was concerned there was no general rule governing the work of individual artists. Each painter transformed reality according to his own talents and his own intentions. Some, Sisley for example, tried to be as faithful as possible to the subject; others, including Pissarro, modified the subject in order to achieve a greater sense of structure. The period of impressionist taste would have no meaning were it not for the individuality of the artists who applied that taste and embodied it.

CHRONOLOGY. The exhibition that was held from April 15 to May 15, 1874, in the studio of the photographer Nadar (Paris, 35 Boulevard des Capucines) was modestly advertised under the aegis of the *Société anonyme des artistes, peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs*. This is considered the first public group exhibition of the impressionist painters. The definition of impressionism, as we have seen, came later. The catalogue bore, in alphabetical order, the names of the following artists: Zacharie Astruc, Antoine-Ferdinand Attendu, E. Béliard, Eugène Boudin, Félix Bracquemond, Edouard Brandon, Pierre-Isidore Bureau, Adolphe-Félix Cals, Paul Cézanne, Gustave Colin, Louis Desbras, Edgar Degas, Armand Guillaumin, Louis Latouche, Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic, Stanislas Lépine, Jean-Baptiste-Léopold Levert, Alfred Meyer, Auguste de Molins, Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, Mulot-Durivage, Giuseppe de Nittis, Auguste-Louis-Marie Ottin, Léon-Auguste Ottin, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Léopold Robert, Stanislas-Henri Rouart, Alfred Sisley. Missing are Manet, who never showed with the impressionists, and Caillebotte, painter and collector, who left a large number of impressionist paintings to the Louvre and who showed with the others in 1876, 1877, 1879, 1880, and 1886. Absent, too, was the American painter Mary Cassatt, who was close to impressionism; she began to show her works only in 1879. Missing, too, was Bazille, who died in 1870; the first idea for a show in opposition to the official *Salon* had been his. Included were artists who really had nothing to do with impressionism, so that it seems strange for such painters as Cézanne and Guillaumin to have had difficulty in being admitted. One of the reasons Manet gave for his own refusal to appear was the presence of Cézanne — not that Manet was pronouncing an altogether negative judgment on the painter from Aix, but he feared that he would expose himself to the public scorn that had been directed particularly against Cézanne at the preceding *Salon des Refusés*. Manet's attitude seems ungenerous, but he was really seeking and was to continue to seek official recognition. But he was not mistaken; Louis Leroy's article (see above) was particularly violent against Cézanne. Pissarro had fought for the admission of Cézanne, who showed three works, as did Guillaumin; Degas showed ten, Monet and Berthe Morisot each showed nine, Pissarro and Sisley five, and Renoir seven. Although the exhibition was not at all successful, the artists had felt compelled to exhibit, not so much to get the public's reaction (which they knew would be negative) as to show their own power and to clarify their own differences as well as their differences from other contemporary painters whose work was more or less realistic. Bazille, as mentioned above, first conceived the idea of an independent exhibition in 1867. Monet revived the project in 1873, and together with Pissarro, Renoir, Degas, Sisley, and Berthe Morisot, brought it to fruition. Degas, the most active of the organizers, insisted that the exhibition not be chiefly tendentious. It was largely due to him that such nonimpressionist artists as De Nittis were invited to exhibit. Degas never was a whole-hearted member of the impressionist movement, yet the period of impressionist taste was important to him. In fact, 1874 was an important date for all the impressionist painters, who were by then in full command of their styles. "It was after 1873," wrote Jean Leymarie, "that Manet, Degas, and Cézanne adopted a truly clear palette, and that Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley renounced shadings of grays and browns (intermediaries from the tradition of Corot) in favor of the vibrant exaltation of pure colors alone" (Leymarie, 1955). Although impressionist taste had its beginnings before 1870, it was only after the war of 1870–71 that the elements of this taste developed to full maturity. Although Renoir, Monet, and Pissarro broke with realism between 1867 and 1869, neither Manet nor Cézanne, for example, achieved an impressionist vision before 1872. The year 1874 marked the completion, or at least the moment of achievement, of the first half of the long impressionist period lasting about fifteen years. Those years had seen the arrival in Paris of various artists from other parts of France; it saw them study and discuss painting together and together rebel against official conventions; and it saw them create a new cultural environment that was important even beyond the sphere of painting. (For an exact chronology of events, see John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, New York, 1946.)

Edouard Manet, Edgar Degas, Alfred Sisley, Claude Monet, and Armand Guillaumin were all born in Paris. Sisley, whose parents were English, was sent to England for a while. Monet had been living with his parents at Le Havre since 1845. Camille Pissarro was born on the Danish island of Saint Thomas in the Antilles, but had lived in Paris from 1842 to 1847. Paul Cézanne was born in Aix-en-Provence, where he studied and became the friend of Zola. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, born in Limoges, lived in Paris from the age of four. Berthe Morisot, born in Bourges, also lived in Paris. F. Bazille (PLS. 417, 420, 421), who died in the war in 1870, was born in Montpellier in 1841. After having studied medicine, he went to Paris in 1862 to dedicate himself to painting. It was about 1860 that the impressionists began to establish contact with one another. Pissarro returned to Paris in 1855. Monet, who had begun doing caricatures in Le Havre, met Boudin there in 1858; Monet came to Paris in 1859 and attended the Académie Suisse, an independent school named for its owner, a former model at the École des Beaux-Arts, who welcomed young artists (many of whom had been rejected by the official academy). There they could work from a model for a small fee. Monet and Pissarro met at the Académie Suisse; Guillaumin joined them there, as did Cézanne, who went to Paris for the first time in 1861. Another meeting place was the studio of the Swiss painter Gleyre, a teacher at the École des Beaux-Arts. His studio provided a kind of supplementary course of study. Monet went there at the end of 1862, after receiving a medical discharge from the army (he had served in Algeria) and after spending some time at Le Havre with Boudin and Jongkind. Although Gleyre allowed his students a certain amount of liberty in painting, his teaching must have aroused a certain resistance in some of them. Perhaps it

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was this spirit of resistance that drew Monet, Renoir, Bazille, and Sisley together, for they all soon left Gleyre's studio, which closed in 1864. As has been shown, the *Salon des Refusés* had already contributed (because of the criticism of press and public) to solidifying the friendship of the young artists and their friendship with Manet and Degas, who had spent a great deal of time in Italy, and to stimulating the conversations that continued at the Café Guerbois. The Café Guerbois was another of their meeting places, a café which was also frequented by such critics as Huysmans, Duranty, and Duret, and to which Cézanne introduced Zola. A distant relative of Bazille, who was a friend of Manet and Baudelaire, also received the artists, so that about 1865 Manet, Pissarro, Sisley, Cézanne, Monet, Renoir, and Bazille all met in the *Salon* of Commandant Lejosne. The events of 1866, Zola's defense of Manet, Manet's one-man show in 1867 and his success at the *Salon* of 1868 gave more confidence to the group, which, in spite of personal differences, was homogeneous. Upon the completion of their studies, whether at independent or official academies, the artists turned to more direct contact with the outdoors — on the northern beaches, preferred by Monet and growing in general popularity, in the forest of Fontainebleau and the environs of Paris, along the Seine and at Grenouillère, at Argenteuil, and on the banks of the Oise, which became another center of impressionism. Pissarro was the first to go to Pontoise; he sent two landscapes of the spot to the *Salon* of 1868, and in 1869 he settled at Louveciennes, but the important period for Pontoise and the neighboring Auvers-sur-Oise was yet to come. An important role in the popularization of this area was to be played by Dr. Gachet, a collector and admirer of the new painting.

After the *Salon* of 1868 Duranty proclaimed that the revolution in painting had occurred, and since the new painting continued to be opposed and rejected, he proposed that the artists show their works outside the official *Salon*. At this time a consciousness of their strength and worth further united the painters. Their economic situation was not particularly bright, not even that of Cézanne, who received an allowance from his father. Bazille, who had some means, assisted Monet. Their financial conditions made it necessary to break down public indifference, although there were already some admirers of impressionism. Unfortunately, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 dispersed the group: Manet became an officer on the general staff of the National Guard; Pissarro and Monet went to England; Cézanne returned to Aix-en-Provence; Degas, Renoir, and Bazille went into the army, and Bazille fell at Beaune-la-Rolande on Nov. 28. Nevertheless, Bazille's few examples of "peinture claire" (e.g., *Family Reunion*, 1867–69, Louvre) had contributed to the birth of the new style. In England, Pissarro and Monet met the French art dealer Durand-Ruel, a meeting that was another important event in the history of impressionism. The owner of a gallery in Paris, Durand-Ruel was predisposed in favor of the Barbizon landscapists. In 1869 he had established the *Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité*. When war broke out, he took his pictures to London, where he opened a new gallery; later he opened another gallery in Brussels. It was Daubigny who presented him to Monet in London. In the work of Monet and Pissarro, whom Durand-Ruel was always to prefer, the dealer thought he saw a continuation of the Barbizon school. In 1870 he exhibited a painting by Monet and two by Pissarro; he exhibited them again before his return to France, where he came into contact with other painters of the impressionist movement. In 1872 he visited Manet's studio and bought all of that artist's work, about thirty canvases, for 51,000 francs. In 1873 Durand-Ruel printed a catalogue of all the works he owned, and Armand Silvestre wrote the preface. Although this catalogue was never distributed commercially, it has remained a noteworthy document of the change in taste that occurred, if not in the general public, in certain more advanced milieux after the war of 1870 and after the Commune. Although Silvestre considered Delacroix a precursor of impressionism, and although the greater number of paintings in the collection were of the Barbizon school, it is significant that there appeared such names as Manet, Monet, Renoir, Degas, and Sisley. The only painter somewhat neglected by Durand-Ruel seems to have been Cézanne. Durand-Ruel was the first dealer to support the impressionists and to give them some financial backing. He continued to be their chief defender, and the popularization of impressionist art (particularly in America, where it was first exhibited in New York in 1886) is chiefly due to him. Later other dealers handled the impressionists, including the reactionary Goupil. In 1895 Vollard gave the first Cézanne show, but for a long time Durand-Ruel was the leading, in fact the only, supporter of the impressionists.

There were other admirers of impressionism, however, and it was with the hope of attracting still more that the exhibition at Nadar's studio was organized. One of the first private collectors of impressionist painting was the banker Hoschedé. His collection was sold at auction in 1878 after his bankruptcy, but sales had been made previously, in 1874 and 1875. In the collection were pictures by Monet, Degas, Renoir, Sisley, and Pissarro. After the banker's death, Monet married the widow. Another collector was Gustave Arosa, who owned pictures by Pissarro and who was Paul Gauguin's godfather. Later Gauguin was to collect impressionist paintings. Count Armand Doria was one of the first admirers of Cézanne. According to Arsène Alexandre, the count bought his first Cézanne in 1874, *The House of the Hanged Man at Auvers-sur-Oise* (III, PL. 187.) Among the most famous collectors of impressionist paintings were the singer Faure, the painter Gustave Caillebotte, Victor Chocquet (a particular friend of Cézanne and Renoir), and Dr. Paul Gachet. Caillebotte, a naval engineer, was more than a dilettante painter. Starting as a realist, Caillebotte became a friend of the impressionists, fell under their influence, took part in their exhibitions (even helping in their organization), and bought many of their works. In a will dated 1883, he left to the state his collection of 75 works. At his death, the state was reluctant to accept the inheritance and after lengthy discussion disposed of 29 works: three Cézannes, two Manets, eight Monets, eleven Pissarros, two Renoirs, and three Sisleys. (For the history of bequests to state museums, see Bazin, 1958.) Dr. Paul Gachet developed an interest in painting while frequenting the Parisian cafés where the artists held their discussions. He met Pissarro rather early, and by 1860–65 he was attending the painter's mother (Gachet, 1957). In 1872, when Pissarro left the Seine and Louveciennes to return to Pontoise, Gachet took a house in nearby Auvers-sur-Oise. In the same year Cézanne, whose wife had borne him a son, left Paris to settle near Pissarro at Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône; at the end of the year he moved to Auvers, where he stayed until 1874. It was in this period that Cézanne altogether abandoned romanticism to turn completely to impressionism for a time. Of importance was the influence of Pissarro, already rather advanced in the impressionist style, who later acknowledged that the exchange of ideas was mutual. The little group of Pontoise and Auvers, to which Beliard also belonged, was completed by Guillaumin. Dr. Gachet received the artists in his home; fond of the etching technique, Gachet set up a studio where Pissarro and Cézanne did their first work in graphics. After the war the painters again assembled in Paris and its environs to continue their work, now proceeding in a definite direction. In October, 1872, Degas left for America; he spent several months in New Orleans and returned to Paris in April of the following year. In 1874 Berthe Morisot married Manet's brother.

The exhibition of 1874 was a complete financial failure. Although the artists had anticipated unfavorable criticism, they had hoped to sell some pictures. At this time Durand-Ruel was having financial difficulties and was unable to help them. For some of them, especially Monet, the situation became grave. Nevertheless, none of the artists lost faith in the cause. Pissarro withdrew to Pontoise, and Cézanne returned for a short time to Aix; Monet went to Argenteuil, where he did some of his best paintings; Renoir and Manet went occasionally to Argenteuil; Sisley went to England, and when he returned to France, he painted his landscapes of Marly, Bougival, and Louveciennes. In 1875 Berthe Morisot, Sisley, Renoir, and Monet organized an auction of their works at the Hôtel Drouot. Although the pictures sold, they drew very low prices, and the auction constituted another failure. In April, 1876, the impressionists held their

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second group show in Durand-Ruel's gallery in Rue Le Peletier. They called it simply "Exposition de peinture." Although such nonimpressionists as Beneau, Cals, Desboutin, François, Legros, Lepic, Levert, Millet, Léon-Auguste Ottin, Rouart, and Tillot took part in the exhibition, most of the works were those of Degas, Monet, Berthe Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Also represented were Caillebotte and Béliard, while two works by Bazille were shown, one of which belonged to Manet. Manet, of course, did not take part, nor did Cézanne or Guillaumin. Although this exhibition was not a total failure, it was scarcely more successful than that of 1874. In April, 1877, again in Rue Le Peletier, was held what is considered the third and most important exhibition of the group. This time Degas could not prevent the exhibition from being called the "Exposition des Impressionnistes." Degas showed several works, as did Cézanne, Guillaumin, Monet, Berthe Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, Caillebotte, Cals, Cordey, François, Franc-Lamy, Levert, Maureau, Piette, Rouart, and Tillot. At this time appeared the few issues of Rivière's *L'Impressionniste, journal d'art*. The participation of genuinely impressionist painters was impressive in both quality and quantity. This was the last exhibition in which the artists appeared as a compact group, although, as usual, Manet was absent. After 1877 Cézanne was the first to feel impelled to go beyond impressionism. He did not take part in the fourth exibition in 1878, which was again called an exhibition "des indépendants," and which included, among others, Caillebotte, Mary Cassatt, Degas, Monet, and Pissarro; nor did he participate in the subsequent exhibitions in 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1886. A younger painter who had admired, purchased, and studied the works of the impressionists took part in these four later exhibitions: this was Paul Gauguin (q.v.). These shows, particularly the three after 1880, revealed still greater differences in the techniques and ideas of the various artists. Pissarro was the only artist to show at all eight exhibitions; even Monet, the most decidedly impressionist of the artists, refused to show in 1880, 1881, and 1886. When he showed in 1882, it was Degas who refused to take part. Even in the exhibitions, impressionism does not appear to have extended much beyond 1880. The death of Manet in 1883 marked its conclusion. Each of the painters who remained had taken his own road in search of something that went beyond impressionism without denying it, as Cezanne had been doing for several years. They were not trying to make of impressionism something lasting, like the art of the museums; but, as Cézanne explained, they sought to explore all the possibilities it had engendered, to discover new uses for the space that they had filled with light, and to transform sensation, the "petite sensation," into conscientious painting whereby the way was to be opened to all modern art.

IMPRESSIONIST PAINTERS. Individual artists made separate contributions to impressionist painting. Manet (PL. 416) was furthest removed from the movement and appears to have arrived at an impressionist style about 1873. He was perhaps the artist furthest from realism, for he had interpreted in his own way the lessons he learned from Courbet. Before 1860 his preference for Spanish art had led him to assimilate certain of its qualities; these remained with him for a long time, appearing again in *The Balcony* (PL. 433) of 1868–69. Manet's affiliation with impressionism meant an increase in the luminosity of his colors, a looser rendering, and less attention to plastic modeling. In *Boating* (1874, Met. Mus.) can be seen the change to a fully impressionist vision. One small part of the picture (the right arm of the male figure) still shows a certain plastic consistency and responds to analytic interpretation; but the rest of the picture is not concerned with this: everything is absorbed in light and the vibration of color; precision is neglected in favor of pictorial synthesis. Accentuating the vibration of light in a way that was probably suggested by Monet, Manet developed the logical consequences of his own earlier painting. But even before this date he made a basic contribution to impressionism: he taught other painters to consider visual reality in a new, antitraditional way and was the first to achieve liberation from the enslavement to subject matter. With the ease of his innate bourgeois elegance, Manet passed over mythology and history; his brush transformed everything into purely pictorial dimensions. From such a model as Victorine Meurend, Manet succeeded in creating a male fifer (1866, Louvre). He freed himself of the tyranny of absolute representation and took from his subjects only what he needed for chromatic expression. In the decade before his death, he created some masterpieces which were based on all his earlier painting and which were also the fruit of his exchange of ideas with other impressionists. Nevertheless, he always refused to exhibit his works with those of the impressionists.

The painting of Berthe Morisot (PLS. 428, 429) was directly influenced by that of Manet. Berthe Morisot was born in 1841 to a prosperous bourgeois family and began to paint under the guidance of Corot. She met Manet in 1868 and felt the influence of his personality, but she never became his student. On the contrary, as Bazin pointed out (1958), "their influence was reciprocal, and it was in part Berthe Morisot's example that led Manet to abandon his dark manner and brighten his palette." This seems quite likely, for what she retained of Corot's teaching was precisely that sense of brightness and lightness of tones. As Leymarie has pointed out, this use of silvery and bright tones, which derived from the older master, has nothing per se to do with impressionism. It was after 1873 that Berthe Morisot (like Manet) achieved full mastery of light in her paintings, but she never adopted that nervous brush stroke which characterized genuine impressionism. The unbroken surface of her painting is even more prominent in the work of the last seven years of her life (she died in 1895). By then she had gone beyond impressionism and was attempting to give greater precision and solidity to her subjects. Nevetheless, she had participated totally and enthusiastically in the battle for impressionism. When she decided to exhibit with the impressionists in 1874 (over the objections of Manet, whose brother Eugène she was to marry), she was a painter regularly admitted to the official *Salons*. And she took part in all but one (1879) of the impressionist shows until the last one in 1886.

For Degas, too (q.v.; PLS. 420, 434), the period 1873–80 marked his greatest association with impressionist vision, although he never fully accepted impressionism, nor was he ever to admit that it was necessary to him in resolving the conflicts in his own personality. Like Berthe Morisot, Degas came from a prosperous middle-class family, and his refined education had nothing in common with the limited training of Renoir and Monet. Degas's family had a keen appreciation of the fine arts and provided him with the means of learning about them. All his life Degas maintained this refined and idealized purity, even when he painted scenes from daily life (never, however, degraded to the level of mere genre) — the racecourses, the foyer of the Opéra, and the ballet lessons. The purity of Degas was expressed in the elegance of line, and the precision of outline contrasted with the impressionist vibration of forms filled with light. It was through impressionism, which he admired while maintaining a certain reserve toward it, that Degas managed to expand his line so that it was more than the simple outline it had been in the tradition that descended from Ingres. Even if the image was not luminous in itself, it was subordinated to a rhythm of light and shadow. His subjects were set in a definite environment, with illuminations and shadows that brought the image into relief. In this way the artist could achieve a certain refinement of color, in oils as well as in pastels, that contrasted with abstract linear arabesques. It was in the contrast of these two visual symbols that Degas achieved the greatness of his art. In his refined color the line never lapses into description nor does it insist on emphasizing particular details; it becomes nervous and vibrant and spreads over the surface to suggest a dimension beyond traditional perspective. In contrast to that of Manet and the other impressionists, Degas's treatment of reality is always subordinated to the attempt at total representation. Since Courbet's realism did not seem adequate to express the sense of his refined reality, he had to adapt reality and modify space. Undoubtedly he could never have achieved this freedom without the climate and environment of impressionism. It is characteristic that it was Degas who raised objections to this painter or that when independent exhibitions were organized, and that he objected to such shows being called impressionist. Nevertheless,

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he was the leading spirit of these shows and took part in all except that of 1882, when he tried to have J.-F. Raffaëlli admitted to the exhibition. Naturally, the other painters objected to including a painter who had nothing in common with their group. Degas realized that his own work was much closer to that of Pissarro, whom he admired, and to that of Monet and Manet, whom he appreciated with a certain reserve, than it was to realism or the successive trends of naturalism. The possibility of a linear synthesis of the image was certainly one of Degas's greatest contributions to modern painting. In the last decade of the 19th century, for example, a painter as far removed from impressionism as Toulouse-Lautrec (q.v.; PL. 435), turned back to Degas to create, in an entirely different style and spirit, works that found one of the elements of greater representational efficacy in the precise use of line.

An admirer and friend of Degas and an artist who felt his influence was the American Mary Cassatt (PL. 426; I, PL. 110). Born in 1845 in Pittsburgh of a banking family of French descent, she was taken to Paris as a child. She returned to America and studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, where she certainly had little opportunity to learn. After 1868 she returned to Europe; she went to Italy, where she was impressed by Correggio in Parma, to Belgium, where she admired Rubens, and to Spain, where she discovered El Greco; she met Degas in Antwerp. Having settled in France, she tried to show her works in the official *Salons* of Paris. She was rejected in 1873, accepted in 1874, and rejected again in 1875. She exhibited with the impressionists for the first time in 1879, and her contact with them was of major importance, particularly in enlarging her capacity to synthesize forms. However, the influence of Degas remained most important, and her relationship to impressionism remained rather marginal. She died in 1926, at her Château Beaufresne at Mesnil-Théribus, France. (For Mary Cassatt and the group of so-called "American impressionists" — Theodore Robinson, J. Alden Weir, Charles H. Davis, John Henry Twachtman, Willard Leroy Metcalf, Childe Hassam, Arthur Clifton Goodwin, and Ernest Lawson — see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS.)

Alfred Sisley (PLS. 421–423) was the painter who found impressionism most favorable to his art. Born in Paris in 1839 of English parents, he was sent to England in 1857 to work in a business concern. When he returned to France, he decided to dedicate himself entirely to painting. He went to Gleyre's studio, joined Monet, Renoir, and Bazille, and followed them to the forest of Fontainebleau and to Honfleur in the north. Sisley was a cultured man, not only in painting but in literature; his intellectuality, however, never affected his painting negatively. He was particularly interested in realism, but the enchanted atmospheres of Corot and the luminous ones of Turner (q.v.) also struck him. When war broke out in 1870, he went to London, where he met Durand-Ruel, who began to buy his paintings. In spite of Durand-Ruel's backing, Sisley's financial condition was always disastrous. His pictures invariably sold for less than those of the other impressionists, including Cézanne. In the last period of Sisley's life, probably because of his desperate financial situation, his work declined in quality and lost its former clarity; this led to a definite break with Durand-Ruel. He died in 1899 in Moret, where he had lived since 1879. His work has always been somewhat neglected. It is more reserved than that of Monet and lacks the vitality of the latter, whose work was similar. But the paintings that Sisley did between 1872 and 1876 are masterpieces and genuinely impressionist. Particularly noteworthy are those works which represent, for example, the flood at Port-Marly (PL. 423) and those in which are depicted the effects of light on snow (PL. 421). According to Lionello Venturi (1950), "probably no one has equalled the snows of Sisley, precisely because the delicacy of transitions of tone was perceived by his eye in an incomparable manner." In the water of the flood and on the snow the chromatic reflections are completely autonomous and are never subordinated to mere representation. The snow may become rose or blue; his flood waters do not have that dirty lividness of uncontrollable rivers but are full of rich iridescences; the blues, yellows, and roses resound and vibrate in the continuous motion that the nervous brushwork gives to the sky, the houses, and the landscape, as well as to the water. Thus the sense of reality does not obtrude, and the occasion offered by the subject is transformed into a perennial pictorial moment. At the same time Sisley concerned himself with organizing light in a constructive synthesis. Instead of dissolving visual elements in light, he managed to intensify them and reconstruct a solid structure. At certain moments, however, this led him to more insistent description. After 1885 his painting absorbed something of that stability toward which the nascent divisionism tended.

It has already been noted that Pierre-Auguste Renoir (q.v.; PL. 432) was, with Monet and Pissarro, one of the first to arrive at impressionism between 1867 and 1869. This was true of his landscapes, but his figures evolved more slowly, because the particular grace of the human figure that Renoir attempted to capture did not easily lend itself to a marked splitting-up by chromatic strokes; he needed light in motion to accentuate this grace, and he needed synthesis. His greatest contribution to impressionism consists of two definite achievements. First, he managed to subject the greater part of the human figure to a dynamic intensity of luminous rhythm. Second, he never became programmatic, not even in his use of light and its vibrations. For Renoir painting was always a new challenge, something to be enacted without preconceived ideas. In 1900 he could still say that he never knew what he would do the next day; his theory concerning "irregularity" fits in well with his particular attitude. Renoir became acquainted with impressionism in 1867–69, but his period of genuinely impressionist activity extended from about 1872 to 1881. In those years not only did he create landscapes and figures in light but he also created a new type of grace. Because of this quality, his painting, notwithstanding various influences that can be found therein, constituted something altogether new in art. Impressionism and the impressionist milieu kept Renoir from falling into Arcadian attitudes. On the other hand, his ever fresh imagination made it impossible for him to be content with too mechanical an impressionist technique. It is occasionally possible to find certain similarities among the various impressionist painters, even between the almost incompatible visions of Monet and Cézanne, but Renoir's painting does not lend itself easily to comparison with the work of the other impressionists. The farther his painting was from absorbing elements of his colleagues' work, the closer it came to pure creativity. His preimpressionist period was one of imitation (necessary at that moment), chiefly of Courbet and even of Manet. When he began to free himself from these influences, he asserted the necessity of transforming all the elements of painting. He left for Italy in the autumn of 1881, a critical period for impressionism. In Rome he discovered what he called "the wisdom of Raphael," and this discovery, seen through the eyes of Ingres, affected the quality of Renoir's work. According to Renoir, Raphael "did not try impossible things, as I do" (letter of Nov. 21, 1881, to Durand-Ruel; L. Venturi, 1939). The greatness of Renoir's art consists in that impossible thing that had been impressionism, which Renoir and his friends had made not only possible but real; this is why his inimitable imagination was not long content with a tight scheme of drawing. Recalling impressionism and the liberty it had given to pictorial vision, Renoir soon turned back (after 1885) and rediscovered his own qualities, no longer working in impressionism, which would have been impossible, but in a new technique that he could not have developed without the experience of impressionism.

Camille Pissarro (PLS. 424–427) was the oldest of the impressionist painters. He stands out as one of the most important painters of the movement, not only for the quality of his work but for his active role in the revival of pictorial vision in the direction of impressionism and for the influence of his ideas on such painters as Cézanne and his more direct influence on such subsequent painters as Gauguin. Pissarro was born on the island of Saint Thomas in the Antilles, then a Danish possession, in 1830. Sent to France at the age of eleven, he remained in Paris until 1847. He studied at a boarding school in Passy, where the painter Savary gave him his first rudimentary instruction. Pissarro returned to Saint Thomas and devoted himself to business from 1847 to 1852, when he met a Danish painter, Fritz Melbye, and fled with him to Caracas, Venezuela, to ded-

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icate himself to painting. Later he returned to Saint Thomas, but in 1855 he was back in Paris, where he met Fritz's brother, Anton Melbye, a romantic realist painter. Above all, Pissarro was attracted to the work of Camille Corot. What Pissarro admired in the older master was his capacity to make colors vibrate and a certain symbolism in some of the landscapes. The first time Pissarro exhibited his works at the *Salon* (1859), there was a strong trace of Corot in his painting; no doubt this was one of the reasons he was accepted. In 1864 Pissarro declared in the *Salon* catalogue that he was a student of Corot. In addition to this influence, his meeting with Monet at the Académie Suisse in 1857 had been one of the most important events in his life. Monet's ideas and his research became increasingly precise in the period between 1860 and the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and his influence was decisive in the formation and orientation of Pissarro's taste. At the same time as Monet (1867–69), Pissarro achieved that conquest of realism that preceded impressionism. It was at this time that Pissarro abandoned all attempts at symbolism. When war broke out, Pissarro went to London, where he met Durand-Ruel and where he became acquainted with the works of Turner, from which he may have drawn some suggestions; however, Venturi maintains that if Pissarro learned anything in England it was from Constable rather than Turner. The fact is, however, that the influences of 19th-century English painting on impressionism were far less than may appear at first glance. The problems set by impressionism were quite different from those set and resolved by English painting. The atmospheric vibration in Turner, which is directly representational, has nothing to do with the technique, intentions, and synthesis of light of impressionism. As much as the work of Constable may appear to be a lesson in the liberty of interpreting a subject, Pissarro and Monet had already begun to paint equally free pictures, although in a different manner, when they arrived in England in 1870. The influence of the English painters which Pissarro did feel was that of the pre-Raphaelites in about 1890, and its effects were damaging to his work. When Pissarro returned to France after the war, he found his studio completely ravaged by the Prussians. In 1872 he settled in Pontoise, where Cézanne joined him. The landscapes that Pissarro painted at Pontoise before the war show a decorative intent, probably derived from Monet, while those painted after the war are more structured, though they avoid descriptiveness. Pissarro knew how to transform reality; for example, he would close all the windows of the houses he painted, because they thus offered an unbroken wall surface and concentrated luminous mass. His preoccupation with structure increased when he was in closer contact with Cézanne. Between 1874 and 1877 Pissarro's impressionist vision reached its fullest expression and greatest freedom from all external influence. His construction was achieved by means of a plastic light, so that his pictures went beyond realism and picturesqueness. His compositions were developed in greater depth than those of Monet; they retained a delicate charm foreign to the violent determination of Cézanne. Pissarro was the only artist to exhibit in all eight impressionist shows. After 1880, however, he felt the problem in impressionism and the compulsion to go still further. His sense of structure and construction brought him close to divisionism, to Seurat and Signac. He attempted to make a clear distinction between foreground and background, constructing the three dimensions of his painting with a rapid touch, no longer with an extended and fragmented brush stroke. It was light that always gave a unified organization to his painting. Pissarro, then, accepted some elements of the divisionist technique to increase the efficacy of his images, but he never gave them a geometric structure, as did Seurat. He concentrated on the fusion, rather than the contrast, of tones; his method was too intuitive and therefore too unintellectual to adapt itself perfectly to divisionism, and he abandoned the new technique after 1890. But divisionism had served in helping him understand the possibilities of making abstract constructions by means of light — constructions that went beyond impressionism and the sensibility that was its basis. In the last years of his painting activity his colors became brilliant and vital, and in the views of Rouen, for example, he achieved an intensity of light that he had never reached before. These views were Pissarro's last masterpieces, except for his views of the port of Le Havre, where he died in 1903.

At the end of 1871, when he was about to join Pissarro at Pontoise, Cézanne (q.v.; PL. 436) was abandoning the realistic phase into which he had forced his early romanticism. In the plein air of Pontoise and Auvers his vision changed rapidly, and his interest in structure (which he transmitted to Pissarro) turned into a desire for luminous construction, for which he was indebted to Pissarro. Cézanne's participation in the impressionist movement has been debated at length and sometimes even denied, but to deny his role in impressionism is wrong and fails to account for the successive development of his vision. After 1872 and until 1877 there is no doubt that Cézanne took part in impressionism. Since impressionism cannot be reduced to a simple scheme, the work of Cézanne, notwithstanding the contributions he received from Pissarro, Manet, and Monet, is still distinctly his own. Since impressionism is synthesis, Cézanne found in it the possibility of intensifying his expression and his sensation. The admirable structure of his paintings after 1880 would not have possessed that accentuation of volume, achieved by means of chromatic masses, without his earlier impressionist experience. The ability to modify reality, to control perspective in several directions, and to define a new sense of space (completely apart from the traditional and Renaissance sense) would have been impossible if impressionism had not taught Cézanne to look at reality in more than descriptive terms. Having overcome his provincial training, the artist displayed a preference, which lasted throughout his life, for such painters as Delacroix and Courbet. Although he learned the importance of strong contrasts of color from the former and of strong contrasts of material from the latter, he was indebted to no one for his method of working color into a more synthetic composition. *The House of the Hanged Man at Auvers-sur-Oise* of 1873 (Louvre; III, PL. 187) reveals his achievement of impressionist synthesis. Even if the painting lacks the luminous delicacy of Monet's pictures, for example, and if the artist still used a palette knife to spread colors here and there, the optical fusion of tones is achieved in perfect conformity with the principle of impressionist luminosity. This painting also reveals Cézanne's intentions outside of impressionism. The synthesis achieved by the fusion of tones is not an end in itself, but serves to accentuate the masses of the landscape and to bring out the volumes. Cézanne's impressionist vision is expressed in a deep and tangible space that is emotive rather than descriptive, and the light is reinforced by the masses. His paintings show a genuine synthesis of light and pictorial mass. Cézanne declared that he wanted to make of impressionism something solid like the art of the museums. This statement has too often served as the basis for a classicist interpretation of his painting — a false interpretation, since solidifying impressionism definitely did not mean a denial of it. Although Cézanne was the first to feel the need to advance beyond impressionism and no longer chose to exhibit with his impressionist friends after 1877, it was perhaps he who made most use of impressionism, transforming it and projecting it toward various developments of modern art.

A friend of Cézanne from 1863 and later a friend of Pissarro, Armand Guillaumin (PLS. 430, 431) spent time with them at Pontoise and Auvers. He was born in Paris in 1841, and his education began at Moulins. He returned to Paris at the age of sixteen and went to a communal school of design. Later he enrolled at the Académie Suisse, where he studied nights; during the day he worked for the Paris-Orléans railway line, but he soon abandoned this job to dedicate himself entirely to painting. Unable to make a living by painting, he was forced to accept a job connected with the administration of bridges and roads of the city of Paris. He continued to paint and, except in 1876 and 1879, he exhibited in all the impressionist shows. In 1892 he won 100,000 francs in a city lottery and was finally able to stop work. He traveled all over France and discovered the small town of Crozant, where he lived for several years and which he depicted in several canvases. In 1904 he went to Amsterdam; he died at Orly in 1927. Undoubtedly he felt the influence of Cézanne in composition and in the heaviness of his tecnique;

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this influence is evident even in some of his pictures before 1870. His color, however, was more vivid than that of his colleagues. The effects of sunset (e.g., *Sunset at Ivry*, 1873, Louvre) became an excuse for filling his composition with an abstract lighting that was unnatural but effective. With the passing years Guillaumin's color lost its impressionist vibration, became purer, and contrasted rather than fused. Without doubt it had a certain influence on Gauguin. In the last years of his life, Guillaumin's palette came close to that of the Fauves.

All the works of Claude Monet (q.v.; PL. 418) have been identified with impressionism, and it is true that he carried the vibration of light to its ultimate consequences. But since impressionism embodies more than this one characteristic and is a way of feeling and seeing reality unlike all earlier tradition, the paintings of Monet alone cannot represent this period, although they were among the finest expressions of it. Certainly Monet was the most decidedly and coherently impressionist painter, and he probably had a greater sense of the new style than his colleagues. But it is going too far to say that impressionism was born and died with him. His early works were first influenced by Boudin and then by Jongkind. He next began to throw off this realist influence by painting outdoors. Monet was always the greatest supporter of outdoor paintings, in spite of the reservations of Courbet and Manet. Monet's example was followed by the others, and it was important for all the impressionist painters, since in all of them one can find an echo, however, faint, of Monet. Among the greatest contributions he made to impressionism and subsequent modern painting were his visual sensitivity and his manner of expressing it with the vibrations of light and the consequent modification of traditional concepts of space and volume. If the symbol of Cézanne's vision is depth, if emotion arises from a new space freely measured by masses of color, then Monet's vision is characterized by decorative surface, but decorative as this word is used by Bernard Berenson. In Monet all extraneous concerns and even all prior inspiration are set aside in the moment of painting; the pictorial subject loses all sense of contingency. Impressionism, which did not last after 1880 even for Monet, gave that artist the opportunity to abandon all plastic determination and all linear design; it made possible a perfect integration of form and light. After the climax of impressionism, Monet, too, sought other solutions. He pushed to the extreme the breaking-up of form in light, but for a certain period his work was analytic rather than synthetic. Monet always considered himself an impressionist, but he admitted in 1880, in an interview granted to Taboureux, that what had been a church was now an ordinary school open to one and all (L. Venturi, 1939). These words evidently expressed his reaction to the new ideas which had begun to appear in avant-garde painting and which heralded the birth of symbolism. Monet's painting was the antithesis of Gauguin's and was opposed to the *Idéisme* theorized by G.-A. Aurier (1893). Monet was a pure painter, and painting evoked his first loyalty even during the most tragic moments of his life. Clemenceau noted that when Monet went to the funeral of a dear friend, the artist could not refrain from observing (with what Monet himself called "organic automatism") the variations of color that death brought to the face of the dead man. This ability to abandon himself without reserve to his own pictorial intuitions was one of the qualities which made Monet a great artist. It was in opposition to this very quality that the reaction against impressionism at the turn of the century took its stand.

NEOIMPRESSIONISM. In 1884, exactly 10 years after the first impressionist exhibition, there was founded in Paris a *Société des artistes indépendants*. Its members included such painters as Georges Seurat (q.v.), Paul Signac, Charles Angrand, Maximilien Luce, Henri-Edmond Cross, and Albert Dubois-Pillet, all of whom proposed to go beyond impressionism. It was two years later, at the last impressionist exhibition (1886), that the new tendency had its official consecration. In fact, it was because of the participation of Signac and Seurat that Monet, Renoir, and Caillebotte refused to exhibit. The exhibition presented the inevitable contrast that existed between those who were called "romantic impressionists," and the new painters or "scientific impressionists." Then, for the first time, according to Signac (1899), "there appeared works painted only in pure, separate, and balanced colors, which were mixed optically according to a reasoned method." These artists wanted to replace the color instinct of impressionism with a scientific procedure, but without abandoning the lessons of impressionism. While impressionism had been spontaneous and impulsive, neoimpressionism, which was soon called "pointillism" or "divisionism," became reflective and stable. In addition to divisionism, symbolism and the individual styles of Gauguin and Van Gogh followed impressionism, as well as the work of the impressionists themselves after 1880. Divisionism, however, differed by being scientific in character, not only in its methodical division of colored strokes but also in its ideology. Unlike the impressionists, Seurat and Signac were theorists. While Monet and his associates never dedicated themselves to scientific reading, the books from which Signac and Seurat formed their theory of the division of colors were scientific ones and included O. N. Rood on the theory of color, David Sutter on the phenomena of vision, and, above all, M. E. Chevreul's *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objects colorés*, Paris, 1839. However, the new painters did not neglect the nonscientific contributions of the impressionists and the contributions of such romantic artists as Delacroix. According to Signac, Delacroix understood most of the advantages that a colorist could derive from optical fusion and from the contrast of colors; Delacroix also sensed the benefits of a more precise and methodical technique, a technique that could give greater clarity to light and more splendor to color. From the time he painted *The Massacre at Chios* (IV, PL. 142), Delacroix had banished ochres and earth colors from his palette and replaced them with intense pure colors. The use of pure color methodically applied was one of the basic characteristics of divisionist painting.

Chevreul had published his law of the simultaneous contrast of colors in 1839; a new edition of the treatise, edited by his son, appeared in 1889. Chevreul had been a teacher of applied chemistry at the dye works and for a certain time was the director of the Gobelin manufactory. He was acquainted with the problems of painting not only theoretically, in his scholarly work, but practically, in his daily activity. His definition of the simultaneous contrast of colors must necessarily have struck a responsive chord in such a methodical spirit as Seurat. "When one looks simultaneously at two zones of the same color but different intensity," wrote Chevreul, "and when one looks at two zones of equal intensity but different colors next to each other (two zones bordering on each other at one side), the eye may notice, if the zones are not too large, certain modifications — in the former case, modifications of the intensity of color; in the latter, modifications in the optical composition of the two juxtaposed colors. Since these modifications make those zones (when observed at the same time) seem more different than they really are, I call the phenomenon 'simultaneous contrast of colors.' I call 'contrast of tone' the change that results from color intensity and 'contrast of color' that which results from the optical composition of two colors juxtaposed." Simultaneous contrast of colors was the basis of the new painting. According to Signac, the neoimpressionists should use only pure colors and should avoid "all mixture on the palette except of those colors that are contiguous in the color spectrum." Every color, pure on the palette, should likewise appear pure on the canvas. The optical fusion will take place there, once the divided colors have been applied, and the greatest possible luminosity will result from the contrast. At the same time, the balance of color and light (always according to the law of optical contrast) and of color gradation and distribution will give the work an integral harmony.

For Seurat (PLS. 436, 437, 440) art was harmony. In a letter of 1890 to Maurice Beaubourg he wrote: "From the point of view of esthetics, art is harmony. Harmony is the analogy of contraries and of similar elements of tone, tint, and line, all considered according to their dominants and under the influence of light, in combinations that may be gay, calm, or sad. The contraries are: for tone, a more luminous (or lighter) tone against a darker one; for tint, the complementaries, i.e.,

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a certain red opposed to its complement (red-green; orange-blue; yellow-violet); for line, those forming a right angle. Gaiety of tone is given by the luminous dominant; of color, by the warm dominant; of lines above the horizontal. Calm of tone is given by an equivalence of light and dark; of color, by an equivalence of warm and cold; and of line, by horizontals. Sadness of tone is given by the dominance of dark; of color, by the dominance of cold colors; and of line, by downward directions. From the point of view of technique: taking for granted the phenomena of the direction of a light-impression on the retina, synthesis is the result. The means of expression is the optical mixture of tones, of tints (of both locality and the illuminating color — sun, oil lamp, gas lamp, etc.), that is to say, of lights and their reactions (shadows) according to the laws of contrast, gradation, and irradiation" (Rewald, 1956). The letter in question was written a year before Seurat's death, when he had already completely developed his own vision, which often went beyond any very schematic methodology. However, the letter reveals the need felt after impressionism to give light a structure — the chief purpose of that logical organization of form and color which characterized later painting.

Among the old impressionists only Pissarro, along with his son Lucien (1883–1944), joined the divisionists for a short time. In addition to Seurat many of his contemporaries followed divisionist theories, chief among whom was Signac (PL. 438). Among the others were Angrand, Cross, Dubois-Pillet, Hippolyte Petitjean, Maximilien Luce, and the Belgians, Théo van Rysselberghe and Henri Van de Velde (architect and painter who was one of the founders of Art Nouveau, q.v.). The work of Signac, and of course that of Seurat, was far superior in quality to that of the other neoimpressionist painters. Signac was born and died in Paris (1865–1935); he traveled a great deal, frequently visiting the French ports, from Port-en-Bassin to the tiny port of Saint-Tropez. There he drew inspiration for his paintings, which were very luminous, even if this luminosity was rather objective. Even more than Seurat, Signac tried to demonstrate the validity of neoimpressionist theory, which he based on four essential points: (1) impressionism's palette of colors, (2) optical fusion, (3) divisionist brush stroke, (4) methodical and scientific technique. In spite of the time he spent theorizing, Signac's paintings are of high quality, including *Entrance to the Port of Marseilles* (PL. 438). In great measure because of Seurat and Signac, neoimpressionist theory spread throughout Europe. It found support in Belgium and in the "Society of the Twenty" and later in "The Free Esthetics." Italy, too, had a brief divisionist period, but one cannot speak of Italian neoimpressionism, since there was no Italian impressionism. Italian divisionism, then, remained rather naturalistic and literary in the works of Giovanni Segantini, Gaetano Previati, Vittore Grubicy de Dragon, Angelo Morbelli, and Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo, a relatively neglected painter who was probably the best of the Italian divisionists. But the lessons of impressionism and neoimpressionism were picked up by such painters as Balla, Boccioni, and Severini at the beginning ot the 20th century (see CUBISM AND FUTURISM).

Impressionism and neoimpressionism influenced the development of contemporary painting and, in part, their influence continues today. The impressionist period represented the greatest revolution in painting of the 19th century, and its effects are incalculable.

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Nello PONENTE

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**INCA.** See ANDEAN PROTOHISTORY.

**INDIA.** India is taken herein to mean the Indian Union (officially known as Bharat), one of the two countries into which the subcontinent extending southward from the Himalaya into the Indian Ocean was divided politically in 1947. The Union consists of several territories, directly administered by the central government, and 15 federated states whose boundaries are basically linguistic and which therefore do not correspond, or correspond only in part or in name, to historic regions. Indian culture (see INDIAN ART) developed over a broader area than that included within the Union's borders; accordingly, supplementary material, especially for such regions as Bengal and the Punjab, is presented elsewhere in this work (see PAKISTAN). Since the transfer of the French and Portuguese possessions to Indian control, there have been no vestiges of European rule on the subcontinent. Authority over Kashmir is disputed between the Indian Union and Pakistan.

SUMMARY. The country (col. 858). Survey of geography and art history (col. 859). Andhra Pradesh (col. 862): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Assam (col. 865): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Bihar (col. 866): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Gujarat and Maharashtra (col. 869): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Kashmir and Jammu (col. 878): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Kerala (col. 882): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Madhya Pradesh (col. 882): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Madras (col. 887): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Mysore (col. 891): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Orissa (col. 895): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Punjab and Himachal Pradesh (col. 897): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Rajasthan (col. 901): *Historical survey; Art centers.* Uttar Pradesh and Delhi (col. 903): *Historical survey; Art centers.* West Bengal (col. 911): *Historical survey; Art centers.* State of Pondicherry (col. 912). Former Portuguese possessions (col. 913).

THE COUNTRY. The Indian Union, occupying 1,269,640 square miles, extends from the 68th to the 97th meridian east and from the 8th parallel north, at Cape Comorin, to the 37th parallel north, with Kashmir included. The Union forms a geographical entity definitely set off by natural boundaries: eastward by the mountains of Burma, southward by the Indian Ocean, westward by the Iranian plateau, and northward by the Himalaya. In the northwest, however, toward Tibet (q.v.) and Central Asia (see ASIA, CENTRAL), there are passes that afford access through the Himalaya, and these have, therefore, throughout the history of India, served as the pathways of the great invasions. Topographically, India consists of three large, well-defined regions: the Himalayan range; the Indo-Gangetic plain, further subdivided into the eastern regions of humid climate (the Ganges Valley) and the parched western regions; and, last, the peninsular plain, sloping from the southwest to the northeast, which is divided in two by the Narbada and Mahanadi river valleys. The Deccan forms the southern part of this peninsular plain, west of which rise the mountains of the Western Ghats; the region north of the two river valleys is in turn protected by the Vindhya Mountains. The monsoon, whose torrential rains strike suddenly but follow a regular seasonal rhythm, is a source of life for India; with the rainfall that it brings during an extremely wet season the earth again turns green and the earlier torrid temperature of the dry season, during which vegetation disappears, drops abruptly.

The name of India stems from that of the Indus River (Skr., *Sindhu*), known to the Greek and Latin worlds through Iran; the inscriptions of Darius number Hindu, that is, the Indus Valley, among the satrapies (see IRAN). With Alexander's conquests, the Greeks acquired direct knowledge of these regions, particularly through the travel accounts of Nearchus, who descended the Indus; later came the *Indika* of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus I Nicator to the court of the emperor Candragupta Maurya; these narratives were long the source of all Occidental information on India. Added to them early in the Christian Era were the accounts of navigators who availed themselves of the alternating winds of the monsoon to begin trading with the Indian ports; these accounts, which deal mainly with the coastal cities and their rulers, are preserved in *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, dating from the second half of the 1st century, and the *Geography* of Ptolemy, about A.D. 150. A Roman route map dating from the 4th century, the so-called "Peutinger Map," included India. The *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, which goes back to the mid-6th century, furnishes comparable information pertaining to his own times. Of the Chinese pilgrims who visited the holy places of Buddhism and wrote accounts of their travels, the most eminent are Fa-hsien of the early 5th century and Hsüan-tsang and Yi-ching (I-ching) of the 7th century (see BUDDHISM). Next came the Arab travelers, particularly Ibn-Baṭṭuṭa, of the 14th century, and last, European travelers and missionaries.

Political unity has only rarely been achieved in India. It was first imposed under Indian dynasties, such as those of Aśoka Maurya, in the 3d century B.C., and of the sovereigns of the Gupta dynasty from the 4th to the 6th century of the Christian Era; later, political unification was enforced by foreign conquerors, briefly by the Turko-Afghans, then by the sultanate of Delhi early in the 14th century, and finally by the Moghuls from the 16th to 18th century. After having come under British rule early in the 19th century, India in 1947 became an independent country. It was at first divided into 28 states, classified in four different categories; the number of states was later reduced to 15: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal; to these were added several territories directly administered by the central government: Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Manipur, Tripura, the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy, and Pondicherry, which includes the territories formerly belonging to France. In December, 1961, Indian troops seized the Portuguese possessions of Goa, Damão, and Diu on the west coast of the peninsula.

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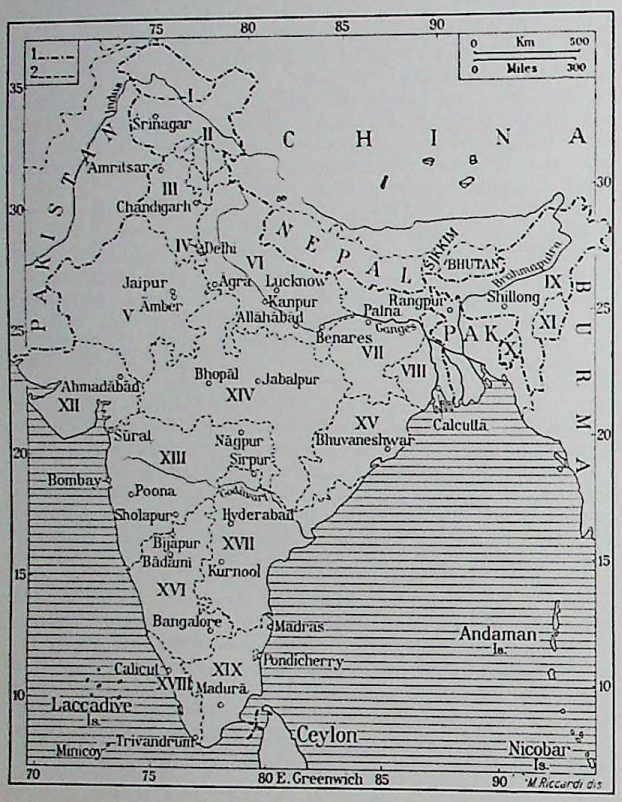
SURVEY OF GEOGRAPHY AND ART HISTORY. Apparently, at the dawn of the Paleolithic era (pre-Sohan) the inhabitants of India had established settlements in the central and northern regions, especially in the vicinity of rivers: the valley of the Sohan in the western Punjab, the valley of the Narbada, the Godavari (in the states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh), and the Singrauli (south of Benares). With ancient Sohan, new sites began to appear in the western Punjab, in the valleys of the Beas (Bias) and the Banganga, in Orissa at Mayurbhanj, and, in particular, in the region of Madras.




India, principal modern cities and administrative divisions. *Key*: (1) Modern national boundaries; (2) boundaries of the federated states and the territories. (I) Jammu and Kashmir; (II) Himachal Pradesh; (III) Punjab; (IV) Delhi; (V) Rajasthan; (VI) Uttar Pradesh; (VII) Bihar; (VIII) West Bengal; (IX) Assam; (X) Tripura; (XI) Manipur; (XII) Gujarat; (XIII) Maharashtra; (XIV) Madhya Pradesh; (XV) Orissa; (XVI) Mysore; (XVII) Andhra Pradesh; (XVIII) Kerala; (XIX) Madras.

The sites of Khandivli, near Bombay, and Nevasa, in the upper valley of the Pravara (Maharashtra), represent the transition to the advanced microlithic phase.

The protohistoric Indian civilization, known as that of the Indus (ca. 2500–1500 B.C.) because most of its centers are located in the valley of this river (in modern Pakistani territory), spread beyond these limits, reaching Alamgirpur and Ukhlina in Uttar Pradesh, Rupar in the eastern Punjab, and, to the south, Kathiawar and the Bombay region. In the following period the culture seems to have been centered in the upper Ganges Valley, where there appears, at Hastinapura, for example, a sort of ocher pottery; next, from about 800 to 500 B.C., are seen a painted gray ware (P.G.; see ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY; CERAMICS; INDUS VALLEY ART) and walls of mud brick, which occur also at Bairat in Rajasthan and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh. Finally, from about 500 to 200 B.C. the culture is characterized by a type of polished black pottery (N.B.P.: northern black polished ware) and the appearance of copper and iron. This culture extended over the entire Ganges Valley, as far as Sisupalgarh in Orissa, Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra. In the last centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. the southern regions of the Deccan — Mysore, Kerala, and the state of Madras — were dotted with megaliths (dolmens, cists, tombs) of the same type as those found in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the environs of Hyderabad. Still in the Ganges Valley, but in this instance in the lower part, at Magadha, are found the earliest traces of the historical period: the ruins of Rajagriha (mod. Rajgir) and of Pataliputra (mod. Patna), capital of the Maurya empire. Dating from the age of Aśoka are the commemorative pillars (lats), several stupas at Sarnath, the stupa at Sanchi, and the Ājīvika cave temples at Sitamarhi, Nagarjuni, and Barabar in Bihar. With the coming of the Śuṅga period, the center of political and artistic activity shifted to what is now Madhya Pradesh, the site of the stupa of Sanchi (see BUDDHIST PRIMITIVE SCHOOLS), which, together with the stupa of Bharhut in Bundelkhand, gave its name to the first Buddhist art in India. Building also continued in Bihar (Petaliputra, Bodhgaya). The stupa of Jaggayyapeta in Andhra Pradesh, the rock chaitya of Bhaja in Maharashtra, and Vihara X of Ajanta (q.v.) all seem to be of the same style.

At the beginning of the Christian Era, approximately, the cultural centers were located chiefly in the northwestern part of India, in Gandhara (now in Pakistani territory; see GANDHARA); in the north, at Mathura (q.v.); and in the southeast, at Amaravati (see ANDHRA). This is the period when India assimilated foreign influences, Hellenistic and Iranian in particular (see BACTRIAN ART; INDO-IRANIAN ART). In the period of the Kushan dynasty (see KUSHAN ART), which reigned during the 1st and 2d centuries of the Christian Era over the entire region lying between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Ganges, Mathura became an important religious and art center, whose style continued that of Bharhut and Sanchi, while adding a new flavor. This art spread to Kashmir (see KASHMIR ART) and thence into Central Asia and China (see ASIA, CENTRAL; KHOTANESE ART; KUCHA). From the 1st century B.C. to the end of the 3d century of the Christian Era, Amaravati was the capital of the Sātavāhana dynasty, whose realm included for a time all northern Deccan (see DECCAN ART). Accordingly the rock-cut temples in the Bombay region (Nasik, Karli, Pitalkhora, Kanheri) from this period have a style akin to that of the stupas which then abounded in the territory of Andhra Pradesh. The works of the Amaravati school meanwhile were reaching Ceylon (see CEYLON; CEYLONESE ART) and the countries of southeast Asia — Thailand and Champa, in particular (see CHAM, SCHOOL OF; SIAMESE ART).

During the Gupta (4th–6th cent.) and post-Gupta (6th–8th cent.) periods, the Ganges Valley again played a paramount role (see GUPTA, SCHOOL OF). This fact is attested to by the stupas of Rajagriha, Nalanda, Sarnath, and Mathura; the last-named remained a great cultural center. A great many temples were also built in the central regions: Temples XVII and XVIII of Sanchi, those of Bhumara, Tigowa, and Sirpur, the caves of Udayagiri and Bagh in Madhya Pradesh, the caves of Ajanta (q.v.), Aurangabad, Ellora, and Elephanta, the temple of Ter (Tagara) in Maharashtra, and the temple of Chezarla in Andhra Pradesh. At the beginning of the 6th century, the Chalukya (Cāḷukya) dynasty began its reign over Maharashtra, and several temples were erected in the region of Aihole, in what is now Mysore. In style they carried on the tradition of Gupta art but at the same time introduced new elements. The site of Pattadakal, where temples with curvilinear roof (shikara) and pyramidal roof occur side by side, shows a transitional form between the style of the north, sometimes called *nāgara*, and that of the south, which is Dravidian. The Chalukya style was followed by the Rashtrakuta (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) style, the most remarkable example of which is the Kailāsanātha of Ellora. Contemporaneously with Chalukya art, Pallava art was developing in southern India. The monolithic temples and the Shore Temple at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) and the temples of Kanchipuram (mod. Conjeeveram) provided prototypes for the Dravidian art that was to develop in subsequent centuries in this same region (see DRAVIDIAN ART).

In the medieval period distinct regional arts emerged. At first, in the northeast, in Bengal and Bihar — then united under the sovereignty of a single dynasty — the Pala style perpetuated the themes of Gupta art (see PALA-SENA SCHOOLS). The university center of Nalanda was well known and was celebrated even beyond the borders of India; Pala art had particular influence on Nepalese art (see NEPAL; NEPALESE ART) and on that of Java (see INDONESIAN CULTURES). During the same period, roughly from the 8th century to the 13th, Orissa witnessed the creation of sumptuous temple groups in its territory. The type of tower with curvilinear roof, appearing at Sirpur and employed at Pattadakal in conjunction with the pyramidal-roof type, then dominated, attaining its apogee in the Liṅgarāja of Bhuvaneshwar. The Bundelkhand style of central India is related to that of Orissa. In the 10th–12th century, the temples of Khajuraho (Madhya Pradesh), capital of the Chandella dynasty, were built; the temple of Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva marks the zenith of the style of this region.

The regions of western India, Rajasthan (see RAJPUT SCHOOL) and Gujarat, despite the fact that they suffered greatly as a result of the Moslem invasions, retain notable vestiges of medieval architecture. Among the significant examples are the temples at Osia,

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the Temple of Sūrya at Modhera, and the Vimala of Mount Abu, characterized by the elegance of their proportions and the richness and abundance of their decoration. In Kashmir, whose territory had been spared the vicissitudes of the great invasions, temples in the tradition of Gandhara were still constructed, those at Martand and Avantipur being the most remarkable examples. In the south of the Deccan, in Mysore, the Hoysala style is representative of the medieval period. The many temples built in this style, from the 11th century to the early 14th, are generally star-shaped in plan and heavily decorated. The most outstanding are the temples of Keśava at Belur and Somnathpur (PL. 484) and the Hoyśaleśvara at Halebid.

Dravidian art was developing at the same time in the state of Madras, at first following the Chola (Coḷa) style, in which the plan of the Pallava structures continued. Created in this style were such great shrines as the vimana (tower) of Tanjore, the capital of the Chola empire, and the temple of Gangaikondacholapuram; the mode was carried on into the 13th century by Pandya art, whose practitioners were prone to lavish a welter of decoration on the buildings, the ornamentation particularly concentrated on the monumental portals (gopuras) through which one entered. The center of Pandya art was in Madura, the capital of the Pandya dynasty. In the 15th and 16th centuries the great Dravidian temples were built chiefly in the area of Vijayanagar, in Mysore, capital of a Hindu kingdom fighting the Moslems. The mandapa (Skr., *maṇḍapa*, porch) acquired great importance in architecture. In the 17th century the Nāyyak dynasty of Madura erected vast temples, the most famous of which were, naturally, those in the capital.

The Moslems had begun their penetration of India with the 8th-century invasions of the northeastern regions, Sind and the Punjab; Indo-Moslem art did not appear, however, before the establishment of the sultanate of Delhi in the 13th century (see INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS). The first monuments built in Delhi proper were of Iranian derivation. The states that arose after the breakup of the sultanate of Delhi during the 14th century — Jaunpur in Oudh (Uttar Pradesh), Gaur in Bengal, Gujarat and Kathiawar (now included in Gujarat), and the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan, among others — at first used components and materials fron the Indian temples in building their mosques. The efforts of Indian artists and craftsmen to adapt local techniques to Islamic requirements resulted in the Indo-Moslem style. In the 16th century, Iranian influence became predominant in the south, in the states of Bijapur and Golconda, which were receiving direct influence from the west, and in the north, in the Ganges Valley, with the rise of the Moghul empire (see MOGHUL SCHOOL); under the Moghuls the Delhi and Agra areas were dotted with a profusion of monuments, built of red sandstone in the period of the emperor Akbar (second half of 16th cent.) and of white marble in the time of Shah Jahān (mid-17th cent.).

Marguerite-Marie DENECK

Occidental influence made itself felt in India as early as the 17th century, for a variety of political, economic, and religious reasons. Highly important, particularly with respect to architecture, were the Jesuit missions, which were responsible for the dissemination of late-Renaissance and baroque forms. Portuguese influence was the first to be widely felt, most strongly in such centers as Goa, Damão, Diu, Bassein, and Mylapore; this was replaced by the French, which was to linger through the 19th century, especially in the decoration of interiors. Pondicherry and Chandernagor reflect French influence in their layout; there are many French-influenced elements in Tanjore, Nagpur, Vellore, Satara, Bhopal, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda, Jaipur, Delhi, Lucknow, and Udaipur. English influence is apparent in the area of Surat, Ahmadabad, and Balasore, introduced by the English East India Company; following the English conquest, official architecture became predominantly Neo-Gothic (Madras, Bombay, Calcutta), and this style was later imitated by local rulers. The forms remained foreign elements, however, failing to become assimilated into Indian tradition or landscape. There was a slighter, though not unimportant, effect exerted by Danish and Dutch elements; the Dutch tendency was perceptible in Cochin, Surat, Ceylon, Chinsura, and Tranquebar.

In the field of painting, after a period in the 17th century when Western art works were imported by way of Antwerp under the auspices of the Jesuits, English works, commissioned in England from such famous artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds, were predominant; in the 19th century, the English artists Thomas Daniell and Tilly Kettle worked in India; English also were the academizing schools of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, which specialized in an official type of painting, including portraiture (Raja Ravivarman). A reaction against this trend was initiated late in the century by E. B. Havell, who advocated a return to the Indian tradition; concurrently, in both India and Europe, a movement for a restoration of Indian culture began that was further encouraged by Abanindranath Tagore (q.v.) and out of which grew a mystical, symbolic trend exemplified in the work of the school of Bengal (K. N. Majumdar, M. A. R. Chughtai, and S. N. Gupta).

In the early 20th century, international Western movements became more apparent in Indian art; outstanding are the cubist works by Gogonendranath Tagore (q.v.) and, during the decade from 1920 to 1930, those of R. Tagore, Jamini Roy (q.v.), Amrita Sher-Gil, and George Keyt, who were receptive to direct contacts with Europe, particularly with France. There was an increasingly conscious assimilation of artistic trends from foreign sources, with the result that today there are many artists whose work, whether representational or in the abstract, nonobjective vein, forms a contribution to international art in both painting and sculpture. At the same time the contemporary Indian esthetic, although subject to artistic demands paralleling those in the West, has developed in original and unmistakably Indian ways. Architecture in the 20th century is characterized by the diffusion of new developments borrowed from the West, which have supplanted Indian decorative styles, particularly in public buildings; paralleling this tendency is an ever-increasing receptivity to avant-garde trends in European architecture and to collaboration with European architects. Significant are the plans for Chandigarh (1950–53), which were prepared by Le Corbusier (q.v.), and those for New Delhi, prepared by Edwin L. Lutyens (q.v.) and Herbert Baker; also noteworthy is the contribution of the European architect Otto Koenigsberger to the civic construction of Bangalore.

Padmini BHATIA

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ANDHRA PRADESH. *Historical survey.* Andhra Pradesh extends along the western coast of the Deccan, approximately north of Madras to north of Visakhapatnam; it originally comprised only the region between the delta of the Godavari and that of the Kistna, an area of largely Dravidian population whose languages are Tamil and Telugu. Several centers of paleolithic culture, including Nagarjunakonda, bear witness to the early inhabitation of the region. In later times the Andhras were described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* Andhradeśa acknowledged the sovereignty of the Maurya empire only with the advent of the emperor Aśoka, but it regained its independence even before the downfall of the Maurya dynasty; in the first two centuries of the Christian Era, Andhra (q.v.) was governed by the Śātavāhanas, who at that time reigned over the entire northern Deccan as far as Maharashtra and Malwa. Although they also were known under the name of Andhrabṛtya, there is no proof that they were originally from Andhra rather than regions west of there, where several inscriptions commemorating the first rulers of this dynasty have been discovered, notably at Nana-Ghat and Nasik. Following the reign of the Śātavāhanas, which lasted about two centuries, the kingdom appears to have been divided in two: the western provinces and Andhra proper. About A.D. 225 the latter came under the domination of the Iḥsvākus, who are mentioned in the inscriptions of the stupa of Nagarjunakonda. In this period, in the region of Amaravati, religious architecture flourished.

Andhra subsequently came under the sovereignty of the Guptas, who re-created a great Indian empire during the 4th century. It later recognized the sovereignty of the Pallavas, who were settled south of the Kistna, until in the early 7th century these rulers became engaged in conflict with the Chalukyas of Maharashtra (northwestern Deccan) and were conquered; they were compelled to cede Andhra, and a new dynasty, that of the Eastern Chalukyas, or the Chalukyas of Vengi, assumed control until about 1250. During the 12th century, however, the region of Warangal was detached from the possessions of the Eastern Chalukyas to become the capital of the Kākatīya dynasty, which held it until 1323, when Warangal was won for the sultanate of Delhi by Muḥammad ibn-Tughlaq. The city regained its independence in the latter half of the 14th century, but it was

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destroyed by the Bahmanī sultans in 1424. The Moslem kingdom of Golconda, founded in 1489 after the partition of the Bahmanī sultanate, lasted for two centuries; the emperor Aurangzēb annexed it to the Moghul empire, which retained it only briefly. Toward the middle of the 17th century it became part of the Moslem state of the Nizam of Hyderabad, which in the 19th century recognized the British protectorate.

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*Art centers.* Alampur. In this city, on the western bank of the Tungabhadra, there is a group of six temples enclosed by a ring of fortifications. These temples are rather small and have a curvilinear-roofed tower (shikara); in style they are akin to the Pāpanātha of Pattadakal, with which they appear to be contemporaneous. The interior, consisting of a hall with piers and sanctuary, is reminiscent of the Rāvaṇa-ka-Khai of Ellora (see DECCAN ART), since the piers, though less massive, have the same type of brimming-vase capitals.

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Amaravati. Situated on the right bank of the Kistna River, Amaravati was the capital of Andhra and a highly important Buddhist center from the 1st century B.C. until the late 3d century. In this city was built a large stupa (measuring ca. 164 ft. in diameter) whose brick structure was sheathed in carved marble slabs. Unfortunately, this edifice was largely destroyed early in the 19th century by a local raja, who reused the material for his own building; those bas-reliefs which could be rescued are now in the British Museum and the museums of Madras and Calcutta. The stupa consisted of a massive dome resting upon a cylindrical drum, and was covered by two friezes, one above the other, and bands of ornamentation. The surrounding balustrade, about 13½ ft. high, was completely covered with carving on both faces; at each of the cardinal points was inserted a gate flanked by crouching lions atop the balustrade itself. There were no toranas, only a row of five columns for each gate. The inner face of the balustrade bore bas-reliefs depicting episodes from the last life of the Buddha and his earlier incarnations (the Jātakas); the scenes followed in sequence in a frieze running the length of the balustrade and in round medallions on the columns. (For a description of the carvings and the four periods of Amaravati sculpture see I, cols. 411–12; see also PLS. 412, 445.) These reliefs afford a virtual tableau of life during the Andhra period and display a great sense of movement and a high level of technical skill. Evident in the art of this structure are both the representational and the symbolic tendencies of Buddhist art (see BUDDHISM; IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM).

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Chezarla. The Temple of Kapoteśvara at Chezarla in the Krishna district dates from the Gupta period. It has an apsidal plan like that of the Buddhist chaityas, is built of brick, and has a horseshoe-shaped opening in the façade. The portico, with its piers, seems to be a later addition to the original structure. The walls also are adorned with piers and are interrupted by four windows surmounted by chaitya-arched gables. A horizontal ceiling conceals the corbeled vault.

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Ghantasala. In the Kistna Valley the ruins of a stupa from the Andhra period have been discovered; only the foundations, consisting of walls radiating from the center, remain; these walls are made of small, thin bricks. The stupa was sheathed with sculptured marble slabs, most of which have disappeared, having been used again in neighboring buildings; this is a virtual repetition of the history of the reliefs from the stupa of Amaravati. Those slabs which have been salvaged show that the style of the stupa was akin to that of the second Amaravati period.

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Golconda. From 1512 to 1687, Golconda was the capital of an independent kingdom that grew from the dissolution of the former Bahmanī sultanate (see INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS). This fortified city had granite walls with mighty bastions at the corners; a massive portal gave access to the interior. Few structures have remained intact, as the city was besieged by the Moghul armies in 1687. The chief monuments are the tombs of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty, which are related in type to those of Gulbarga, but which have an overabundance of ornamentation in stucco characteristic of the period. The domes, narrow at the base, are bulbous and swollen. Many mosques date from the 17th century, among them the Jāmiʿ Masjid, with five ranks of arcades, and the Tolī Masjid, which is small but refined and delicate. In the 18th century, Golconda was also the center for a flourishing school of miniaturists.

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Goli. Discovered in 1926 near the village of Goli, in the district of Guntur south of the Kistna, were the ruins of a small Buddhist stupa. The style of the reliefs found there, as well as the Brahmi characters of an inscription on one of the carved slabs, seems to indicate that this monument is contemporaneous with the last Amaravati period, that is, the late 3d or early 4th century. The bas-reliefs depict scenes from the Buddha's life and previous incarnations; most of them are in the Government Museum in Madras.

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Hyderabad. Capital of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad is situated on the right bank of the Musi River. It was founded in 1589 by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭbshāh and has retained the surrounding stone walls which are broken by 30 gates. The most characteristic monument is a large triumphal arch, the Chār Mīnār, which was built in 1591. It has a square plan, and there is an arched opening on each façade; three stories of diminishing size are adorned with arcades; a tall minaret rises at each corner. Among the earliest monuments are the Bādshāhī ʿAshūr Khāna (ca. 1594), used for official ceremonies, the Gōsha Mahal, the Mecca Mosque, modeled after the mosque in the holy city, and the ancient hospital. The suburban sectors, extending far beyond the city walls, have outstanding structures, including the Nizam College; Osmania University; the former British residency, a large building northeast of the city's center, surrounded by parks; and a great many other private buildings. Outstanding among the four bridges spanning the Musi is the Purāṇa Pūl, with 23 arches, dating from 1593. Hyderabad, like Golconda, was once the center of a school of miniaturists significant in the history of Deccan painting.

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Jaggayyapeta. At Jaggayyapeta, north of the Kistna, are the remains of a Buddhist foundation. The most important ruins are those of a stupa built of brick and earth, whose base was sheathed with sculptured marble slabs. The latter are stylistically related to the art of Bharhut and Sanchi, although they are inferior in quality and of less interest; apparently they date from the 1st century B.C. Southeast of this stupa the bases of a few piers mark the site of a mandapa. Vestiges of fountains and reservoirs have been found.

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Nagarjunakonda. A city in the lower Kistna Valley in the district of Guntur, Nagarjunakonda was inhabited as early as the Paleolithic period; it acquired importance, however, only at the time of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, during the 3d and 4th centuries of the Christian Era, when it was an important Buddhist center. This fact is attested to by the many ruins of monasteries which came to light in the excavations first undertaken in 1926–30 and resumed in 1938–40. The ruins of a palace, of fortifications, and of ghats were uncovered.

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The monasteries consisted of a vihara, including the monks' cells, a mandapa (used as a meeting place), often built of stone but at times of brick, a chaitya, and a stupa. Most of the stupas were adorned with white marble bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the Buddha's last life or his earlier incarnations. The style is that of the second Amaravati period, and the Buddha is always portrayed anthropomorphically rather than symbolically. Many inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku dynasty have also come to light.

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Salihundam. Excavations in 1943 at Salihundam, on the Vamsadhara not far from the Bay of Bengal, uncovered an apsidal chaitya and a large stupa. In the foundations of the latter, three stupa-shaped crystal reliquaries had been deposited, each containing one or more golden leaves. This site, inhabited during the Śuṅga and Andhra periods, also contains votive stupas and small chaityas.

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ASSAM. *Historical survey.* Assam, formerly called Kamarupa, is a region set off by well-defined natural boundaries, located in the extreme northeastern part of India. It is made fertile by the Brahmaputra River, which crosses it. Although Assam is geographically a part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, its climate is more typical of a maritime region under the influence of the monsoon. It is a borderland, and the Dravidian elements of its population have mingled with Aryans from Bengal and Bihar and with Sino-Tibetan groups reaching it by way of the Brahmaputra. It is also a cultural and commercial crossroads between India, Burma, and southwestern China (Yunnan and Szechwan); there is evidence of trade with China as early as the 2d century B.C. Kamarupa is mentioned in the inscription on the Allahabad pillar, from about 350, as having acknowledged the hegemony of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta. Assam's history is often linked with that of neighboring Bengal; its time of greatest importance seems to have been about the middle of the 1st millennium of the Christian Era, when it was ruled by a dynasty tracing its origins back to Bhagadhatta, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. This dynasty was made famous during the 7th century by Kumāra Bhāṣkaravarman, a contemporary of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, whose ally he was and whose sovereignty he recognized. He helped to defeat Śaśaṅka, king of Gauda (Bengal), and annexed a large share of Gauda's territory. Although he was a Brahman, he invited Hsüan-tsang, the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, to visit his court. Assam was later united briefly with the Pala empire of Bengal, under the direction of Devapāla (ca. 815–45). About 1200, Assam entered a new phase of its history, combating the Moslems, who were several times driven back, notably in 1205 (according to a rock-cut inscription north of Gauhati) and again in 1258. Another important event was the invasion in 1228 by the Ahoms, a tribe of Tai origin, from whom Assam, which they were to rule for many centuries, apparently derived its name. The Ahoms successfully beat off the attacks of the Moslems who had settled in Bengal; Rudra Siṃha (1691–1714) won special distinction in this struggle, but after him, throughout the 18th century, there was a slow decline in the Ahoms' power, to which the *coup de grâce* was administered in 1800 by the Burmese invasion. Assam was subsequently conquered by the English, who at first joined it with the province of Bengal, from which it was later separated.

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*Art centers.* Tezpur. According to tradition, Tezpur, on the banks of the Brahmaputra, is supposed to have been the ancient fortress of Vaṇa. Only a few traces of it remain: a stone structure and fragments of sculpture, in particular a column bearing carved scenes from the avatars of Viṣṇu, and a rectangular doorway characteristic of the Gupta style, with four moldings and a depiction, on the lower portion, of the two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

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BIHAR. *Historical survey.* Bihar embraces the former provinces of Magadha in the south and Videha in the north. Geographically, it is part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, and it is there that it connects with the Ganges Delta region. The climate is a subdued form of the continental, modified by the monsoon; there is abundant rainfall, despite a dry season lasting more than half the year. Bihar was the center from which Indian culture, the Buddhist in particular, radiated. The Aryans conquered the area, mingling with the Dravidian inhabitants, and produced a population of mixed ethnic character in which Aryan and Dravidian traits appear in varying combinations according to caste. Traces of paleolithic cultures have come to light in the Singrauli basin, south of Benares. In the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., Videha, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the homeland of the heroine Sītā, seems to have held sway over the Ganges basin. This domination apparently did not last long, since by the time of the Buddha (6th cent. B.C.) Videha was locked in combat with Magadha, a land which had recently become Aryan and one which was to dominate the stage of Indian history for many centuries and to become the cradle of Buddhist culture. Under the Śaiśunāga dynasty, to which belonged the two sovereigns contemporary with Buddha, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, Magadha subjugated the Ganges Valley: the Licchavi lands [in the region of Vaisali (mod. Basarh)], Kasi (mod. Benares), Videha, and Kosala (mod. Oudh). After a period of obscurity lasting nearly a century under the Nanda dynasty, the ruler of Magadha was overthrown by Candragupta, the Sandrocottus of the Greek texts, who founded the Maurya dynasty about 326 B.C. and who created the first Indian empire by conquering the Indus basin, Avanti (mod. Malwa), and Saurashtra (mod. Soruth). This empire was later extended even further by Candragupta's grandson, the emperor Aśoka, one of the most fascinating figures in Indian history, who gathered into his realm all Indian territories with the exception of the extreme south. His many edicts, carved on rocks and commemorative columns (lats) found in many different regions in India, attest to the growth of his empire, which, nevertheless, seems not to have survived him. When the Mauryas were overthrown by the Śuṅgas about 185 B.C., they ruled over no more than Magadha, Avanti, the Kausambi (Kosam) and Bharhut regions, and Kosala. By that time the rest of the empire had reverted to the control of the several local dynasties.

Puṣyamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was considered a persecutor of Buddhism; yet under his dynasty Buddhist architecture and sculpture flourished. The Śuṅgas reigned from 185 to about 80 B.C., then were supplanted by the Kāṇvas, who seem to have established their residence in eastern Avanti, Magadha having lost its hegemony. At this time India underwent a period of fragmentation, during which invaders poured across the Indo-Gangetic plain, without, however, reaching Magadha. About the beginning of the 4th century of the Christian Era a great new dynasty was founded in Magadha, that of the Guptas, which brought Indian culture to its zenith (see GUPTA, SCHOOL OF). Candragupta I (probably the lord of Pataliputra, the former capital of the Mauryas) extended his kingdom to include the territories of Kosala, Doab, and, perhaps, Bengal. His successor, Samudragupta (ca. 328–76), conquered virtually all the Indus basin, eastern Punjab, and the eastern coast of the Deccan from Orissa to Madras; his conquests are listed in the inscription on the Allahabad pillar. The Gupta empire was extended even farther by Candragupta II, who about 395–400 destroyed the dynasty of the great satraps of Ujjain and took over their territory. The reign of Kumāragupta I (414–55) was an epoch of great creativity in Buddhist literature. His successor, Skandagupta, was obliged to struggle with the Ephthalites (White Huns), whom he pushed back to the border of Doab; after his death about 470, the Gupta empire was again broken up, although a branch of the family continued to reign over Malwa.

In the first half of the 7th century, Magadha, like nearly all the Ganges region, acknowledged the sovereignty of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. A few princes, perhaps relatives of the Guptas, ruled Magadha until the late 8th century, when the Pala dynasty merged Bengal and Magadha with their domain. These rulers, of the Buddhist faith, gave special protection to the monastic university of Nalanda, a thriving center of studies and a shrine for pilgrims from China and the southern seas. In the second half of the 9th century the King of Kanauj occupied Magadha, which was won back by the Palas in the 10th century following their reconquest, in 897, of the Patna region. The Chola king Rājendra I reached southern Magadha about 1023, but his enterprise was abortive.

Expelled from Bengal by the Senas, the Palas ruled only Magadha until their kingdom's destruction by Turko-Afghans in 1199. After this event, Bengal and Bihar, formerly part of the sultanate of Delhi,



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were once more united to form part of an independent Moslem kingdom (with Gaur as its capital), which was annexed to the Moghul empire by Akbar in 1576. This kingdom became an independent Moslem state early in the 18th century. Conquered by the English East India Company in 1765, Bihar was united with Bengal again, but it was separated in 1912, becoming an autonomous province. In 1947 it joined the Indian Union. Patna is its capital.

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*Art centers.* Barabar. Several shrines were excavated in the hills of Bihar during the Maurya period. The most important group, that of Barabar, north of Gaya, included four caves of the Ājīvika sect, grottoes carved out of the rock and highly polished. One of them, the Sudama cave, bears an inscription from the twelfth year of the emperor Aśoka's reign. The cave consists of a circular sanctuary preceded by a rectangular vestibule. The Lomas Rishi cave, near the Sudama shrine, is apsidal in plan; its façade is decorated in rather low relief, faithfully reproducing the forms of wooden architecture: the façade has a horseshoe-shaped opening, supported by two pillars tapering inward slightly toward the top; the convex slab which serves as a pediment bears a frieze depicting two rows of elephants converging toward the summit. Less than a mile northeast of Barabar are the caves of Nagarjuni; the largest is that of Gopika, which bears an inscription of King Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka.

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Basarh. Basarh, located in the Muzaffarpur district, was identified by Sir Alexander Cunningham as Vaisali, capital of the Licchavis. This city is closely linked with the history of Buddhism and Jainism (qq.v.), since it was the birthplace of Mahāvīra and the Buddha spent some time there. Excavations conducted by T. Bloch in 1903–04 brought to light a seal from the 3d or 2d century B.C. and a great many seals of terra cotta dating back to the Gupta period. Fragments of northern black polished ware (N.B.P.) have also been discovered.

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Bodhgaya. Bodhgaya, on the banks of the Nairanjana, is the site where the Buddha, meditating beneath a tree, experienced spiritual enlightenment (bodhi). This site early became the goal of pilgrimages, and near the Bo tree a stone slab was placed, the *vajrāsana*, or diamond throne, which was subsequently surrounded with a balustrade. According to tradition, the emperor Aśoka is supposed to have built a temple in Bodhgaya, but no trace of it remains. The present temple (PL. 133) is in all probability the one described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, which supposedly dates from the Kushan period, but which was altered by Burmese restorations made in the 19th century. The original appearance of the temple is known through representations on ancient terra-cotta seals. It is built of brick and is square in plan; it is surmounted by a tower whose stories diminish in size as they approach the top, and it is adorned with niches intended for statues of the Buddha. The temple is surrounded on three sides by a balustrade with elements in sandstone dating from the Śuṅga period, whose chronology can be established both through the characters in the ancient inscriptions carved on it, and through the style of the reliefs, which is very close to that of Bharhut. Other components, of very coarse granite, go back to the Gupta period.

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Lauriya Nandangarh. North of the village of Lauriya, near one of Aśoka's commemorative columns which bears an inscription and is surmounted by a seated lion, are three rows of tumuli. Four of them were explored in 1904–07 by T. Bloch, who discovered, alongside calcined bones and charcoal, a golden leaf bearing the carved figure of a woman. He identified these tumuli with sepulchers dating back to the Vedic period; in all likelihood, however, they are Buddhist stupas. Exploration of the site was resumed in 1935–37 by N. G. Majumdar. At Nandangarh, south of the village, are ruins of a fortified city. The walls, surrounded by a moat, were built of brick. At the eastern corner stood a polygonal-based stupa.

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Nalanda. The monastic university of Nalanda, which was founded late in the 5th century, eventually became one of the great Mahayana Buddhist centers; many pilgrims, including Hsüan-tsang and Yi-ching, traveled there to study. During the Gupta period, and in the Pala period in particular, a great many monasteries and temples were built at this site. The structures from the Gupta period are square in plan and are surrounded by votive stupas (II, PL. 384). Those of the Pala period consist of a cloister, into which cells open, and a sanctuary opposite the entrance; they are generally ornamented with stone sculpture or terra-cotta panels. Bronze images, cast by the lost-wax process, are found in large numbers in Nalanda (II, PL. 384); of the more than two hundred discovered in a monastery consecrated under the reign of Devapāla (early 9th cent.), most are statuettes in poses similar to those of figures on the stone steles of the Pala period, but the background is undercut in openwork, which endows them with greater vitality.

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Pataliputra (mod. Patna). This city was built in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. at the juncture of the Ganges with the Son; it succeeded Rajagriha (mod. Rajgir) as the capital of Magadha. This important city was described by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of the emperor Candragupta Maurya. Pataliputra extended along the banks of the Ganges; it was defended by a wooden palisade, flanked by 570 bastions, and surrounded by a deep, wide moat. Sixty-four gates afforded access to the city. Inside the royal palace was a hypostyle hall. In an initial survey of the site in 1896 a stone capital of Doric-Iranian type and two feet from a throne, also of Iranian type, were discovered. The relics which turned up in excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India, begun in 1912 and resumed in 1926, corroborated Megasthenes' description. Discovered in the course of the systematic excavating expeditions were the foundations of the royal palace, with the ruins of a vast hall. Eighty heaps of polished stone arranged in eight rows indicated the arrangement of the pillars. A thick layer of ashes covering the remains seems to show that this palace, built largely of wood, had been destroyed by a conflagration. The ruins of what is apparently the palisade have been found; it consisted of a double row of posts held together by rails which formed a sort of ceiling and floor.

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Rajagriha (mod. Rajgir). This city was the ancient capital of Magadha and played an important role in the Buddhist texts. It is located south of the Ganges, not far from Patna. The fortifications of two cities have been discovered; they consist of massive walls made of stone blocks held together without mortar and interrupted at intervals by powerful bastions, and are the oldest stone structures in historical India. Inside the ancient city, built by the ruler Bimbisāra, who was a contemporary of Buddha, there was a pentagonal citadel. The new city was built by Ajātaśatru, Bimbisāra's son. Some of the ruins date from the Kushan period. From the Gupta period

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are the remains of a stupa and the Māniyār Math, a round brick structure surrounded by a stone wall. Several niches carved in the outer wall housed Brahmanic images of stucco.

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Sasaram (Sahasram). A small town in Shahabad district, Sasaram is known from one of Aśoka's edicts carved in the rock; the town is especially noted for the mausoleum of Shēr Shah, the Afghan usurper who in the 16th century succeeded in temporarily driving the emperor Humāyūn out of Delhi. This tomb, patterned after those built in Delhi by the sovereigns of the Lōdī dynasty, stands in the center of a large artificial lake which reflects its image. Built of sandstone from the quarries of Chunar, the mausoleum is octagonal in plan and is surmounted by a dome. It stands on a square terrace surrounded by steps descending to the water's edge and is joined to the shore by means of a bridge-corridor terminating in a small pavilion.

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Sitamarhi. At Sitamarhi, about 12 miles south of Rajagriha, the Ājīvika sect carved from the rock a cave, rectangular in plan, which is probably the earliest cave in Bihar.

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GUJARAT AND MAHARASHTRA. *Historical survey.* Geographically and administratively separate, Gujarat and Maharashtra lie along the coastal strip of the peninsular plateau. To the north are the peninsulas of Cutch and Kathiawar — geologically connected with the Deccan, but with the monsoonal continental climate of Rajasthan — and Gujarat proper, an alluvial plain. Southward is Maharashtra, a coastal strip some 37 miles long, consisting of rolling hills and valleys and dominated by the steep slopes of the Ghats, which drop more gently toward the Deccan plateau, traversed by rivers, only two of which, the Narbada and the Tapti, flow into the Gulf of Oman.

Gujarat is the region where the alluvial plain broadens. Here is the great port of Broach (Bharukaccha), which once served as a link between India and the Western world, and where numerous foreigners mingled with the indigenous Indo-Aryan population. It was also the point of juncture for the great highroads leading from the eastern coast through Nagpur and Khandesh (the Tapti Valley), from Mathura through Malwa, and from Delhi through Rajasthan. This explains the importance of the region, whose location and function made it subject to many invasions over the centuries. At Khandivli, north of Bombay, traces have been found of paleolithic settlements; Langhnaj, in Gujarat, is the source of microliths predating the neolithic tomb objects. Many centers of Indus culture dating from the 3d millennium have been discovered at Bhagatrav, near Bombay, and at Kathiawar (Rangpur, Lothal, Rosadi).

Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya empire, conquered Saurashtra, that is, the southern region of Kathiawar, and, according to the Girnar inscription, had a dam built and an artificial lake excavated near that city. Later, the Indo-Greek kings Menander and Demetrios, after subjugating the Indus Delta, also invaded Saurashtra, which subsequently came under the rule of new invaders, the Śakas. The latter were in turn obliged to yield the country to the Śātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who came from the eastern coast, but according to the Girnar inscription Gautamīputra was twice defeated by a different branch of the Śakas, the grand satraps of Ujjain; these rulers held Kathiawar and Gujarat until late in the 4th century, when Candragupta II defeated them and annexed their territories. Following the fall of the Gupta empire in about 490, the kingdom of Valabhi was founded on the Kathiawar peninsula. It is not known whether the dynasty that ruled there was of Indian origin or was descended from the Ephthalites; in any event, these rulers, although followers of Śiva, protected Buddhism. One of them became embroiled with Harṣavardhana during the 7th century. Toward the middle of the 6th century, the Gujars (Gurjaras), who seem to have come originally from central Asia and, it is claimed, entered India about the same time as the Ephthalites, established themselves in the regions of Mount Abu and Broach, between the mouths of the Narbada and the Tapti. From 630 to 640 they acknowledged the sovereignty of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. Their kingdom was destroyed, about the middle of the 8th century, by an Arab invasion from Sind. Saurashtra was later occupied by a new Gujar clan, that of the Kāpotkatas, which established its capital at Anhilwara (mod. Patan) and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratīhāras. About 974 Saurashtra was occupied by the Solankis (Skr., *Solaṅki*), who were forced to fight Bhoja, king of Malwa, and in 1025, it was invaded by Maḥmūd of Ghazni, who destroyed the temple of Somanātha in Kathiawar. The Turko-Afghans sacked Anhilwara in 1197. Kathiawar and Gujarat were annexed to the sultanate of Delhi for almost a century, from 1297–1396; then a secessionist Moslem kingdom was established at Ahmadabad, which for about a century and a half was a famous center of Indo-Moslem culture. This kingdom, defeated by Akbar in 1573, formed part of the Moghul empire until after the death of the emperor Aurangzēb.

Maharashtra is a Dravidian country, but one long Aryanized, whose climate represents a transition between the monsoonal-maritime and the monsoonal-continental. It includes the coastal strip extending southward from the Narbada to Goa and the western part of the Deccan plateau.

The geological conformation of the Western Ghats was especially suitable for rupestrian architecture, and many Hinayana Buddhist monasteries were cut from the rock even before the beginning of the Christian Era. Architectural activities seem to have come to a standstill late in the 2d century, but to have been resumed later in the Gupta period, when Mahayana Buddhist monasteries and Brahmanic temples were constructed. From the outset, two distinct types coexisted: the apsidal sanctuary (chaitya) and the monastery (vihara), square in plan, surrounded by monastic cells. The latter type was later adopted in the Brahmanic temples.

The Śātavāhanas dominated Maharashtra during the first two centuries of the Christian Era, save for a brief period during which the Śakas from central Asia established the Kṣaharāta dynasty in the Bombay area. Inscriptions of one of their kings, Nahapāna, were found in the Buddhist caves of Junnar, Nasik, and Karli. Gautamīputra Śātakarni conquered this dynasty and took back its territories. Exchanges between the ports of the Gulf of Cambay and those in Egypt are attested by texts of the classic authors. After the Śātavāhana domination two dynasties ruled this region; that of the Traikūṭakas, who settled around Nasik and Junnar from about 250 to 500, was not especially distinguished, historically speaking; that of the Vākāṭakas of Berar for some time during the 5th century exercised hegemony over the central part of the Deccan. Two Vākāṭaka kings gave their names to Caves XVI, XVII, and XXVI of Ajanta, but their dynasty disappeared at the time that the Chalukyas, who were subsequently to dominate the Deccan, were settling in the Aihole region. It is uncertain whether the Chalukyas were Dravidian princes or members of a Gujar clan. Followers of Hinduism, they built temples at Aihole, Badami, and Pattadakal. They likewise protected Buddhism, as is evidenced by the caves at Nasik, Aurangabad, and Ajanta. Pulakeśin I established the power of the Chalukyas in about 550–66. Pulakeśin II defeated Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and boasted of this victory in the Aihole inscription of 634; confirmation is provided by the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang. Pulakeśin II also defeated the Pallavas and installed a branch of the Chalukyas, which was to reign for several centuries, in the Vengi region, between the estuaries of the Kistna and the Godavari. He was defeated in turn in 642 by the Pallavas, who also seized control of Badami. The Chalukyas later reversed the situation by temporarily occupying, in the 7th century and again in the 8th, the Pallava capital, Kanchipuram (mod. Conjeeveram). But in about 750 the Rashtrakutas, vassals of the Chalukyas, revolted and seized control of Maharashtra, which under their rule became the most powerful state in the Deccan. They established their capital at Nasik, transferring it to Malkhed in 800. They fought the Pallavas, the Gangas of Mysore, and the Pratīhāras of Malwa, and installed a branch of their family in Gujarat. They also fought during the 10th century with the Chola empire. The Rashtrakutas, like the Chalukyas, were Hindus but they protected Jainism (q.v.). In 973 the Rashtrakutas were obliged once more to yield to the Chalukyas, then known as the Chalukyas of Kalyani. This new empire reached its zenith between approximately 1075 and 1125. Previously, the Chalukyas of Kalyani had been at war with Mysore and Malwa and in about 1005 had been invaded by the Chola king Rājarāja I, at which time the Jain temples of Annigeri were destroyed.

The Hoysalas, whom the Chalukyas established as governors in Mysore, gained their independence early in the 12th century and allying themselves with the Yādavas of Khandesh, defeated their former lords. Following this victory, the Yādavas attempted to rebuild for themselves the empire of Maharashtra; after encounters with the Hoysalas they succeeded in their aim, and this new empire lasted from 1247 to about 1310. Maharashtra was subsequently annexed to the sultanate of Delhi, which at that time spread its sovereignty over almost all India. But this hegemony endured for a short time only, as the Moslem governors were not long in recovering their independence. A new kingdom was created in Khandesh in 1382, and the Bahmanī dynasty, whose capital was at Gulbarga, ruled the central

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Deccan. The Bahmanīs. although battling with the Indian states of Warangal and Vijayanagar, tolerated Jainism and Hinduism in their midst, as is attested by the temples built during this period. Toward 1489 the Bahmanī kingdom was split into five separate states: Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, and Golconda. The states of Ahmadnagar and Khandesh recognized Moghul sovereignty in 1600; the state of Bijapur, enlarged by the addition of Berar, was annexed in 1686.

The Marāṭhās, under the leadership of Śivājī, a former vassal of Bijapur, won their independence in 1662 and attempted to spearhead an Indian nationalist movement. In the 18th century they came to dominate the Deccan, establishing their capital at Poona and annexing Khandesh, Berar, and Gujarat. They also tried to seize control of Delhi and, after overrunning Orissa, reached the borders of Bengal. They then clashed with the Afghans, headed by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, and were defeated in the battle of Panipat in 1761. In 1817 most of the Marāṭhās' territory became a British possession.

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*Art centers.* Ahmadabad. Capital of the modern state of Gujarat, Ahmadabad lies on the right bank of the Sabarmati. It was founded on the site of an ancient Hindu city in 1411 by Aḥmad I, who had many monuments erected there, including the citadel, which overlooks the river bank and encloses within its ramparts the royal palace and the mosque of Aḥmad I. After building two other mosques, those of Haibat Khan and Sayyid 'Alām, Aḥmad I undertook the construction of the Jāmi' Masjid, linked to the royal palace by a triumphal avenue, to which a monumental triple-arched portal, the Tīn Darwāza, gave access. Built near the Jāmi' Masjid were the mausoleum of Aḥmad I and the Tombs of the Queens. All these monuments date from the first half of the 15th century and were strongly influenced by the Jain style, although they include such typically Moslem features as domes and pointed arches. The city continued to grow until early in the 18th century, when it entered upon its decline, which coincided with that of the Gujarat dynasty. Ahmadabad was to experience a second period of splendor when it came under the sway of the emperor Akbar in 1573.

In the 18th century the first English trading posts were established. Having passed under the direct rule of the British Empire in 1818, Ahmadabad underwent a process of rapid, continuous growth based on trade and industrial activity, particularly in textiles. The city still has many temples and mosques from various periods, among which the Hāṭhī Siṅgh temple (1848) is especially noteworthy. The modern city, expanding along the left bank of the river in the mid-20th century, possesses a great many buildings in the international style, such as the Medical Institute, which is attached to the Municipal Hospital, and various public administrative buildings, largely designed by Le Corbusier; this architect also planned the Sarabhāī and Shodhan (IX, PL. 107) houses (1954–56), the building of the Mill-owners' Association (1956–57; I, PLS. 387, 424), and the Museum of Knowledge (1957). The last is constructed on a square plan and is surrounded by museums of anthropology, natural history, and archaeology, the whole forming the nucleus of an extremely modern cultural center (designed and executed by the same architect) which includes a vast handcraft laboratory, two open-air theaters, an auditorium, and a large library.

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Ajanta. The caves of Ajanta (q.v.), one of the most beautiful and famous sites in India, were carved out of a semicircular cliff that rises steeply above the bed of a river, the Waghora, not far from the Tapti Valley. These caves, 30 in number, were carved out at various heights in the rock wall, with a set of steps connecting each one with the stream bed. All are Buddhist, and structurally they represent both types of Buddhist rupestrian architecture (chaitya and vihara). It seems that several monastic communities settled here as early as the 2d century B.C., since the first caves (Chaityas IX and X) are in Śuṅga style and are akin to the chaityas of Bedsa and Bhaja, with their octagonal pillars without base or capital. On the façade of Cave X, near the large horseshoe-shaped opening, is an inscription believed to date from the 2d century B.C. The frescoes adorning the left-hand wall of this sanctuary are similar in style to those of Sanchi, while those on the right-hand wall are closer to the Amaravati style. Also of this first phase are Viharas VIII, XII, XIII, and XXX.

In the Gupta period many new structures were carved. Nearly all are viharas; only Caves XIX and XXVI are chaityas (PLS. 140, 141 454; II, 381). In plan they are the same as the earlier structures, but the decoration is much more elaborate. The façade of the two chaityas is adorned with figures of the Buddha accompanied by two or four acolytes. In the interior the carved decoration invades not only the pillars and entablature supports but the stupa itself, which bears portrayals in high relief of the Buddha standing (Cave XIX) and seated (Cave XXVI). There is also a large representation of the *Parinirvāṇa*, "death of the Buddha," carved in Cave XXVI. The viharas are of classic type, but there is a small shrine carved in the back wall of the central hall. This shrine contains a Buddha in high relief (portrayed in the act of preaching), flanked by two bodhisattvas.

Although the charm of the sculptured decoration in itself would suffice to make Ajanta famous, the frescoes are what make it unique in all India. The most fascinating frescoes are found in Caves I, II, XVI, and XVII (PLS. 455–457; II, 381). Completely covering the walls, ceilings, and, at times, even the pillars, these are large compositions depicting scenes from the life or earlier incarnations of the Buddha (Jātaka), scenes that, in addition, offer a panorama of contemporaneous Indian life: princely processions, interior scenes, royal audiences, and so on. At first sight the scenes appear to merge one into another, as they are not set off by a break or frame; however, the principal lines of the composition draw the observer's eye from one scene to another, conveying a grace and harmony that make these frescoes inimitable. The painted decoration of the ceilings consists of small panels of ornamental motifs taken from the plant and animal kingdoms. Caves XVI and XVII can be definitely attributed to the late 5th century on the basis of an inscription naming the donors: the dignitaries of the court of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣena.

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Aurangabad. A group of nine Buddhist caves was carved from a cliff in Maharashtra near Aurangabad, a city founded in 1610 by Malik 'Ambar. One of these (Cave IV) dates from the time of the Śātavāhana domination; it is badly damaged, square in plan, with pillars having neither capital nor base. The other caves were cut from the rock during the post-Gupta period. The plan is that of a vihara: a rectangular hall preceded by a portico supported by pillars. Cave III has a pillared hall, off which open the monks' cells; Cave II consists of a hall alone, without cells. In Caves VI and VII the cells open off an ambulatory surrounding the sanctuary. The columns are lavishly ornamented; the shaft is smooth or fluted, rests upon a cubical base, and is surmounted by a brimming-vase capital and a round, carved support for the entablature. The pillars bear lotus and half-lotus ornaments. Several figures of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, and worshipers in high relief adorn the sanctuaries and porticoes. Cave VI still bears traces of painted decoration.

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Baroda. An ancient Maharashtra city on the banks of the Visvamitri River, Baroda has been completely transformed as a result of modern urban improvement projects, which include the widening of streets and the creation of parks and public buildings such as two colleges, several schools, and the principal hospital. Of particular interest is the Fatehsingh Museum, reorganized by Hermann and Anne-Marie Goetz.

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Bedsa. The chaitya of Bedsa, somewhat later than that of Bhaja, is of the same type as that of Karli, but its façade differs in that it is flanked by four octagonal pillars, whose bases are formed like a bulbous vase and whose capitals are bell-shaped and topped by animals,

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either elephants or horses, on which are mounted various personages (II, PL. 401). The vault is supported by 26 octagonal pillars, without base or capital. Buddhist symbols are carved on several of the pillar shafts, on which, as on the stupa at the rear of the nave, remain traces of painting.

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Bhaja. The site of Bhaja, one of the earliest known, contains 18 caves. The most interesting is the apsidal Chaitya 12; extremely simple, it is typical of the early period. In the façade, entry is afforded by a large, horseshoe-shaped doorway, which in all probability was provided with a wooden roof. Within, the vault was probably covered with round panels, also of wood, and was supported by two rows of pillars, without base or capital and tapering slightly toward the top; these pillars separated the central nave from the smaller aisles, which were covered by half-barrel vaults. At the back of the central nave was a small stupa. Several viharas were hollowed out on each side of the sanctuary; the façade of the last one to the south is adorned with bas-reliefs of Sūrya and Indra.

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Bombay. Capital of Maharashtra and principal mercantile center of India, for which reason it was called the "Gateway of India," Bombay extends over an island, into which the extensive Back Bay is indented, and is joined to the continent by a man-made causeway. It was still a small fishing village when the first Portuguese settlements were established in the late 16th century; later the English and Dutch trading posts were founded. Acquired and fortified (1661) by the English East India Company, the island became an important trade center. In the 18th century the city renewed its defense works; in 1813, after the East India Company's monopoly was terminated, Bombay became part of the British Empire. Beginning in 1840, with the foundation of the first bank and the construction of the domestic railroad, the city experienced another period of expansion. The modern city developed in the late 19th century with the demolition of the old fort under Sir Bartle Frere, governor from 1862 to 1867; the rebuilding of St. Thomas Cathedral (1860, replacing the 1718 structure); and the construction of the broad boulevard now called Mahatma Gandhi Road, along which were built in Victorian neo-Gothic style the large buildings of the Secretariat, the High Court, the Legislative Assembly, the General Post Office, the library, the clock tower of the University, and a great many other public buildings. The Crawford Market was built in 1871, and in 1873 the port was modernized and enlarged with the construction of new docks. From this period also are the Victoria Railway Terminus, modeled after a Moghul palace, the municipal corporation building, the Royal Institute of Sciences, the Reserve Bank, the head offices of the Western Railways, and so on. Starting at the turn of the century, new streets were opened as a result of the vast increase in population, and construction was completed on the Prince of Wales Museum and the Gateway of India (architect, G. Wittet), in Rajput-Moghul style. In 1918, in the face of the urgent need for urban modernization, Sir George Lloyd submitted plans for a causeway linking Colaba with the Marine Lines Station, to permit development of the area toward the Back Bay for factory construction. The project, not executed for technical reasons, was the subject of an inquiry in 1926; work on the project, resumed after World War II, led to completion of the Marine Drive, which was the first divided highway built in India. Other projects were implemented to develop the suburban areas: on the neighboring island of Salsette, residential sections are being constructed as are broad roads leading to Mahim; the grain, cotton, and oil depots were transferred from Colaba to Sewri. After World War II, two five-year construction plans applied the concepts of international architecture, which resulted in the adoption of plans for housing projects for the workers at the Santa Cruz airport, the central hospital (a compromise with the traditional local style), residential quarters, the Reserve Bank, the private residences on the Cuffe Parade (architects, Gregson, Batley, King), and so on.

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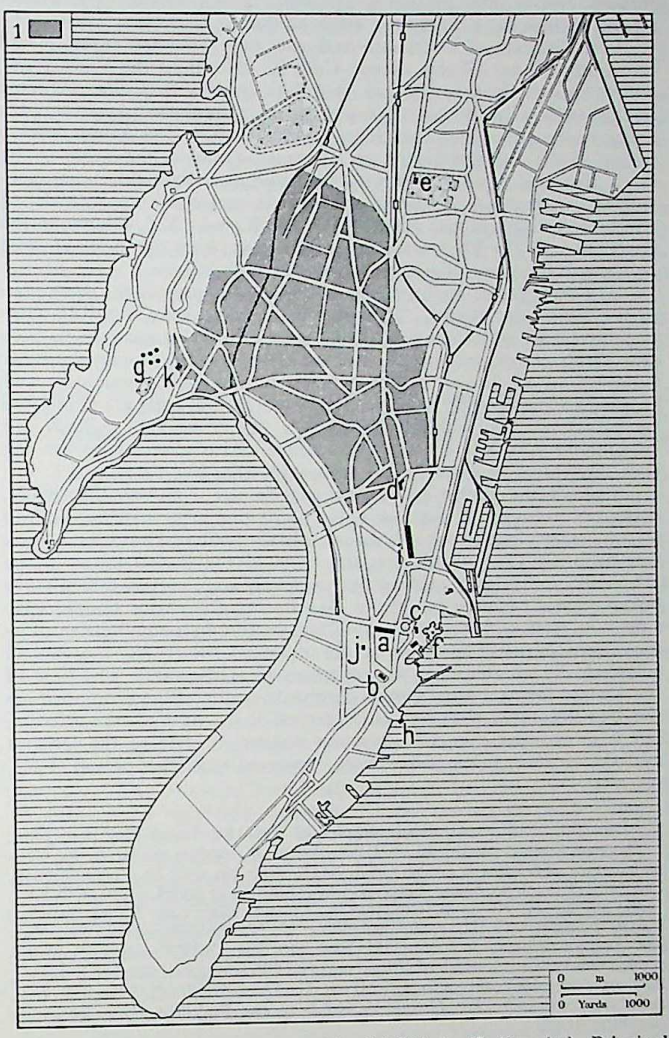


Bombay, plan of the southern area. *Key*: (1) Old city (Indian city). Principal buildings: (*a*) St. Thomas Cathedral; (*b*) Prince of Wales Museum; (*c*) city hall on Elphinstone Square; (*d*) Crawford Market; (*e*) Victoria and Albert Museum; (*f*) customs house and Fort George; (*g*) Towers of Silence on Malabar Hill; (*h*) Gateway of India; (*i*) Victoria Railway Terminus; (*j*) Rājabāī Tower; (*k*) Babūlnāth temple.

Elephanta. Located in the Bay of Bombay, the island of Elephanta is famous for the Saivist rupestrian temple of the post-Gupta period, probably from early in the 7th century. Of great size, this cave, like the Buddhist viharas, consists of a great central hall supported by fluted cylindrical pillars which rest upon a high cubical base and are surmounted by a turban-shaped capital and a support for the entablature. Access is afforded by three porticoes, the main one facing north, the others toward the east and west. Inside the central hall is a small square temple, whose four doors are flanked by large *dvārapālas*; this temple contains the linga, the phallic symbol of Śiva. The actual sanctuary is located at the rear of the cave and contains a gigantic three-headed bust of the god (*Maheśamūrti*). High-relief sculpture representing different aspects of Śiva (lord of the dance, yogi, and so on) and scenes from his legend (marriage with Pārvatī, descent of the Ganges, and so on) frame the sanctuary and each of the entrance porticoes (PL. 467). All these carvings are imbued with grandeur, strength, and majesty.

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Ellora. The archaeological center of Ellora, northwest of Aurangabad, apparently was occupied toward the beginning of the 6th century contemporaneously by Buddhist and Brahmanic monks. The cliff into which the caves were cut does not rise sheer above a ravine, like that of Ajanta, but instead overlooks a plain; accordingly, almost all the shrines have a court in front of them.

The disciples of Buddhism hollowed out about ten caves toward the south; all are viharas except Cave X, known as the Viśvakarmā, which apparently was the last Buddhist chaitya in India. A court lies before it, with the cells opening off it; it has the same apsidal plan as the ancient shrines; in addition, as in Cave XXVI at Ajanta, a huge image of the Buddha seated on a throne stands in the stupa at the rear. But the façade illustrates the evolution that the horseshoe-shaped opening has undergone; here it is replaced by a three-lobed window resting on two pillars. Viharas XI and XII, known as the Do Thal and Tin Thal, were carved out later; both are three-storied; in Cave XII traces of painting are still visibile.

The disciples of Brahmanism excavated 16 caves of the same plan as the Buddhist viharas. The most interesting are Cave XIV (Rāvaṇa-ka-Khai) and Cave XV (Daśāvatāra), both consecrated to Śiva and Viṣṇu and adorned with high reliefs which are among the most beautiful in all Indian sculpture. Their combined dynamism and balance are particularly remarkable. Their central halls are supported by pillars on high cubical bases, with brimming-vase capitals and rectangular supports for the entablature. Also noteworthy are the rock sculptures in Cave XXIX (PLS. 468, 469; IV, 130).

Toward the center of the site stands the Kailāsanātha (XVI), dedicated to Śiva; it is not a cave, but a group of structures carved into a long, rocky slope that has been completely hollowed out. This work was probably executed during the reign of the Rashtrakutas in the 8th century. Inside a rectangular enclosure were carved out an entry portal, a small square temple of Nandi, and the major temple, also square in plan, with pyramidal roof terminating in a small dome. The major temple group rises to a height of almost 100 ft.; the central hall is upheld by 16 columns; the sanctuary is at the rear. The base of the temple forms a large carved elephantomachy. The entrance portico was decorated with frescoes executed at the time of construction, but later covered over with pictures similar in style to the Gujarat miniatures. Some Jain caves were excavated at a later period (VIII, PL. 251).

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Girnar. In ascending the hill of Girnar, one of the holy sites of Jainism (q.v.), the pilgrim encounters first a rock bearing some carved inscriptions. The earliest of these dates from the time of the emperor Aśoka, reproducing 14 of his edicts; the second is the first great Sanskrit inscription known, that of the satrap Rudradāman, dating from A.D. 150; the third is that of King Skandagupta, from about 450.

On the hill the Jains built a great many temples. The most important, the Neminātha, dedicated to the twenty-second Jain master (tirthankara) and built in the 12th century, stands inside a vast enclosure which is in turn surrounded by a cloister. Somewhat later, early in the 13th century, the Temple of Vastupāla and Tejapāla was created from three separate temples opening off three sides of a square hall, whose fourth side is taken up by the entrance.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 162.

Junnar. This site contains a group of caves. including two chaityas, one of small size and the other left unfinished, both of the same type as those of Nasik.

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Kanheri. Many Buddhist caves were cut from the rock from about the 2d to the 9th century at Kanheri, on Salsette Island near Bombay. Only the earliest ones are of interest, Chaitya 3 in particular. Apparently it was copied after the chaitya of Karli; it can be entered through a courtyard and a veranda, both probably added during the 4th century.

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Karli. The Karli monasteries which were excavated at the beginning of the Christian Era, include one of the most interesting and best-preserved chaityas in all India, as well as several viharas; the latter, located at the left and right of the chaitya, have largely fallen into ruin. Judging from its architecture and decoration, the chaitya seems to date from the end of the 1st century of the Christian Era. An inscription of the son-in-law of Nahapāna proves that the structure is contemporaneous with, or earlier than, this ruler. Like the Christian churches, it consists of a central nave, two side aisles, an apse, and a broad portico. Fifteen pillars separate the nave from the side aisles. These pillars, which have octagonal shafts, rest upon bulbous, vase-shaped bases; each bell-shaped capital supports a stepped pyramid in reverse, which in turn supports a horse and rider facing the side aisles and, facing the nave, two kneeling elephants mounted by couples (PL. 451). The undecorated octagonal pillars of the apse, with neither capital nor base, stand behind the stupa (also cut from the rock) — which is a plain hemispherical dome resting upon a cylindrical, two-storied drum and capped by a *harmikā*, or small pavilion, which supports a wooden umbrella. Three doors, surmounted by a horseshoe-shaped aperture, lead to the portico; above, a very broad opening of the same shape admits light. The façade is adorned with large high-relief carvings depicting the donors in pairs; in style they are very much like those of Amaravati. In the Gupta period several figures of the Buddha and bodhisattvas were added. Before the entrance were two large pillars; the one to the left, still in place, was capped with four lions.

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Kondane. About 10 miles northwest of Karli is the monastery of Kondane, a structure apparently contemporaneous with the Bhaja group. The chaitya is of the same type, but in this case the overhanging rock forms the roof. The hall of the vihara at the left of the chaitya has a roof supported by pillars and is entered through a door framed by two windows, preceded by a pillared portico, which is now destroyed.

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Lothal. The Archaeological Survey of India found in the peninsulas of Cutch and Kathiawar, from 1953 to 1956, about thirty sites belonging to the Indus culture. The most important of these is Lothal (situated north of the Gulf of Cambay in the Ahmadabad district), whose location undoubtedly attracted the traders of the Indus Valley. It was not merely a commercial port; it became an authentic cultural center as well. Excavations have brought to light traces of at least four floods, the last of which, occurring about 1500 B.C., seems to have been contemporaneous with a flood in the Indus Valley and probably was the reason the site was abandoned. These floods also explain the existence of brick platforms designed to raise the dwellings above ground level. The houses were aligned in a single row, and each had a bath which emptied into a drainage system.

Utensils of quartz, copper, ivory, and bone, terra-cotta toys, and seals and beads of sundry materials have been discovered. It is interesting to note that the weights of quartz or agate are identical with those of the Indus Valley. One structure, standing on a platform and consisting of 12 blocks of brick forming channels about 26 in. broad, was identified by S. R. Rao as a furnace but interpreted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler as a granary. The pottery is red or ocher painted in black, but the presence of a type of red-and-black pottery characteristic of the megalithic cultures of central India and the Deccan indicates that Lothal served as a link between these cultures and those of the Indus.

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Modhera. Very few Hindu temples survived the Moslem invasions in Gujarat. Among the more interesting of these, although a badly damaged example, is the Sūrya temple at Modhera (PL. 483). This temple was built in the 11th century and forms a very harmonious ensemble, consisting of two separate buildings with a portal (torana) before them; they stand on a brick terrace which faces a reflecting pool on the eastern side. The two buildings are of the same type, with high foundation decorated with moldings and sculptured walls. The first building is a pillared open hall; the second, on the same axis, contains the sanctuary, with a vestibule and portal before it. The temple is so arranged that the light of the rising sun passes through the hall and at the rear strikes the shrine, which is dedicated to Sūrya, the sun god.

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Nagpur. An important railroad junction of Maharashtra, this city is a center of culture as well as of industry and commerce. It is the seat of an important university and of the mother chapters of Anglican, Protestant, and Catholic missions. Overlooking the city is a hill on which the fort of Sitabaldi still stands. The residential quarter in the former British cantonment is noteworthy.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 110–11.

Nasik. Not far north of the sources of the Godavari lies Nasik, a holy city and goal of pilgrimages. The Buddhist foundations date from early in the Christian Era, but there are also evidences of earlier periods, particularly the remains of ocher pottery and northern black polished ware (N.B.P.). There are 23 Buddhist caves, all but four of which are from the early period. The later ones (II, XVI, XVII, XXIII) are similar in style to Elephanta; the likeness is especially evident in the pillars. Chaitya XVIII, apparently contemporaneous with the Karli chaitya, has a very ornate façade that is embellished with horseshoe-shaped apertures, balustrades, and so on, reproducing the techniques of wood construction. Inside, octagonal pillars support the vault.

Among the viharas, three are of great size. Vihara III, called the Gautamīputra, apparently was cut from the rock in the 2d century. Its veranda has a balustrade and pillars with bulbous capitals surmounted by animals on which various figures are seated. The doorway leading to the hall is framed by a torana of Sanchi type carved in low relief. Opening off the hall are 18 monks' cells. On the rear wall is a bas-relief representing a stupa. The two other viharas, of Nahapāna (VIII) and Yajña Śrī (XV), have the same plan.

BIBLIOG. J. Fergusson, A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2d ed., I, London, 1910, pp. 140–42; H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Dao, Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe, Poona, 1955; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 29–35; E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, I, Louvain, 1958, p. 563.

Pitalkhora. The site of Pitalkhora comprises 13 rock-cut temples constructed in the period between the 1st century B.C. and the 2d century of the Christian Era. Among them is a chaitya of the same type as that of Bhaja.

BIBLIOG. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, Cave Temples of India, London, 1880, pp. 242–46; M. G. Dikshit, Fresh Light on the Pitalkhorā Caves, J. Bombay H. Soc., VI, 1941, pp. 112–21; E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, I, Louvain, 1958, p. 559; M. N. Deshpande, The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, Ancient India, XV, 1959, pp. 66–93.

Rangpur. In the 2d millennium B.C. a part of Lothal's population apparently set out for the interior of Kathiawar, settling at Rangpur, about 30 miles southwest of their point of departure. Rangpur was undoubtedly inhabited earlier, since agate and jasper microliths, not associated with the pottery, have been found there. The traces of Indus culture at Rangpur are the same as those at Lothal, although the former represent a later phase and include utensils of poorer quality. This deterioration is accentuated toward the end of the 2d millennium, when the pottery became decadent and the weights and knives of quartz disappeared. In the 1st millennium two types of pottery were in use: the bright red and the red-and-black. Northern black polished ware (N.B.P.) is characteristic of the period from 500 to 200 B.C.

BIBLIOG. M. G. Dikshit, Excavations at Rangpur, 1947, Deccan College Research Inst. B., XI, 1950–51, pp. 3–55; D. H. Gordon, The Pottery Industries of the Indo-Iranian Border: A Restatement and Tentative Chronology, Ancient India, X–XI, 1955, pp. 157–91; R. E. M. Wheeler, Early India and Pakistan, London, New York, 1959.

Surat. The first Portuguese, English, and Dutch settlements were established here late in the 16th century. In 1612 the English East India Company seized control of the Portuguese holdings. The city entered a period of decline in the mid-17th century, but the modern era has seen a revival as a result of the establishment of large industries; Surat has expanded over new residential areas, definitely set off from the historic center by the old walls and a moat. Noteworthy buildings still stand in the narrow, tortuous streets of the center, including parts of the old colonial areas, in baroque style.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 153–56.

Ter. A small town on the western bank of the Tirna, Ter has been identified with Tagara, cited in *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as the point of origin for wares destined for the Roman Empire. The town is known particularly for the Temple of Trivikrama, originally a Buddhist chaitya built of brick and standing in the open but identical in plan with the rupestrian chaityas. The temple is apsidal and has a barrel-vaulted roof. It is impossible to say exactly when it was built (probably between the 2d and 5th cent.) because of the later alterations and additions, notably an added façade and mandapa. An image of Trivikrama in Chalukya style indicates that this shrine was frequented by disciples of Hinduism. Two small temples, those of Uttareśvara and Kāleśvara, both of brick, were built in the medieval period, probably under the Rashtrakutas.

BIBLIOG. H. Cousens, Ter-Tagara, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1902–03, pp. 195–204; J. Fergusson, A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2d ed., I, London, 1910, p. 126; D. Barrett, Ter, Bombay, 1960.

KASHMIR AND JAMMU. *Historical survey*. Kashmir, the Kaspeira of Ptolemy's *Geography*, is part of the Himalayan region of India, but of its less rugged and more penetrable western section. It consists of the high mountain district surrounding the Srinagar basin: a high valley about 80 miles long and almost 25 miles wide, at an altitude of approximately 5,250 ft., traversed by the Jhelum (a tributary of the Indus), and irrigated by many canals, which make it very fertile. The Moghuls called this region "the earthly paradise of India." A frontier land, it forms the natural stopping place between India and central Asia and has played an important role over the centuries, politically, culturally, and artistically (see KASHMIR ART).

The history of Kashmir is known from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, or "River of Kings," a chronicle in verse written about the mid-12th century by Kalhaṇa, resumed later and continued until the 16th century. The work is historical, although for the ancient period it draws upon legendary material. Kashmir was part of the Maurya empire of Aśoka and was later conquered by the Kushan ruler Kaniṣka. During the 6th century the Ephthalites settled there, and Mihiragula is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the king of Kashmir; Mihiragula is said to have retreated to Kashmir after his defeat by the Guptas at the Doab frontier. The Kārkoṭa dynasty ruled the region from early in the 7th century until 855, and a king of this dynasty is said to have received the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in 631–33. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (ca. 725–56) extended Kashmir's dominion to eastern Turkistan, after a battle against the Tibetans, and later to India, where he subjugated, among others, Yaśovarman (then King of Kanauj), the Rashtrakutas, and eastern Rajputana (now Rajasthan). Lalitāditya built many temples, the most famous of which is the Temple of Sūrya at Martand.

The early 9th century witnessed the decline of the Kārkoṭas and their replacement by the Utpāla dynasty, whose first king, Avantivarman (ca. 855–83), restored Kashmir to its former prosperity. His successors were able to annex and for a long time retain Afghanistan and the Punjab and to defeat the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. However, a palace conspiracy led to the end of the Utpāla dynasty early in the 11th century, and it was supplanted by that of the Lohāras. Civil wars and rebellions broke out again in the 12th and 13th centuries. Kashmir was spared the Ghaznevid invasion, but underwent a dual invasion of Moslems and Tibetans, and in 1339 a Moslem dynasty succeeded in wresting control. In 1586 the emperor Akbar added Kashmir to the Moghul empire, under whose dominion it remained until the mid-18th century, when it passed into the control of the Persian Nādir Shah, then into that of the Afghans under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, and into that of the Sikhs; eventually it became part of the English protectorate and remained so until the proclamation of Indian independence in 1947.

BIBLIOG. D. R. Sahni, Pre-Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1915–16, pp. 49–78; R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933; M. B. Pithawalla, An Introduction to Kashmir, Its Geology and Geography, Karachi, 1953; Heritage of Kashmir, Mārg, VIII, 2, 1955; S. C. Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1957.

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*Art centers*. Andarkoth (anc. Jayapura). Near Sambal (about 14 miles northwest of Srinagar) lies Andarkoth, the capital of the Kārkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa (768–99). It includes the harbor city of

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Dvaravati, on the western bank of the Jhelum, and Abhyantarakotta (Jayapura proper), a circular island amid the swamp of Sambal, accessible by means of a causeway. In this spot the last Hindu queen, Koṭa Devī, was slain by the first Moslem sultan, Shah Mīr, in 1339. The area was subsequently settled by Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (1420–70). Almost no trace remains of the many Hindu temple ruins, which were visible as late as the early 20th century.

BIBLIOG. G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir, J. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1877, extra no.; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 161–62.

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Avantipur (mod. Vantipur). Avantivarman built a new capital on the banks of the Jhelum, about 17 miles southwest of Srinagar. The only traces left, however, are the Avantisvāmi temple, dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the Avantiśvara temple, dedicated to Śiva. Only the foundation walls of the latter remain; it stood in the center of an enclosure and consisted of a main sanctuary with four secondary ones placed at the corners of the single foundation which supported the entire group. The Avantisvāmi temple, though smaller, is better preserved. It is constructed on the same plan as the Avantiśvara, except that the secondary sanctuaries are detached and are located, though upon the same foundation, at the corners of the surrounding walls. The walls, as at Martand, are completely surrounded by a colonnade and cells for the monks. The column shafts have 16 faces, stand upon a square base, and are surmounted by a Doric capital. A monolithic pillar (which supports a Garuḍa) and a basin for ablutions separate the main temple from the monumental portal of the enclosure. Many carved panels adorn the walls. A number of interesting sculpture groups have been found in Avantipur (PLS. 228, 463; VIII, 362, 363).

BIBLIOG. D. R. Sahni, Excavations at Avantipura, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1913–14, pp. 40–60; R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, pp. 8–11, 36–38; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 118–25; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 193.

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Baramula (Varahamula). Baramula is situated on the northern bank of the Jhelum, where the river reenters the mountains. Originally established as a suburb of Huvishkapura (mod. Ushkur), it later became a widely known center of the cult of Viṣṇu in the avatar of the boar (*Varāha*, hence its name of Varahamula or Varahakshetra) and was endowed with a great many temples and monasteries, built at the order of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, Queen Sugandhā (902–04), and Kṣemagupta (950–58). These buildings were subsequently destroyed by Sikandar Būtshikān (ca. 1390–1416); only a few vestiges remain at Kotitirtha (a *caturmukhaliṅgam*, a few columns, several steles).

Bumazuv. Less than a mile from Bawan, on the road to Pahlgam, lies Bumazuv. It is the site of the Bhīmakeśava temple, erected by Bhīma Shāhī (940–65) of Udabhandapura, or Ohind (mod. Und); subsequently the temple was converted into the ziara (mausoleum) of Bābā Bamudīn Sahib. In the same city is the small funerary temple of Rishi Rukn-ud-Dīn Sahib, a temple inside a natural cave.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 136–37.

Hariparbat (anc. Sarikaparvata). This low hill sacred to the goddess Durgā (also called Śārikā) lies between Srinagar and Lake Dal. It is surrounded by a more or less rectangular rampart built at the order of the Moghul emperor Akbar during the years 1589–99. The Khūnī Darwāza, one of the gates, was also built by order of Akbar. The fort was completely remodeled between the late 18th and early 19th centuries. On the northwestern side of the hill stands the Cakradhāra temple; the original temple was replaced by the Jāmi' Masjid. On the western side is the cemetery of Bahā-ud-Dīn; the foundations of the Pravareśvara temple, built at the order of Pravārasena II about 460, are here. Still visible is a vast 8th-century enclosure, some fragments, a portal, and tombstones of the 15th and 16th centuries. On the southwestern slope of the hill is the ziara (mausoleum) of Sheik Makhdūm Sahib (though the present building dates from the early 19th century); and on the southern slope are the mosque and the serai of Mullā Akhūn Shah, tutor of Emperor Shah Jahān and Prince Dārā Shikōh; the latter had the two monuments built in 1649.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 87–90.

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Harwan (Shadarhadvana). At this site, not far from Srinagar, there remain only the ruins of a Buddhist foundation: a stupa of square plan within an enclosure, also square, very similar to the Gandhara types; a monastery; and an apsidal chaitya. The walls, consisting first of pebbles cemented together with mud mortar (diaper pebble), then of unsquared stones with the interstices filled with smaller stones (diaper rubble), have a revetment of terra-cotta panels embellished with bas-reliefs. These panels, which also form the pavement of the court, are made from molds; thus there is frequent repetition of motifs (VIII, PL. 359). A variety of patterns is apparent in the motifs, since Indian elements appear intermingled with local, Sassanian, and even Chinese themes.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, pp. 20–22; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 105–11; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 186.

Martand. The Temple of Sūrya (Sun Temple; VIII, PLS. 360, 361) at Martand was built by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa during the 8th century. Although badly damaged and of only moderate size even when first built, it remains one of the most beautiful temples in Kashmir. It is simple in plan: the sanctuary, of local gray limestone, stands upon a high foundation in the center of a huge enclosure lined with a pillared arcade flanked by cells for the monks. A monumental entrance portal, reproducing the principal features of the temple, stands before it. The temple is a square structure with a large trefoil arch on each face and massive pillars at the corners; its roof was probably pyramidal. The building was adorned with high-relief carvings of themes relating to the cult of the sun.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 131–35; H. Goetz, The Sun Temple of Martand and the Art of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, Indian Art and Letters, XXVII, 1953, pp. 1–11; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 191.

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Pandrethan (anc. Puranadhisthana or "old capital"). Now a cantonment of Badami Bagh about 3 miles southeast of Srinagar, this was the Srinagari built by Aśoka, rebuilt by Pravārasena I (379–409), destroyed by the Tungus under Miluyen in the mid-5th century, and finally abandoned by Pravārasena II (409–69) about 460, when the capital was transferred to Pravarapura (now known as Old Srinagar). On the eastern slopes of the mountain are many terraces, long series of rubble walls, and countless tombs. Early in the 20th century excavations in this area brought to light two Buddhist stupas (one slightly over 72 ft. square) with sculptures of Chinese Wei type (early 8th cent.) and a monastery; only the bases and foundations remain. The Temple of Śiva Rilhaneśvara, built about 1135 at the order of Rilhana, minister of Jayasiṃha, stands in the midst of a spring-fed pool on the plain. Near this temple were discovered several 8th-century Mātṛkā statues (now in Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Mus.).

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, pp. 14, 33–35; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 112–16; H. Goetz, Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmīr, J. Bombay Univ., XXI, 2, 1952, pp. 63–106; H. Goetz, The Sun Temple of Martand and the Art of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, Indian Art and Letters, XXVII, 1953, pp. 1–11; H. Goetz, The Mediaeval Sculptures of Kashmir, Mārg, VIII, 2, 1955, pp. 65–75.

Parihasapura. On an arid plateau (*karewa*), about 11 miles from Srinagar on the Patan-Baramula highway, near the present-day villages of Paraspor, Divar, and Yakmanpura, lay this city, the capital of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. It was pillaged by Śaṅkaravarman (883–902) to obtain material for building Patan and later by various other rulers; its last remaining temples and the great Buddha were destroyed by Sikandar Būtshikān (ca. 1390–1416). At the northeastern end of the *karewa* are the ruins of the Buddhist structures built at the order of Caṅkuṇa, the Sino-Tocharian minister of Lalitāditya: the great stupa, the Rāj Vihara, and the chaitya. Near the northern end, at Gurden Udar, the badly deteriorated ruins of the Temple of Govardhanadhara remain. On the western spur, between Divar and Paraspor, are the massive foundations of the temples of Parihāsakeśava and Muktakeśava. On the adjacent *karewa*, on the northern side, extending toward the Jhelum and on the former site of the suburb of Phalapura, some vestiges remain of the temples of Viṣṇusvāmin and Vainyasvāmin.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 146–49; H. Goetz, Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmīr, J. Bombay Univ., XXI, 2, 1952, pp. 63–106; H. Goetz, The Sun Temple of Martand and the Art of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, Indian Art and Letters, XXVII, 1953, pp. 1–11; H. Goetz, The Mediaeval Sculpture of Kashmir, Mārg, VIII, 2, 1955, pp. 65–75.

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Patan (anc. Sankarapura). About 17 miles from Srinagar on the road to Baramula is the site of the city founded by Śaṅkaravarman. At the southern end of the modern village lie the ruins of the Śaṅkaragauriśvara temple, whose courtyard has not yet been excavated (VIII, PL. 364). Less than a mile farther south are the ruins of the smaller Sugandheśa temple, whose courtyard has been uncovered. At the center of a cistern, near the resthouse, is a tiny temple (consisting of only three blocks), dating from about the 11th century.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, p. 18; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 149–52.

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Srinagar. This city, the capital of Kashmir, is situated on the banks of the Jhelum. The principal monuments, which date from the Moslem period and are typical of the wooden architecture of this land, include the mosque of Shah Hāmadān and the Jāmi' Masjid. The former is a two-storied, square structure constructed on a foundation composed of material from older temples; its pyramidal roof is surmounted by a pinnacle. The Jāmi' Masjid, which was founded about 1400 and was restored after damage by fire, has a plan much like the usual one for mosques, with a square court surrounded by a colonnade; the three entrances in the center of the northern, southern, and eastern sides are each surmounted by a pinnacle. One of the oldest monuments in Srinagar is the mausoleum of the mother of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, which dates from the 15th century. It is built of brick and rests upon the foundations of a Hindu temple; it has a domed roof and is decorated in glazed tile. The Sri Pratap Singh Museum has important finds from various parts of Kashmir.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 73–87; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 85.

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Ushkur (anc. Huvishkapura). Ushkur, opposite Baramula, was founded by the Kushans in the 2d century. It is the site of the stupa of Huviṣka, which was rebuilt under Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (ca. 730–40) — a small-scale prototype of the stupa of Caṅkuṇa at Parihasapura. The impressive ruins of a monastery, of the same type as that of Harwan, are also to be found here. Some late Gandharan terra cottas (now in Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Mus.) have been unearthed. No trace has been found of the Buddhist monasteries mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, the Mung-ti (Muktāpīḍa) vihara mentioned by Wu-k'ung, or the Temple of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin (8th cent.).

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, pp. 23–27; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 152–55; C. L. Fabri, Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir, Asia, XXXIX, 1939, pp. 593–98.

Verinag. This is the site of the source of the Jhelum (Vitasta; the Hydaspes of the Greeks), located to the northeast at the foot of the Banihal Pass. For a time Verinag was sacred to Nīla Nāg and later to Pārvatī (as the river goddess Vitastā). Hindu sculptures of the 12th and 13th centuries (now in Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Mus.), which were discovered in a pit, came from temples which were still standing in the 16th century; these temples were used as stone quarries by the emperor Jahāngīr, who was responsible for the construction of a bathing fountain with arcades, a hammam, and a garden (1619–20), restored later by Shah Jahān.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 141–45.

Vijabror (Bijbehara). This is the ancient Vijayēśvara, about 27 miles south-southeast of Srinagar on the Anantnag (Islamabad) road. Here was a famous temple of Śiva, destroyed by fire, several times restored, finally destroyed — including its linga — by Sikandar Būtshikān. Found here also were several statuettes (now in Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Mus.) of decadent Gandharan style, representing Hindu deities, perhaps related to the restoration of the temple ordered by the Ephthalite king Mihiragula.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Handbook of the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar, Calcutta, 1923; H. Goetz, The Mediaeval Sculptures of Kashmir, Mārg, VIII, 2, 1955, pp. 65–75.

Wangath. Wangath lies in the valley of the Kanknai, on the Gandarbal-Sonamarg road, at the foot of the Haramuk (Haramukuṭa), about 24 miles north of Srinagar. It is identified with ancient Vasiṣṭhāśrama or Soḍara-Tīrtha, related to the *tīrtha* (pilgrimage shrine) of Nandikṣetra, under the glacier of Haramuk. Two groups of ruined temples stand here, in separate enclosures. The first group consists of the Jyeṣṭharudra temple and is ascribed to Jalauka, son of the emperor Aśoka; the ruins of a pillared hall (ca. 100 × 65 ft.), which perhaps is to be identified as the math (hermitage or temple) of Sumanas, minister of Jayasiṃha; and five small temples (called also the Rājdainabal group). The second group consists of the Bhūteśa temple, attributed to Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila (thus dating back, probably, to the late Kushan period); the small Bhairava temple; and the Nārān Nāg Tank. The ruins now visible are those of buildings constructed by order of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who spent huge sums on them.

BIBLIOG. R. C. Kak, Photographs of Kashmir Monuments and Antiquities, Srinagar, 1921, pp. 5–6; R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp. 165–70.

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KERALA. *Historical survey.* Kerala, one of the three countries in the southern extremity of the Deccan that were not subjugated by the emperor Aśoka Maurya, consists of a strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. The language spoken here is Malayalam, a dialect of Tamil derivation that has had its own literature since the 13th century. As this region is exposed to the monsoon, it has as heavy rainfall as the Himalayan areas. Kerala was particularly important at the dawn of the Christian Era because of the activity of its ports, which were in frequent contact with the Roman West; the port of Muziris was especially active. The kingdom is mentioned by Pliny the Elder and in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* Beginning in the 2d century, Kerala was at war with the neighboring kingdom of the Cholas, which it was unable to defeat in spite of an alliance with the Pandyas. In the 7th century it was compelled to yield to the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman (630–68); toward the end of the 8th century, the Pandyas invaded the southern part of the region. After a period of autonomy, Kerala was annexed by King Rājarāja I (985–1014), and it remained a part of the Chola empire until the 12th century. In the 14th century, Moslems invaded part of Kerala as well as the other Indian states. It was finally combined with the state of Vijayanagar, a renowned center of Hindu culture (see DRAVIDIAN ART).

BIBLIOG. A. G. Wariar, Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala, Indian H. Q., IV, 1928, pp. 534–44; S. Kramrisch, J. H. Cousens, and R. V. Poduval, The Arts and Crafts of Travancore, London, 1948; S. Kramrisch, Drāvida and Kerala in the Art of Travancore, Ascona, 1953.

*Art centers.* Suchindram. The Temple of Sthāṇunāthasvāmi, dedicated to Śiva, is one of the largest temples in Kerala. Of Dravidian style, it includes a main sanctuary, built in the center of an enclosure bounded by high walls, which faces eastward and is surrounded by secondary shrines and hypostyle halls (mandapas), the most important of which, the Citrasabhā and the Campakaraman, date from the 15th century. The gopura, a seven-storied monumental gateway to the enclosure, was built in the mid-16th century; it is covered with sculpture of painted stucco.

BIBLIOG. S. Kramrisch, J. H. Cousens, and R. V. Poduval, The Arts and Crafts of Travancore, London, 1948; K. K. Pillai, The Sucindram Temples, Madras, 1953.

Trivandrum. Trivandrum is the capital of the state of Kerala. Among its principal buildings are the palace of the maharaja; the observatory; the museum; the fort, containing the ancient Temple of Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi; the Citraśālā, with paintings by Raja Ravivarman; the university (1935); and the Parliament building (1939). Schools and hospitals are of recent construction. The Temple of Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi, overlooking the Trivandrum Valley, is characteristic of the art of Kerala in that it combines Dravidian and local styles. A carved inscription in Sanskrit and Malayalam, on the base of the mandapa, indicates that it was rebuilt in 1729. Its plan is typical of Dravidian temples, with the main sanctuary placed in the center of an enclosure and surrounded by a mandapa and secondary shrines. A long, open corridor, covered with a flat roof and supported by two rows of massive pillars, links the gopura with the sanctuary. The ceiling and pillars are covered with sculpture. The main sanctuary is rectangular in plan; it is of two stories and is adorned with pediments, a typical feature of Keralan art. The outer walls are embellished with frescoes illustrating various scenes from the Purānas. The Government Museum in Trivandrum contains important examples of the art of southern India (PL. 225).

BIBLIOG. S. Kramrisch, J. H. Cousens, and R. V. Poduval, The Arts and Crafts of Travancore, London, 1948; HIPBC, p. 464.

MADHYA PRADESH. *Historical survey.* Madhya Pradesh comprises most of the northern region of the peninsular plateau; it embraces the former states of Malwa, Gwalior, Bhopal, Bundelkhand, and

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Mahakosala. The area affords passage between the Ganges Valley and the ports of Gujarat by way of the basins of the Chambal and the Betwa. These basins form a sort of corridor east of the Aravalli Range and provide easy access to Ujjain and the coast for travelers coming from Mathura and Gwalior. The valleys of the Narbada and Tapti (the only large rivers of the peninsular plateau that empty into the Gulf of Oman) connect with the valley of the Mahanadi, forming a passageway which links the eastern and western coasts north of the Deccan. Malwa's climate, temperate in winter and tolerable in summer, is the source of the region's fertility, which has always attracted conquerors. Madhya Pradesh played a crucial role in the formation of Indian culture owing to its proximity to the Ganges basin, which was always coveted by the Malwa dynasties. Vestiges of paleolithic cultures are found in the valleys of the Narbada and of the Chambal, a tributary of the Ganges. Several centers of microlithic culture, from about the middle of the 1st millennium, seem to indicate an influence by the Gangetic culture.

The kingdom of Avanti (mod. Malwa) attempted in the Buddha's time to extend its hegemony over Magadha but failed in its purpose. The Śuṅgas, successors of the Mauryas early in the 2d century B.C., seem to have originated in the region of Vidisa (mod. Bhilsa) in eastern Malwa, but they exercised authority only over Malwa, Magadha, and the intermediate areas (environs of Kausambi and Bharhut). The first school of Buddhist sculpture dates from their reign. The Śuṅgas were succeeded by the Kāṇvas, who were defeated by the Andhras about 28 B.C. The Andhras settled first in western and then in eastern Malwa; toward the middle of the 1st century of the Christian Era they were expelled from this region by the Śaka dynasty of the Kṣaharātas, who were in turn probably driven out of the Punjab by the Kushans. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, an Andhra ruler of the Śātavāhana dynasty, was to win back these territories, according to the evidence of the Nasik inscription. His successors engaged in a struggle with another Śaka dynasty, that of the great satraps of Ujjain; this dynasty was founded by Caṣṭana (the Tiastenes of Ptolemy), who was succeeded by his grandson Rudradāman. Dating from the reign of Rudradāman is the inscription at Girnar, the first great Sanskrit inscription discovered. This dynasty was destroyed by the Gupta king Candragupta II, who seized Ujjain, annexing it to Malwa between 395 and 400. Before his reign, according to the inscription on the pillar of Allahabad, Samudragupta had made vassals of the rulers of Mahakosala (a region between the upper Narbada and the upper Mahanadi).

Late in the 5th century the invasion of the Ephthalites had reached Malwa, but the inscription on the pillar at Eran, dating from 510, commemorates the victory of a Gupta prince and apparently refers to a victory over the Ephthalite king Toramāṇa. However, in 517 Mihiragula, the latter's successor, was still occupying Gwalior, south of the lower reaches of the Jamuna. Another inscription, at Mandasor, mentions the victory of Prince Yaśodharman over the Ephthalites (533–34). The kingdom of Valabhi, established in Kathiawar, for a time extended its rule as far as western Malwa. Malwa continued to be ruled by the last of the Guptas, though in the 7th century they were reduced to the status of vassals of Harṣavardhana after vain attempts to wrest control of Kanauj from him.

In the 8th century, Malwa was ruled by the Pratīhāras, who repelled an Arab invasion from Sind, and, having established themselves in Kanauj during the 9th century, became the leading Indian power; they neglected their fief of Malwa, where another Rajput clan, the Paramāras, installed itself. At the start the latter acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratīhāras, but about the middle of the 10th century they proclaimed their independence. The Candellas, who settled in Bundelkhand about 830, did likewise. The Paramāras were at that time engaged in combat with the Chalukyas, the Solankis, and the Kalacūris of Chedi. Between 980 and 990 the Paramāras occupied Tripuri, the capital of the Kalacūris. They reached their zenith about 1010–65 under the king and poet Bhoja, whose capital, Dhar, in southwestern Malwa, became an important literary center. In 1021 Maḥmūd of Ghazni sacked Gwalior (then Kalinjab), capital of the Candellas, who then became vassals of their neighbors, the Kalacūris of Chedi. About 1060–70, the Kalacūris were vanquished by an alliance of the Candellas, Paramāras, Chalukyas, and Palas. The Candellas then turned against the Paramāras and defeated them. In 1203 the Turk Aibak annexed Bundelkhand to the sultanate of Delhi. The decline of the Kalacūris began during the 12th century, and during the 13th and 14th centuries all the territory now comprising modern Madhya Pradesh was for a time annexed to the sultanate of Delhi. In the late 14th century, the sultanate was broken up and secessionist Moslem kingdoms were subsequently set up in Malwa and Khandesh. The architecture of these kingdoms represents an interpenetration of Hindu and Moslem cultures. With the advent of the emperor Akbar these kingdoms were absorbed by the Moghul empire and in the 18th century became part of the Marāṭha confederation.

BIBLIOG. R. D. Banerji, The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments, Calcutta, 1931; M. B. Garde, Archaeology in Gwalior, 2d ed., Gwalior, 1934; M. B. Garde, A Handbook of Gwalior, Gwalior 1936; N. R. Ray, Maurya and Sunga Art, Calcutta, 1945; The Descriptive and Classified List of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat, Gwalior, 1952; H. D. Sankalia, The Archaeological Sequence of Central India, Southwestern J. of Anthr., IX, 1953, pp. 343–56; H. V. Trivedi, Bibliography of Madhya Bharat Archaeology, Gwalior, 1953.

*Art centers.* Bagh. A group of nine rock-cut caves in the Vindhya Mountains, in the former state of Gwalior, constitutes the archaeological site of Bagh. These are Mahayana Buddhist monasteries, constructed in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The caves are of the square vihara plan, with or without surrounding cells, preceded by a vestibule. They are embellished with mural paintings; Cave II is also decorated with high-relief carvings of *dvārapālas* or of the Buddha surrounded by acolytes. Caves IV, V, and VI open off a single large peristyle, about 13 ft. high and 10 ft. wide, supported by 20 octagonal pillars, capped by an abacus of the type found in Caves I and II at Ajanta. Above the doors the peristyle is adorned with a fresco about 246 ft. long, similar in technique to those of Ajanta although in color range less complex. It depicts scenes of Buddhist subjects: courtly scenes, processions of riders, elephants, and two dancers each of whom is surrounded by a circle of musicians. As at Ajanta, the arrangement of the figures alone marks the separation of the different scenes.

BIBLIOG. A. K. Haldar, The Paintings of the Bagh Caves, Rūpam, VIII, 1921, pp. 12–19; Mukul Dey, My Pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh, Oxford, 1925 (2d ed., 1950); C. E. Luard, Les grottes de Bagh et leurs fresques, Rev. des Arts Asiatiques, III, 1926, pp. 3–10; J. Marshall and others, The Bagh Caves in the Gwalior State, London, 1927.

Besnagar. Besnagar is located at the juncture of the Betwa and the Beas, not far from Bhilsa (anc. Vidisa). Statues of a yakshi (female spirit) dating from the Maurya period and of a river goddess dating from the Gupta period were found here. This locality is particularly renowned for the pillar with a capital of Persepolitan type (once surmounted by a Garuḍa), bearing an inscription attesting that the pillar was erected in honor of Viṣṇu Vāsudeva by one Heliodorus, son of Dion, the Greek ambassador of King Antialcidas of Taxila to the court of Bhāgabhadra, king of Vidisa. The pillar can thus be attributed to about 125–100 B.C.

BIBLIOG. J. P. Vogel, The Garuda Pillar at Besnagar, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1908–09, pp. 126–30; H. Lake, Besnagar, J. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc., XXIII, 1909–14, pp. 135–46; R.D. Bhandarkar, Excavations at Besnagar, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1913–14, pp. 186–226, 1914–15, pp. 66–88; V. Bhattacharya, The Besnagar Inscription of Heliodore, Indian H. Q., VIII, 1932, p. 610; E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, I, Louvain, 1958, p. 357.

Bharhut. The stupa of Bharhut, located some 60 miles south of Allahabad, was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1873. The stupa, which is badly damaged, is made of brick and is surrounded by a stone balustrade (vedika) divided into four quadrants by four gateways (toranas), one at each cardinal point. Each quadrant consists of 16 supports joined by crossbeams and surmounted by a railing. The vertical supports are adorned with yakshas and yakshis or with medallions. On these medallions are either decorative motifs (lotuses), such as those that adorn the crossbeams, or bas-relief scenes of the Buddha's last life or his previous incarnations (II, PLS. 376, 407, 408; III, PL. 417). The handrail is decorated with a sinuous garland in the curves of which are also narrative and decorative bas-reliefs (II, PL. 409). These bas-reliefs, attributed to the middle of the 2d century B.C., belong to the original aniconic tradition in Buddhism, wherein the Buddha was customarily represented symbolically (see BUDDHIST PRIMITIVE SCHOOLS; IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). The reliefs are rather naïve in style, but they are lively and reveal a keen sense of observation, especially in the depiction of animals (PL. 442). Many decorative elements are drawn from the plant kingdom or derive from motifs used in work in precious metals. Every scene is identified by an inscription in Brahmi characters, which makes these reliefs a particularly valuable collection (IV, PL. 205). An inscription on the eastern gateway, now in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, attests that this stupa was built during the Śuṅga period.

BIBLIOG. A. Cunningham, The Stupa of Bharhut, London, 1879; B. M. Barua, Barhut, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1934–37; H. Lüders, Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur, Leipzig, 1941; S. C. Kala, Bharhut Vedikā, Allahabad, 1951; A. K. Coomaraswamy, La sculpture de Bharhut, Paris, 1956; "Kalapriya," Barhut, Mārg, IX, 2, 1956, pp. 17–22.

Bhopal. This city, founded in 1723, is the former capital of the state of the same name. It grew remarkably under English rule, to which it became subject in 1817. Bhopal is now the capital of

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Madhya Pradesh. The buildings, as a rule rather uninteresting architecturally, have noteworthy, French-inspired interior fittings.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 131–32.

Bhumara. The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara, in the former state of Nagod, was built during the Gupta period. It stands on a terrace and is a plain, flat-roofed, square cell, with a pillared portico in front. The decoration is characteristic of the Gupta period. Flanking the entry are sculptures of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The walls have false dormer windows and panels in high relief, in the center of which deities are portrayed.

BIBLIOG. R. D. Banerji, The Temple of Shiva at Bhumara (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, XVI), Calcutta, 1924.

Dhar. Dhar was the capital of the Paramāra dynasty, though few monuments of importance remain; none of them is earlier than the Moslem period, save for an iron pillar attributed to the early Gupta period. The Lāt Masjid and the Kamal Maula Masjid were built of material recovered from demolished Hindu temples.

BIBLIOG. E. Barnes, Conservation of Ancient Buildings at Māṇḍū and Dhār, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1903–04, pp. 30–45; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 62.

Gwalior. Gwalior was formerly the capital of the state of the same name. A splendid medieval fortress overlooks the city, inside which still stand many temples and monumental palaces of the Moslem period. Of the Brahmanic temples which were built inside the citadel during the 11th and 12th centuries two in particular are important: the Teli-kā Mandir and the Sās Bahu. The former, apparently earlier, consists only of an elongated temple covered, like the Vaitāl Deul of Bhuvaneshwar, by a roof with a double pavilion; access to the temple is provided by two very large doors. The latter temple, dedicated to Viṣṇu, was built in 1093; the vimana that formed part of it has been destroyed, but the three-storied, cruciform mandapa still exists and is surrounded by open galleries. Dating from the Moslem period are the lofty fortification walls, broken at intervals by circular bastions which alternate with projecting enclosed balconies, and the Mān Mandir, built by Maharaja Mān Siṅgh early in the 16th century. The decoration of the latter edifice combines Indian architectural features with the brightly painted brick ornamentation of the Moslem style; the scenes depicting the dance are modeled upon the Rajput style.

The old city, now in advanced decline, still boasts the tomb of Muḥammad Ghaus, a fine example of Moghul architecture, and the Jāmi' Masjid. The new city, Lashkar, dates from the early 19th century, during which the maharaja's palace, many French-influenced palaces and gardens, and Victoria College were built. The architecture of the hospital and museum is more modern.

BIBLIOG. Directory of Forts in Gwalior State, Gwalior, 1949; H. Goetz, The Last Masterpiece of Gupta Art: The Great Temple of Yaśovarman at Gwalior "Telika Mandir," Indian Art and Letters, XXIX, 1955, pp. 47–59; HIPBC, pp. 144–51; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 156; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 126.

Indore. Indore is situated at the confluence of the Saravati and the Khan. It is an important trade center and is growing rapidly, with many gardens, public and private buildings, and schools, including Daly College (founded as a school for Indian nobles). East of the city is the cantonment, formerly the British residential quarter.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 121–22.

Khajuraho. This city is the former capital of the Candellas of Bundelkhand. Khajuraho contains over 30 temples built between about 950 and 1050, all either Jain or Buddhist. Northwest of the site stand 12 Hindu temples in two rows; all are dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu. The largest and most noteworthy is the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva; two lesser temples have the same cross-of-Lorraine plan as the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva: the Viśvanātha, which, according to an inscription, was probably built about 1000, and the Caturbhuja. To the southeast is a group of six Jain temples, similar in appearance to the foregoing, though more monotonous. The most complete is the Jinanāth, whose interior contains a pillared hall and a cella encompassed by an ambulatory. All these temples are conceived in the same architectural style; they do not stand within an enclosure, but are built on a high masonry terrace, at the corners of which are sometimes minor shrines (e.g., the Viśvanātha and Caturbhuja). The temples are usually of medium size but are nevertheless elegant and harmonious in their proportions. The entrance portico (*ardha-maṇḍapa*) on the eastern flank leads to the hall (mandapa) and then to the sanctuary, which sometimes is preceded by a vestibule. Each section of the temple has its own roof, separate from the general structure; that of the entrance portico is low, but the dimensions increase progressively toward the sanctuary, the latter surmounted by a slender shikara whose effect of height is enhanced by vertical lines (PLS. 230, 472). Parallel horizontal friezes sheathe these buildings; they follow the projections of the walls and are literally covered with high-relief sculpture portraying amorous couples (*mithunas*), whose union is considered symbolic of the mystic union with the deity, and other types of figures as well (PLS. 473, 479–81).

BIBLIOG. S. Kramrisch, Candella Sculpture: Khajurāho, JISOA, I, 1933, pp. 97–104; H. Goetz, Khajurāho, Maandblad voor Beeldende K., XVI, 1939, pp. 210–17; B. L. Dhama and S. C. Chandra, Khajurāho, Delhi, 1953; Homage to Khajurāho, Mārg, X, 3, 1957; H. Goetz, Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajurāho, Arts Asiatiques, V, 1958, pp. 35–47; K. Deva, The Temples of Khajurāho in Central India, Ancient India, XV, 1959, pp. 43–65; J. Auboyer and E. Zannas, Khajurāho, The Hague, 1960.

Mandu. In the early 15th century the dynasty of the Ghorids (Ghuri) moved the Malwa capital from Dhar to Mandu, a more easily defensible site. Here they built a fortress and many other large structures; one of the earliest is the Hindōla Mahal, which has a T-shaped plan, with walls supported by buttresses; apparently it was both a royal palace and an audience hall. The Jāmi' Masjid stands upon a high foundation; a large stairway leads to the gateway, which is decorated with painted brick. The interior court is surrounded by a colonnade, and the roof is covered with small domes, dominated by three high ones built above the sanctuary. Near this mosque is the austere mausoleum of Hōshang, of white marble. Greater exuberance is apparent in the style of the Jahāz Mahal, a palace probably dating back to the 15th century; it includes a great many pavilions, kiosks, and balconies, all embellished with colored ornamentation.

BIBLIOG. E. Barnes, Conservation of Ancient Buildings at Māṇḍū and Dhār, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1903–04, pp. 30–45; G. Yazdani, Mandū, the City of Joy, Oxford, 1929; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 62; In Praise of Mandu, Mārg, XII, 3, 1959.

Sanchi. Although the Buddha never visited it, Sanchi became an important Buddhist center in the 3d century B.C. This is one of the many Buddhist sites around Bhilsa known as the Bhilsa Topes. The emperor Aśoka ordered one of his commemorative pillars (lats) to be erected bearing an edict against schisms; the pillar is surmounted by addorsed lions. He also ordered the construction of a brick stupa, which was covered, nearly a century later, by a hemispheric one of stone (Stupa No. 1), surrounded by an undecorated balustrade. In the 1st century B.C. were added four toranas facing the cardinal points; each consists of two pillars surmounted by a capital and joined by three lintels and is covered on both faces with reliefs of the Buddha's life and previous incarnations (PL. 441; II, PLS. 377, 402, 404–06). A great many inscriptions in Brahmi characters list the names of the donors, including the ivory carvers of Vidisa (mod. Bhilsa). From the same period are Stupa No. 3 (II, PL. 404) and Temple XL. Stupa No. 3, of smaller size, contained the relics of two of the Buddha's disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. It was encircled with a balustrade (most of which has vanished) completely covered with stylized lotus blooms. This stupa included a single torana to the south, of the same style as that of Stupa No. 1, although a bit later. Temple XL, apsidal in plan, was built upon a rectangular foundation and could be reached by two stairways to the east and west. Other pillars, temples, and monasteries were built over the centuries; the most interesting, Temples XVII and XVIII, date from early in the Gupta period. Temple XVII consists of a simple square cell with flat roof and, like the apsidal Temple XVIII, has a pillared portico before it (PL. 140). One of the later monuments is Monastery (vihara) XLV, from the 10th and 11th centuries.

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Sirpur. At Sirpur, on the banks of the Mahanadi, are the ruins of several brick temples. The most interesting is the temple of Lakṣmaṇa, which apparently dates from the 6th and 7th centuries and which may be the prototype of the curvilinear-roofed temple (shikara). It is a one-celled tower of square plan; the roof, which curves inward toward the summit, has ornamentation that softens the corners. In the center on each side is a window embellished with a stone screen. Setbacks and vertical lines produce a play of light

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and shadow that illustrates the technical mastery and architectural sensitivity of the architect. A mandapa, of which only the ruins remain, was added to the temple later.

BIBLIOG. H. Cousens, Conservation in the Central Province, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1903–04, pp. 54–60; A. H. Longhurst, Ancient Brick Temples in the Central Provinces, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1909–10, pp. 11–17; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 51.

Udayagiri. During the Gupta period nine caves were cut from the rock on the hill of Udayagiri (in the former state of Bhopal), near Sanchi and Besnagar. The first of these caves are simple rectangular cells preceded by a portico with a flat stone roof supported by four pillars. Gradually the caves grew more complex; the interior of Cave IX has its ceiling supported by four pillars at the center, and a pillared vestibule has been added to the portico; the doors are framed and embellished with figures in high relief. The pillars are of classic Gupta style, with cubical base, octagonal shaft, and brimming-vase capital. A high relief in this cave, representing Viṣṇu in the avatar of the boar (Varāha) bearing the earth from the ocean depths, is a sculptural masterpiece of the Gupta period.

BIBLIOG. D. R. Patil, The Monuments of Udaygiri Hill, Gwalior, 1948; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 58–59.

Ujjain (Ujjayini). In the Buddha's time Ujjain was the capital of the kingdom of Avanti and one of India's seven holy cities. A stop on the great routes linking the Ganges Valley with the Gulf of Oman, it enjoyed great prosperity late in the 1st millennium B.C. Ujjain was an urban center patterned after the cities of the Ganges Valley; it was defended by ramparts of clay reinforced with wooden poles, with a partial revetment of sun-dried brick, surrounded by a moat.

The excavations directed by N. R. Banerjee, of the Archaeological Survey of India, have revealed three successive phases of occupation. The first phase includes structures of stone and fired brick, assorted red and black ware, iron and copper utensils, and fragments of polished gray ware (P.G.); Ujjain is now the most southerly site where specimens of polished gray ware, typical of the Ganges cultures, have been discovered. The growing influence of these cultures is attested in the second phase by the quantity of northern black polished ware (N.B.P.) found there; terra-cotta wells, structures of fired or sun-dried brick, and roads paved in clay mixed with gravel are typical of this phase. Several ivory seals bear an inscription in Brahmi characters of the 3d or 2d century B.C. The discovery of a great many coins has provided a point of reference for establishing the chronology of the third phase, which began in the Śuṅga period; some Buddhist ruins date from the first centuries of the Christian Era.

BIBLIOG. B. C. Law, Ujjayini in Ancient India, Gwalior, 1944; Y. D. Sharma, Exploration of Historical Sites, Ancient India, IX, 1953, pp. 116–69 at 158.

MADRAS. *Historical survey.* The state of Madras comprises the southern part of the Deccan, except for the western coast that makes up Kerala. Madras is sheltered from the rains of the monsoon, which fall on the heights of the Western Ghats before reaching its territory; yet it profits from the abundant water brought by the monsoon, as the Cauvery flows through the region and makes it fertile.

The earliest evidences of inhabitation go back to the Paleolithic period (found at Vadamurai Tank, among other places), and later evidences go back to the megalithic period. The Romans were acquainted with the ports of this region and carried on a brisk trade with them. Ptolemy mentions the kingdom of Pandion, that is, Pandya, north of which lay the Chola kingdom. These and Kerala were the only states that never belonged to Aśoka's kingdom. At the end of the 3d century of the Christian Era, the Pallavas appeared, establishing their capital at Kanchipuram; a century later they recognized the sovereignty of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. After defeating the Cholas late in the 6th century, the Pallavas became masters of the Carnatic. They subsequently clashed with the Chalukyas, who were ruling in Maharashtra and aspired to dominate the Deccan. The Chalukyas won control of Vengi, between the estuaries of the Kistna and the Godavari, and thus checked the Pallavas' northward expansion. The latter then turned southward, occupying Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoly), and several times defeated the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Keralas. Their conflict with the Chalukyas continued with alternate successes and setbacks. The Pallavas penetrated to Badami about 642, but their capital, Kanchipuram, was invaded in 655 and again in the 8th century. Although these were centuries of conflict and instability, the arts flourished nonetheless, and an abundance of monuments appeared on the coast, particularly in the Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram areas.

During the 9th century the Pallavas, weakened by the unremitting attacks of the Rashtrakutas, successors of the Chalukyas in Maharashtra, were at first successful in repelling the Pandyas in the south but finally were compelled to yield to the Cholas, who gained control of Kanchipuram and annexed it to their kingdom. However, the Cholas encountered the same adversaries; victors over the Pandyas, they invaded the latter's capital, Madura, but were unable to defeat the Rashtrakutas, allied with the Gangas of Mysore. The Chola king Rājarāja I (985–1014) ordered construction of the great temple of Tanjore, annexed the Pandya territories, subjugated Kerala, defeated the Eastern and Western Chalukyas, and even conquered Ceylon. This succession of victories continued under Rājendra I, who pushed on to the coasts of Orissa and Bengal and attacked the empire of the Śailendras. Rājendra I brought the Chola empire to the apogee of its power and imposed his rule simultaneously on the area of the Bay of Bengal and the Strait of Malacca. He built a capital at Gangaikondacholapuram, near Tiruchirapalli, to commemorate his victories.

In the 13th century the Pandyas took vengeance and, after sacking Travancore about 1220, extended their power to the Carnatic. They also vanquished the Hoysalas of Mysore but were driven out about 1310 by the Moslem invasion headed by Malik Kāfūr, who sacked their capital, Madura. Vīraballāla, former ruler of Mysore, subsequently founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which included Mysore and the Carnatic. This kingdom long resisted the attacks of the Bahmani sultans established in Maharashtra and was overthrown only after the battle of Talikota in 1565. The Carnatic was then divided among the local rajas and early in the 19th century came under English domination. (See ANDHRA; DECCAN ART; DRAVIDIAN ART.)

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*Art centers.* Chidambaram. The great Temple of Śiva at Chidambaram consists of a vast group of buildings; although construction extended over several centuries, the ensemble attained a remarkable degree of esthetic unity and uniformity. The eastern gopura bears an inscription of Sundara Pandya dating from 1250, while the northern gopura was built by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in 1520, and the Thousand-pillared Mandapa dates back to the 17th century. This temple encompasses four enclosures with high stone walls; the courts are paved with granite. Standing at the center is the sanctuary of Śiva Naṭarāja (Lord of the Dance), on whose walls are represented the various attitudes of the god's cosmic dance.

BIBLIOG. S. R. Balasubrahmanyan, The Hundred-pillared Mandapam at Chidambaram, Q. J. Mythic Soc., XXII, 1931–32, pp. 289–95, XXIII, 1932–33, pp. 333–37, 487–91; T. N. Ramachandran, Siva Temple of Chidambaram, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 85–87; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 119.

Gangaikondacholapuram. Toward 1025 Rājendra I built the city of Gangaikondacholapuram in honor of his victories. The Bṛhādīśvara temple, located southwest of Chidambaram, is the sole remnant (IV, PLS. 257–259). This is a replica, with a few variations, of the great temple of Tanjore; the Bṛhādīśvara temple, however, does not attain the same height, and the corners of the pyramidal roof are slightly concave. In addition, it stands in the center of an enclosure protected by powerful bastions, one to the southwest, the other to the east. The vimana, separated from the temple by a vestibule, is preceded by a mandapa with 150 pillars.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Two Coḷa Temples, JISOA, II, 1934, pp. 2–6; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 104.

Kanchipuram (mod. Conjeeveram). Kanchipuram was the capital of the Pallava empire and an eminent religious center. The Pallavas erected a number of temples, the most important of which are the Kailāsanātha and the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl. The Kailāsanātha, built about 700, whose vimana bears an inscription specifically attributing its construction to Rājasiṃha, includes two separate structures: the vimana and the mandapa, at the center of a rectangular enclosure, along which are the monks' cells (IV, PL. 255). The vimana has a stepped pyramidal roof, with a dome-shaped form on the peak. The walls are adorned with high-relief representations of gods;

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lions rearing on their hind legs serve as a base for the columns and piers. A vestibule, undoubtedly a later addition (probably from the 14th cent.), connects the vimana with the mandapa. The Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl, built about 740, was constructed on the same plan, but the mandapa is joined to the sanctuary, the two thus forming a single structure. The temples of Mukteśvara and Matañgeśvara were built in the 9th century, on the same plan. The Temple of Ekambaranātha, whose various sections were built in different periods, illustrates the evolution of the Dravidian style.

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Madras. Madras is the capital of the state of this name. It was founded in 1640 and is the third largest city in India. Disordered and hybrid owing to the fusion of ancient and modern architecture, the city nonetheless possesses distinctive monuments. It extends some 9 miles along the coast and is divided into distinct sections: George Town, the financial, banking, and trade center, with blocks of housing units, densely populated; Fort St. George (to the south) in a broad open space on the Marine Drive, with the Government House and offices; the southwestern quarters encompassing the former center of São Tomé, a small town founded and fortified by the Portuguese in 1504; the Hindu quarters of Veperi and Pudupet, and the adjacent ones, built by European residents, of Egmore, Nangambakan, and Perambur (to the west); and, finally, to the southeast and south, the modern quarters of Adyar and Teynampet. Among the earliest monuments are the Catholic Cathedral of St. Thomas (built 1504, but remodeled) and the Church of St. Mary in the Fort, the oldest Anglican church in India. More recent are the Government House, the general hospital, the Pachayappa's Hall, the High Court, the Government Museum, and Chepauk Palace. Modern structures include the international headquarters of the Theosophical Society, the Kalakshetra (International Art Center), and small residential centers with low-cost, one-story housing units built by the City Improvement Trust in 1959 to counter a housing crisis.

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Madura (Madurā or Madurai). The great temple of Madura, dedicated to Śiva and his wife Mīnākṣī, was erected during the 17th century by King Tirumala Nāyyak. It is an immense, complex structure (in its entirety covering an area of about 15 acres), both planned and built almost entirely in the same period. It includes a great many buildings, mandapas, galleries, and colonnades, scattered among four enclosures which can be entered through a monumental gopura (PLS. 493–495; IV, 133, 260). At the center are the shrines of Śiva and Mīnākṣī. The Teppakulam, or Tank of the Golden Lilies, mirrors the gopura and the colonnades. All these structures are covered with sculptures of the deities in the Brahmanic pantheon, often painted in brilliant colors. The pillars of the many mandapas, also very ornate, are square and massive; at their bases there are often freestanding statues.

BIBLIOG. R. Sewell, Principal Buildings of Madura, Bombay, n.d.; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 116–17.

Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram). Mamallapuram, or "the Seven Pagodas," is on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, north of Pondicherry. Early in the Christian Era it was an important port which maintained trade relations with the Roman Empire, as is proved by the Roman coins found here. The city is cited in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Ptolemy's *Geography*. The monuments date from the Pallava period, with the earliest going back to the first half of the 7th century. Not far from the shore are five monolithic temples (rathas) bearing the name of the five Pāṇḍavas, heroes of the epic *Mahābhārata*. Each of these temples, cut from a single block of granite, has an individual form: a square plan with pyramidal covering, supporting small-scale models of buildings, as in the Dharmarāja Ratha and the Arjuna Ratha; a square plan, with a roof imitating that of a thatched cottage, as in the Draupadī Ratha; a rectangular plan with one story adorned with niches, as in the Bhīma Ratha (PL. 230); and an apsidal plan as in the Buddhist chaitya (Sahadeva Ratha). Large monolithic animals — lions, elephants, and oxen — are found among these temples (IV, PLS. 127, 254).

About the same time caverns were cut in the rock. The principal ones are those of the Trimūrti, which has three cells, each containing an image of the god; the uncompleted cave of Durgā, in which are carved Viṣṇu on the serpent Śeṣa (or Ananta) and Durgā combating the demon Mahīṣa (IV, PL. 171); and the most important, that of Varāha (whose peristyle is adorned with pillars supported by kneeling lions), which is decorated with four bas-reliefs of the goddesses Lakṣmī and Durgā, and the Varāha and Trivikrama incarnations of Viṣṇu. The composition of the last two reliefs is rather cold, perhaps, but well balanced.

Undoubtedly the most distinguished relief is the one, carved into the living rock, that depicts the descent of the Ganges on earth; the water which gushes from a natural fissure in the rock represents the Ganges. Many details — ascetics at prayer, pilgrims, animals of all kinds heading toward the sacred water — constitute the charm of this splendid composition (PLS. 231, 464; IV, 256).

The Shore Temple was built in the 8th century on the seashore. Of the same structural type as the Kailāsanātha of Kanchipuram, it is a square-plan vimana with a pyramidal roof; before it is a mandapa, in which the columns are replaced by rearing lions.

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Sittannavasal. In the 6th or 7th century a rock-cut Jain sanctuary (see JAINISM) was built at Sittannavasal near Pudukottai. It is a square hall with a vestibule before it and is noted especially for its frescoes, which are stylistically akin to those in the caves of Ajanta. The most remarkable of these frescoes, on the ceiling of the vestibule, depicts animals drinking from a lotus pool.

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Srirangam. The temple of Srirangam, dedicated to Viṣṇu and located near Tiruchirapalli, is the largest in southern India. On a north–south axis, it includes seven concentric enclosures, within which is the sanctuary proper. Most of its monuments date from the 17th century, but a few are from the period of the Pandyas and of Vijayanagar. The high gateways give access to the courtyards, in which there are mandapas, pillared, flat-roofed galleries, and several shrines with gilded domes. The most interesting structures, found in the third court, are the Garuḍa Mandapa, with the shrine of Garuḍa at the center, and two pools, one dedicated to the sun, the other, crescent-shaped, to the moon. In the fourth court are the Thousand-pillared Mandapa and the Śeṣagiri Mandapa, whose pillars are adorned with the famous rearing horses.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 113.

Suttukeny. Suttukeny is a megalithic culture site near Virampatnam. In 1950 the Mission Française des Indes, directed by J. M. Casal, discovered a megalithic grave containing terra-cotta sarcophagi, one of which rested on 15 vase-shaped feet. Found in this tomb were several bracelets and necklaces of assorted beads separated by golden dividers. In an urn hidden under the pavement slabs were pieces of gold jewelry: four bracelets, chestnut-shaped earrings, and two pendants formed of a Y-shaped hammered chain, each end of which terminates in a lotus blossom.

BIBLIOG. J. M. and G. Casal, Site urbain et sites funéraires des environs de Pondichéry, Paris, 1956.

Tanjore. This was formerly the capital of the Chola dynasty and has been the political, religious, and art center of the south during all periods. Today it is also a handcraft and trade center. It was conquered by the Marāṭhas in 1674 and ceded in 1799 to the English East India Company. The great temple of Tanjore, dedicated to Śiva, was built about 1000 by Rājarāja I, according to the inscriptions in ancient Tamil covering the base of the vimana. With its simplicity of plan and the unity of its design, this temple marks the high point of Dravidian architecture. In the center of a vast court is its sanctuary, before which are a pavilion dedicated to Nandi

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(the bull of Śiva), a pillared gateway, and a mandapa. The vimana has a square base and is surmounted by a 13-storied pyramidal roof crowned with a dome. The foundation walls are divided by a cornice into two stories and bear panels on which gods are carved in high relief, the panels being separated by ornamental pillars. Several frescoes embellish the interior of the vimana; they are executed with delicate broken strokes, revealing a remarkable aptitude for rhythmic scansion of space. During the 18th century a temple dedicated to Subraḥmaṇya was erected within the enclosure of the major temple. Other major monuments are the maharaja's palace and the fort.

BIBLIOG. O. C. Gangoly, Discovery of Cola Frescoes in Tanjore, Indian Art and Letters, IX, 1935, pp. 86–91; J. M. Somasundaram, The Great Temple of Tanjore, Madras, 1935; K. A. N. Sastri, Tanjore Frescoes, J. O. Research, X, 1936, p. 89; K. V. Pakkirisami, Tanjore and the Big Temple, Tanjore, 1955; HIPBC, pp. 451–53; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 103.

Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoly). Two caves were cut into the rock at Tiruchirapalli during the Pallava period. The earlier one, located at the foot of the cliff, contains two sanctuaries, one dedicated to Śiva, the other to Viṣṇu. In front of the façade is a mandapa whose pillars have bulbous capitals. The later cave, carved halfway up the cliff, is covered with inscriptions. The mandapa pillars have octagonal shafts between square bases and square capitals embellished with lotus blossoms. Two *dvārapālas* in high relief guard the sanctuary entrance. A fort and a Saiva temple were built on the rock summit during the 17th century.

BIBLIOG. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde, 2 vols., Paris, 1914.

Virampatnam (Arikamedu, Podouke). Virampatnam, a short distance south of Pondicherry, on the banks of the Aryancupom, was identified by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1945 as the Podouke of Greek geographers; this identification was confirmed by excavations undertaken at this site in 1948 by the previously mentioned Mission Française des Indes, directed by J. M. Casal. In the 2d century B.C. Virampatnam was a mere fishing village, whose culture was characterized by a megalithic red-and-black pottery. As early as the 1st century of the Christian Era contacts were established with the Roman Empire, and a new city developed north of the earlier village, whose area it invaded during the period of growth in the 2d century. Some vestiges of buildings show evidence of a well-developed urban life. Several pottery fragments bear the marks of Arretine potters; intaglios and Roman amphoras have been found in conjunction with the local red-and-black or turned pottery. A fragment of intaglio pottery, locally made, exemplifies the fusion of Roman technique with Indian style.

BIBLIOG. R. E. M. Wheeler, Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India, Ancient India, II, 1946, pp. 17–124; J. M. and G. Casal, Fouilles de Virampatman-Arikamedu, Paris, 1949.

MYSORE. *Historical survey.* Mysore consists of a plateau with a mean altitude of 2,297 to 2,953 ft., in the northern part of the Deccan; it is bounded on the south by the depression of Palghat, which makes communication possible between the Malabar coast and that of Coromandel. Mysore is inhabited by a population speaking Kanarese, which is related to Tamil but with strong Indo-Aryan influences; this language is attested as early as the 6th century by dated inscriptions, although its literature dates from the 9th century.

The first evidences of inhabitation consist of several microliths discovered at Brahmagiri; a type of pottery from the same site and from Chandravalli seems to indicate an influence exerted by the Ganges culture. For a time Mysore was annexed to the Maurya empire by Aśoka, a fact substantiated by the edict of Maski, among other evidence. The empire was also under the domination of the Ganga dynasty, whose capital was originally at Kolar (northeast of Bangalore) and later was moved to Talkad (the present city of Mysore) on the north bank of the Cauvery. The Gangas were at various times dependent upon one of their powerful neighbors: the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas of Maharashtra, and the Pallavas or Cholas of the Carnatic.

In the 12th century a new dynasty appeared, that of the Hoysalas, who at the outset governed for the Chalukyas, subsequently managing to free themselves and to take advantage of the Chalukyas' downfall to annex the region of Annigeri. This status was of brief duration, however, since the Yādavas succeeded in reestablishing the former Chalukya empire, to their own advantage. The Hoysalas built a great many Hindu temples, among the finest of the time. About 1292 the Hoysalas suffered invasion by the Moslems, who, after capturing the Hoysala capital, Dvarasamudra (mod. Halebid), in 1327, put an end to the Hoysala rule. In 1336, however, the former Hoysala ruler, Vīraballāla III, founded a new kingdom south of the Tungabhadra and Kistna rivers, which became the empire of Vijayanagar, an empire including the Carnatic. The last independent Hindu kingdom, it resisted the Moslems for over two centuries, up to the battle of Talikota (1565), which signaled its overthrow. It revived to some extent about fifty years later, and Mysore continued to be a center of Hindu culture and civilization. In the 19th century it acknowledged the British protectorate.

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*Art centers.* Aihole. Located north of Badami, Aihole was the capital of the Chalukyas in the 7th and 8th centuries. Numerous temples, about thirty in all, were built there. Also found in the area are a great many dolmens, a Brahmanic cave, and a Jain cave. Of the Hindu temples, the most interesting are the Lād Khān and the Temple of Durgā. The earliest seems to be the Lād Khān, which may be from the mid-5th century. Its plan, typical of Gupta architecture, is square; on its façade is a pillared, flat-roofed portico. The interior consists of a pillared hall. The Temple of Durgā, from the 6th century, reproduces in an open-air structure the apsidal plan of the Buddhist chaityas. This temple has a high foundation and pillared portico, continued by a colonnade completely encircling the temple (I, PL. 220). A small shikara (curvilinear-roofed tower) was added in later times. Another temple, that of Meguti, unfinished, bears an inscription from 634.

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Badami (anc. Vatapi). Located northwest of the state of Mysore, between the Kistna and Tungabhadra, Badami was the capital of the Chalukya empire during the 6th century. Three rock-cut Brahman temples were built in that period, one of which, Cave III, bears an inscription, dated 578, of King Maṅgaleśvara. All three of these temples are of the same type and are very similar to the rupestrian temples of Aurangabad and Ellora. Their porticoes, reached by means of several steps, are different in that they rest on a plinth adorned with figures of *gaṇas* (dwarfs). The porticoes are further decorated with bas-reliefs of deities, especially the avatars (incarnations in human or animal form) of Viṣṇu. The columns, resting on high conical bases, have highly ornate shafts and capitals of the same type as those of Elephanta. The ceilings are divided into compartments containing carved panels. Cave III has frescoes very much like those of Ajanta, though later. A Jain temple was cut into the rock west of the Buddhist temples probably in the 7th century. There are a great many freestanding temples, one of which, square in plan and with a pyramidal roof, is similar to the Dharmarāja Ratha of Mamallapuram.

BIBLIOG. R. D. Banerji, Basreliefs of Badami (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, XXV), Calcutta, 1928; S. Kramrisch, Paintings of Bādāmi, JISOA, IV, 1936, pp. 57–61; R. S. Panchamukhi, Badami Inscription of Chalukya Vallabhesvara: Saka 465, Epigraphia Indica, XXVII, 1947–48, pp. 4–9; C. Sivaramamurti, Western Chālukya Paintings at Badami, Lalit-Kāla, V–VI, 1959, pp. 49–58.

Bangalore. Capital of the state of Mysore, Bangalore was built in the 16th century upon a regular city plan. The fort was rebuilt in stone in 1761 and captured by the British in 1791. The city became an important industrial and colonial center. Remarkable growth, starting in 1911, led to the creation of many modern suburban sectors, still insufficient to cope with the overpopulation problem. Among the outstanding features are the architecture of the first English settlements, many public and private buildings, spacious gardens, and the modern palace of the maharaja. Of recent construction are the Jaganmohan Art Gallery, the Institute of Sciences, and various buildings designed by the European architect Otto Koenigsberger.

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BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 402–04.

Belur. The temples of Belur, among the earliest of the Hoysala period, were built about 1117. They are assembled within a single enclosure in which they are scattered asymmetrically. At the center stands the Temple of Cennakeśava. On a high terrace are the mandapa and star-shaped vimana, joined together by a square vestibule. Like all temples in Hoysala style, this one is characterized by very lavish ornamentation both inside and outside the sanctuary. Three entrances, each preceded by a set of steps, provide access to the mandapa. Openwork stone screens adorn the windows; several are decorated with geometrical motifs, others with scenes from the Purānas. An inscription gives the architect's name, Jakanācārya; several statues, too, bear the signature of the sculptor. Such identification is a rarity in Indian art.

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Bijapur. In the 16th and the 17th centuries, Bijapur was the capital of one of the five states into which the Bahmanī kingdom was divided. A thriving city gradually grew up about an irregularly shaped citadel and was in turn enclosed within a ring of walls. Many monuments were erected there: mosques, mausoleums, and palaces, which are among the most beautiful in the Moslem Deccan (see DECCAN ART; INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS). Some of the most noteworthy are the Jāmi' Masjid, built in the latter half of the 16th century, which has a hemispherical dome topped by a metal crescent; the Ibrāhīm Rauza (IV, PL. 132), the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh I, which includes a mosque in addition to the tomb (both these monuments are enclosed by a single set of walls); and the Gōl Gumbaz (X, PL. 156), the tomb of Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh, which has a very simple plan, although the building was designed to produce an effect of grandeur. It is a cubical structure of great size, topped by a dome, whose base is encircled with stylized petals; seven-storied towers with ornamental windows stand at the corners. Starting in the late 16th century, Bijapur became the center of a distinguished school of miniature painting, whose style, at first directly influenced by Iran and Turkey, later followed the trends of Moghul art.

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Brahmagiri. Located in the northern area of Mysore, Brahmagiri may be identified with the ancient city of Isila mentioned in those edicts of Aśoka which are carved in the rocks of the vicinity. The excavations made by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1947 brought to light three strata of occupation corresponding respectively to a neolithic phase, probably existing during the 1st millennium B.C.; a period of megalithic culture; and a period corresponding to the Andhra, from the middle of the 1st to the 3d century of the Christian Era. The discoveries from the first phase consist primarily of stone axes and copper or bronze tools; the tombs reveal two modes of burial, since the bodies were either laid out full length or flexed within a crude pottery urn. The megalithic phase, covering the period from 200 B.C. to the mid-1st century of the Christian Era, is typified by burial of the dead within a stone circle. In these graves miscellaneous tools and iron weapons and turned black-and-red pottery were found. In the Andhra period the pottery is of a more carefully executed type, with decoration either painted or applied through use of the potter's wheel.

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Gulbarga. Gulbarga, ringed with fortifications, was the first capital of the Bahmanī kingdom (see INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS). The principal monuments are in ruins; only the Jāmi' Masjid and royal tombs are intact. In plan the Jāmi' Masjid is an exception, for it is without the typical open court but has instead a series of aisles formed by long arcades resting on low piers. An impressive dome covers the sanctuary, while other domes, of the same shape but smaller, stand at the four corners. The first royal tombs are patterned after those of the Tughlaqs of Delhi; the later ones consist of two funerary chambers, each surmounted by a dome.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed. Bombay, 1958, p. 70.

Halebid (anc. Dvarasamudra). Halebid was for three centuries, from the 11th to the 14th, the capital of the Hoysala dynasty of Mysore. It was a city of great importance, whose palaces, citadel, and fortifications are now in ruins. The sole remaining evidences of its past splendor are several temples, including the Kedeśvara, small but harmoniously proportioned and with finely carved decoration, and the Hoyśaleśvara, one of the most notable in Hoysala art. An inscription reveals that the latter was built by Kedarāja for King Narasiṃha under the direction of Ketamalla, minister in charge of public works. The Hoyśaleśvara consists of two temples of equal size standing side by side on a single platform and connected by their transepts (IV, PL. 131). Each includes a sanctuary (vimana), preceded by a mandapa and an open-pillared pavilion. The northern pavilion is much smaller than the southern one, and this inequality provides the only asymmetrical element in the ensemble. Both temples have terraced roofs, made of broad slabs, perhaps because they were left unfinished. Four entrances flanked by *dvārapālas*, divine guardians of the door, provide access to the sanctuaries. Like all Hoysala temples, these are overburdened with ornament. On the exterior walls is depicted the pantheon of the paradise of Indra.

BIBLIOG. L. Narasimhachar, A Guide to Halebid, Mysore, 1950; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 172–74.

Mysore. The fort, built on a square plan, forms, together with the maharaja's palace, the oldest section of the city that has grown up to the north. Eastward are the European residential sections, whose surroundings are in the French style. Among the more interesting monuments, nearly all in the heart of town, are the old Government House (1805), the public administrative offices in Gordon Park, the Maharaja's College, and the Maharani's College for Women; also notable are the Mary Holdsworth Hospital, the Mysore Bank, founded in 1913, and the group of colleges and student halls of the university, founded in 1916.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, p. 408.

Pattadakal. Pattadakal, lying about 9 miles southeast of Badami, was the third Chalukya capital. Erected here in the late 7th and early 8th centuries were several Brahmanic and Jain temples. The first of these had the curved roof typical of northern India; the most important is the Pāpanātha, originally dedicated to Viṣṇu and later to Śiva. This is a rather low building, considerably longer than it is wide; it includes a mandapa, with a square vestibule before the cella proper, surmounted by a shikara. The temple's interior, with its massive pillars, closely resembles the rupestrian temples. The 8th-century temples show the pervasive influence of Pallava architecture. The temples of Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa (IV, PLS. 128, 129), built in commemoration of the Chalukyas' triumph over the Pallavas, are in pure Dravidian style. The architecture of the Virūpākṣa derives from that of the Kailāsanātha of Kanchipuram; the sanctuary, topped by a pyramidal roof, has a mandapa before it, and the walls bear panels carved in high relief depicting gods (see DECCAN ART).

BIBLIOG. H. Cousens, The Ancient Temples of Aihole and Pattadakal, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1907–08, pp. 189–204; R. S. Panchamukhi, Pattadakal and Its Sculpture: A Brief Outline, B. Deccan College Research Inst., VIII, 1947–48, pp. 60–72; R. Burnier, Pattadakal: A Short Historical Note, Mārg, V, 2, 1952, pp. 33–39; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 82; C. Śivaramamurti, The Story of Gaṅgā and Amṛita at Paṭṭadakal, O. Art. N.S., III, 1957, pp. 20–24.

Somnathpur. The Keśava temple (PL. 484) at Somnathpur was built in 1268. It stands upon a high foundation in the center of a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by 64 cells forming a cloister. The temple is rather small; yet it is typical of the Hoysala style with its star-shaped plan and its foundation bearing horizontal moldings, which are decorated with clusters, vine tendrils, and animals and scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. Gods are depicted on the shrine walls, and the windows have stone openwork screens.

BIBLIOG. Mysore Archaeological Series, I, Bangalore, 1917; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 171.

Vijayanagar (mod. Hampi). Vijayanagar, the "city of victory," founded in 1336 on the banks of the Tungabhadra, was for over two centuries the capital of the last Hindu state to resist the Moslems. The first temples built here (Gaṇigitti, Jainanātha, Caityālaya; Jain temples on the Hemakuta) are close to the Yādava style. Most of the structures, however, were built in the early 16th century, the golden age of the empire of Vijayanagar. The royal structures are grouped inside the citadel enclosure, but only the terraces of these palaces remain, adorned with long bas-relief friezes in lively, earthy style. The small Hazāra Rāma temple, which apparently served as a royal chapel, was begun by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in 1513, as an

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inscription reveals, and its shrine, with its various appendages, is still intact. The most renowned of the 16th-century temples is the Viṭṭhala temple, which includes a central shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu and several mandapas arranged inside a large, cloister-surrounded enclosure which can be entered through three gopuras.

BIBLIOG. R. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), London, 1900; A. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Madras, 1917; N. Venkata Ramanayya, Vijayanagara: The Origin of the City and the Empire, Madras, 1933; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 110–12.

ORISSA. *Historical survey*. Orissa belongs to the eastern coastal area of the peninsular plain and comprises the region of the Mahanadi Delta. Like Bengal, Orissa has a fertile region, dominated by the plateau, which deteriorates seaward into swamps and lagoons. Southward, it is compressed between the sea and that portion of the plateau which gives upon the passes of the Circars. These passes form a corridor, a source of strife over the ages, which roughly defines the boundaries between the Aryan-speaking northern regions and those of the Dravidian-speaking south.

After passing through a phase of paleolithic culture, traces of which have been discovered, particularly in the valley of the Mayurbhanj, Orissa entered into the stream of history under the name of Kalinga at the time of its conquest by Aśoka Maurya. The remorse awakened in this king's soul by the harsh, bloody conquest was one of the reasons for his conversion to Buddhism; he had his edicts carved in rock at Dhauli and Jaugada. Kalinga won its independence at the time of the Ceta dynasty. In the inscription in the Hāthī Gumphā at Udayagiri (between 50 and 25 B.C.), King Khāravela boasts of having defeated the king of Magadha and bathed his elephants in the waters of the Ganges.

In the 4th century of the Christian Era Orissa was again invaded, and it is mentioned among the conquests of King Samudragupta, which included the entire Bay of Bengal coast from Orissa to Madras. About 643 Orissa was annexed temporarily to the realm of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; it later fell into the hands of the Pala king Devapāla (ca. 815–45). In the late 10th century Orissa became part of the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa, ruler of the Kalacūrī dynasty of Chedi. The Cholas invaded it several times; the best known of the invasions is that by Rājendra I in 1023. In the 14th century Orissa was partially joined to the sultanate of Delhi, the Mahanadi Delta region remaining independent until its annexation to the Moghul empire by Akbar. In the 18th century Orissa became part of the Marāṭha confederation, and early in the 19th century it acknowledged the British protectorate.

BIBLIOG. R. Mitra, The Antiquities of Orissa, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1875–80; M. Gangoly, Orissa and Her Remains, Calcutta, 1912; S. K. Ayyangar, A Brief Historical Sketch of Orissa, JBORS, VIII, 1922, pp. 1–12; R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa from the Earliest Times to the British Period, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1930–31; R. P. Chandra, Exploration in Orissa (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, XLIV), Calcutta, 1930; N. K. Bose, Canons of Orissan Architecture, Calcutta, 1932; N. K. Sahu, Buddhist Art in Orissa, Mārg, VIII, 4, 1955, pp. 16–22; O. C. Gangoly and others, Orissan Sculpture and Architecture, Calcutta, 1956.

*Art centers*. Balasore. Situated on the right bank of the Burabalang River, Balasore became prosperous in the 17th and 18th centuries because of the industrial and commercial development following the establishment of the English (1642) and, later, the German, French, and Danish settlements. In the 18th century the city declined abruptly, because of the clogging of the Burabalang by accumulations of alluvial silt.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, p. 324.

Bhuvaneshwar. The holy city of Bhuvaneshwar contains a great many temples built from the late 8th century to about the 13th. In plan they are fairly complex; they usually include a sanctuary surmounted by a shikara and preceded by a vestibule, sometimes surrounded by related structures. The plain interiors contrast with the lavish exterior ornamentation. These temples may be assigned to three categories according to the date of their construction. Among those built between about 750 and 900 are the Parāsurāmeśvara and Vaitāl Deul. The former is of moderate size; the latter displays an architectural concept unusual in that the sanctuary is topped by a tower with pediments and pavilion roof; there are chapels at each corner of the mandapa. Included in those structures of the period from 900 to 1100 are the Mukteśvara and the Liṅgarāja, the most renowned of the Bhuvaneshwar temples. The Liṅgarāja temple stands at the center of a huge enclosure and includes four main structures, aligned from east to west, in typical Orissa style (PL. 482). Dating from about 1100 to 1250 are the temples in the third category, none of which is very large; the best known of these are the Ananta Vāsudeva and the Rājrānī.

BIBLIOG. M. H. Arnott, Report with Photographs of the Repairs Executed to Some of the Principal Temples at Bhubaneswar, London, 1903; M. Gangoly, Orissa and Her Remains, Calcutta, 1912; N. K. Basu, Some Ancient Remains from Bhubaneswar, JBORS, XV, 1929, pp. 259–62; T. N. Ramachandran, Temples of Bhuvaneswar and Jagannath Puri, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 91–94; K. C. Panigrahi, Date of the Paraśurāmeśvara Temple at Bhubaneśvara, JRAS of Bengal, XV, 1949, pp. 110–18; K. C. Panigrahi, The Temple Town of Bhubaneswar and Its Environs, Orissa H. Research J., VI, 1949; K. C. Panigrahi, New Light on the Early History of Bhubaneswar, JRAS of Bengal, XVII, 1951, pp. 95–115; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 122.

Dhauli. At Dhauli, near Bhuvaneshwar, stands an isolated rock, in which is carved a gigantic sculpture representing the forequarters of an elephant; this work is one of the earliest known Indian sculptures in the round. On this rock Aśoka ordered one of his edicts to be carved in the 12th year of his reign (257 B.C.). In Aśoka's time, apparently, this site was traversed by an important highway.

BIBLIOG. T. N. Ramachandran Śiśupālgarh, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 140–53; B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954, p. 150.

Jaugada. At this archaeological site in southern Orissa were discovered, not far from where 14 edicts of Aśoka were carved in the rock, stone axes, black-and-red megalithic pottery, Iron Age vestiges, and traces of ramparts in rammed earth.

BIBLIOG. E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, I, Louvain, 1958, p. 246, 375; R. E. M. Wheeler, Early India and Pakistan, London, New York, 1959, p. 134.

Khandagiri and Udayagiri. Not far from Bhuvaneshwar are the Jain monasteries carved from the sandstone of the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri (see JAINISM). They date largely from the 1st century B.C. and the early part of the following century. The caves are of various sizes arranged rather haphazardly. Each monastery consists of three cells opening on an unenclosed courtyard. Among the most important caves are Hāṭhī Gumphā (or cave of the elephant), famous for its inscription of King Khāravela, dating from the late 1st century B.C., and Rānī Gumphā (or cave of the queen), which has two stories of cells arranged around three sides of a courtyard. The façade of the latter cave has two friezes depicting episodes from the Jain religion and pillars whose capitals have the shape of kneeling animals. The style of the two stories is different: that of the lower is still primitive, while that of the upper story is more vigorous and the poses of the characters more natural. The exterior of Bāgh Gumphā (or cave of the tiger) is carved with tiger masks. The Mañcapuri, Ananta (PL. 443) and Gaṇeśa Gumphās have pillared verandas. In medieval times other caves were added at Khandagiri.

BIBLIOG. M. B. Barua, Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1929; M. H. Kuraishi, List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa (Archaeol. Survey of India, New Imperial Ser., LI), Calcutta, 1931; T. N. Ramachandran and C. C. Jain, Khandagiri-Udayagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1951; T. N. Ramachandran, The Mañcapuri Cave, Indian H. Q., XXVII, 1951, pp. 103–08; K. N. Tandon, Rock-cut Architecture of the Jains in Orissa, The Jaina Antiquary, XIX, 1953; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 36, 38, 66.

Konarak. The Sūrya temple (also known as the Black Pagoda) at Konarak stands on the seashore about 20 miles northeast of Puri. The temple was built about the mid-13th century by King Narasiṃhadeva. It is now in ruins, with only the mandapa remaining, but it was described at length by Abū'l-Fadl 'Allāmī (historian of the emperor Akbar), who saw it while it was intact. The design is singular indeed, imitating a processional car (ratha) assumed to be the very car of Sūrya, the sun god. The foundation of the temple consists of a vast terrace on which 12 great wheels are represented (PL.486); seven richly harnessed horses, four on one side and three on the other, flank the steps leading up to it and the temple's main entrance. The square assembly hall is surmounted by a pyramidal roof. The walls are adorned with sculpture: geometric motifs, people, mythical animals, and erotic scenes, as at Khajuraho. Several adjoining buildings complete the ensemble.

BIBLIOG. S. Swarup, Konarka: The Black Pagoda of Orissa, Cuttack, 1910; B. Hemmi, On the Black Pagoda at Konarak, Kokka, 449–51, 453–54, 456–57, 1928 (in Japanese: Eng. summaries); K. C. Panigrahi, The Temple of the Sun at Konarak, Orissa H. Research J., VI, 1949; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 129; Konarak, Mārg, XII, 1, 1958 (entire issue).

Puri. Built on a hill about 1100, the Jaganātha temple at Puri is a replica of the Liṅgarāja of Bhuvaneshwar, built a century earlier. The temple stands in the center of a vast enclosure, which can be

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entered through four gates. Some thirty buildings of different sizes and shapes surround the temple. The latter consists of four structures in a row: the sanctuary, a square cell with a shikara above it and three large halls before it, two of which are later additions from the 14th or 15th century. One of these halls, whose roof is supported by 16 pillars, seems to be the sole specimen of a hypostyle hall in all Orissa.

BIBLIOG. T. N. Ramachandran, Temples of Bhuvaneswar and Jagannath Puri, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 91–94; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 127–28.

Sisupalgarh. Located near Bhuvaneshwar, Dhauli, and Udayagiri, Sisupalgarh may be at one and the same time the city of Tosali, mentioned in Aśoka's edict carved in rock at Dhauli, and Kalinganagara, capital of the king Khāravela mentioned in the inscription of the Hāṭhī Gumphā at Udayagiri.

Excavations made in this area in 1948 brought to light an enclosure approximately 4,000 ft. square, bounded by clay walls, with a top layer of mortar made up largely of small fragments of laterite, with a revetment of fired brick. On each side two large gates afford access to the interior, and there seem to have been towers at the corners. A river, the Gangna or Gandhavati, had been diverted to form a moat around the walls. Inside, 16 monolithic pillars in laterite seem to indicate the existence of a pillared hall.

The basis for establishing dates is provided by the discovery of pottery and other objects. Four periods can be discerned: from about 300 to 200 B.C., with plain, undecorated pottery; from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, during which a red-and-black megalithic pottery appears, as well as other pottery with wheel-made decoration (the construction of the ramparts probably dates back to this period); from about A.D. 100 to 200, with somewhat cruder pottery (dates for this period can be established by the discovery of a coin issued by the Kushan king Huviṣka); and from about A.D. 200 to 300 (as indicated by the presence of Puri-Kushan coins).

BIBLIOG. T. N. Ramachandran, Śiśupālgarh, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 140–53; B. B. Lal, Śiśupālgarh 1948: An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India, Ancient India, V, 1949, pp. 62–105; K. A. Chowdhury and S. S. Ghosh, Wood-remains from Śiśupālgarh, Ancient India, VIII, 1952, pp. 28–32.

Sitabhinji. Discovered several years ago at Sitabhinji, in northern Orissa, on the wall of a shelter in the rock, was a fresco depicting a royal cortege: a king riding an elephant and preceded by horsemen and servants. The colors are tones of brown, ocher, and red. An inscription in Sanskrit, also painted, provides the king's name. The epigraphic characters apparently are of the 4th century, as is the style of the fresco itself and that of other objects from this site (a female figure, a *mukhaliṅga*). Discovered not far from this rock shelter were two Puri-Kushan coins, also from the 4th century.

BIBLIOG. T. N. Ramachandran, Inscription from Sitābhiñji, J. Andhra H. Research Soc., XIX, 1948–49, pp. 191–202; T. N. Ramachandran, Tempera Paintings from Sitābhiñji, Artibus Asiae, XIV, 1951, pp. 5–25; T. N. Ramachandran, Painting in Sitābhiñji, Mārg, VIII, 4, 1955, pp. 57–63.

PUNJAB AND HIMACHAL PRADESH. *Historical survey.* Geographically the eastern Punjab (the western part belongs to Pakistan) and Himachal Pradesh are part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The strip of land running along the Himalaya benefits from the monsoonal rains, while the region between the Jamuna and the Sutlej must be irrigated to be habitable, since it is watered only by small streams which are dry most of the year. The population, Indo-Aryan in racial type, is concentrated either near the Himalaya or along the rivers.

Eastern Punjab, inhabited since the Paleolithic period, as is evidenced by the centers of the Beas and Banganga valleys, was occupied in protohistoric times by the so-called "Indus people," who settled at Rupar, in particular on the banks of the Sutlej River (see INDUS VALLEY ART). Excavations have made it possible to verify that this region has been continuously inhabited since about 2000 B.C. Its location in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent, close to the Himalayan range and dominating the route from the Indus basin to that of the Ganges, inevitably made it the pathway of all the invasions that poured into India throughout its entire history. In the Vedic period the Aryans settled here, making it their political center. Subsequently during the 6th century B.C., the Punjab came under Achaemenid domination. In the late 4th century Alexander the Great reached the Sutlej, but, halted by discontent among his troops, was unable to hold the ground he had won.

The Punjab, like Sind, was conquered by the founder of the Maurya dynasty, Candragupta. Greek princes had settled farther north, in Bactria; they took advantage of the Mauryas' downfall to invade the eastern Punjab, where they remained until about 30 B.C., when they were expelled by the Śakas, a nomadic tribe of Iranian stock (see AFGHANISTAN; BACTRIAN ART). At the dawn of the Christian Era, the Śakas were driven out by the Kushans from Central Asia, who seized control of the territory (see KUSHAN ART). In the 4th century the Punjab was annexed for a century to the Gupta empire, until the invasion by the Ephthalites, also from Central Asia. The latter settled in the eastern Punjab, whence they attempted to reach the Ganges Valley. They were defeated by the rulers of the Gupta dynasty, yet were able to hold out in the Punjab at least until the beginning of the 7th century. Meanwhile, the Vardhana dynasty, entrenched at Thanesar, between the upper Jamuna and upper Sarasvati, was protecting the Ganges Valley from the Ephthalites' raids, and at the start of the 7th century, under King Harṣavardhana, it managed to reimpose temporarily the unity of northern India. In the 9th century the eastern Punjab came under the domination of the Pratīhāras, who had settled in Rajasthan and Malwa. This dynasty was later to fall before the Moslem attack of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, who seized Kangra in 1008 and occupied the entire Punjab in 1021.

For two centuries the Punjab remained under Ghaznevid domination; in 1181 it was invaded by the Afghan troops of Muḥammad of Ghor, founder of the sultanate of Delhi, of which it remained a part until the invasion of Tīmūr Lenk (Tamerlane) in 1398. The Punjab was later conquered by the emperor Bābur (Bāber) in 1526 and remained part of the Moghul empire until the early 18th century. At that time the Sikh rebellion, centered in Amritsar, ended the Moghul domination. Unhindered, the Persian Nādir Shah invaded the eastern Punjab in 1739. Next, in 1758, came the invasion by the Marāṭhas, who were defeated shortly after the battle of Panipat by the Afghans under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. In 1849 the Punjab was annexed to the British Empire, to which it belonged until the Indian proclamation of independence.

BIBLIOG. J. C. French, Himalayan Art, London, 1931; W. G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hill States, London, 1952; The Heritage of Punjab, Mārg, X, 2, 1957.

*Art centers.* Amritsar. Among the temples built in the Punjab by the Sikhs, who dominated this region during the 18th and 19th centuries, the most famous is the Golden Temple of Amritsar, typical of the Moslem-influenced Sikh architecture. It is a two-storied structure surmounted by a dome covered with gilded copper and adorned with kiosks, balustrades, and projecting windows; the structure stands in the midst of a reflecting pool. Access is afforded by a bridge with a marble balustrade.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Synthesis of Hindu and Muslim Influences in the Sikh at Amritsar, Mārg, X, 2, 1957, pp. 23–26; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 124.

Basohli. Basohli is a small mountain state whose history began in the 11th century, when it was still known as Vellapur. The city of Basohli was founded in 1630 and became the seat of a school of miniature painting which flourished in the period from 1680 to 1700 (PL. 234). Its style is at once primitive and sophisticated, and the coloring is warm and bright (see INDIAN ART; MINIATURES AND ILLUMINATION).

BIBLIOG. A. Ghose, The Basholi School of Rajput Painting, Rūpam, XXXVII, 1929, pp. 6–17; R. C. Kak, Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar, Indian Art and Letters, VII, 1933, pp. 65–91; K. Khandalevala, The Rasamanjari in Basholi Painting, Lalit-Kāla, III–IV, 1956–57, pp. 26–38; M. S. Randhawa, A Journey to Basholi, Roopa-Lekhā, XXVIII, 1958, pp. 14–24; M. S. Randhawa, Basohli Painting, Delhi, 1959.

Chamba. The upper valley of the Ravi comprises the state of Chamba. This is one of the few places in the eastern Punjab where monuments of antiquity can still be found, for this Himalayan state was shielded from the invasions that swept over the rest of the land. Among the region's temples, most of which are of wood, the most typical are those at Brahmor and Chatrarhi, both Hindu temples dating from the 7th and 8th centuries. They are decorated with bas-reliefs and are stylistically similar to those of the late Gupta period. The interior copper statues have been preserved. The 11th-century temple of Mirkula-Udaipur shows Kashmir influence. Early in the 18th century a school of painting was founded in Chamba; the school is characteristic of this mountainous region (Pahari), which clearly exhibits Moghul influences of the style of the Rajput school (see INDIAN ART; MOGHUL SCHOOL; RAJPUT SCHOOL).

BIBLIOG. J. P. Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1911–57; W. G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hill States, London, 1952; H. Goetz, The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba, Leiden, 1955; J. Mittal, The Wall Painting of Chamba, Mārg, VIII, 3, 1955, pp. 38–42, 97.

Chandigarh. This is the capital of the state of Punjab. An extremely modern city in a desert region at the foot of the Himalaya,



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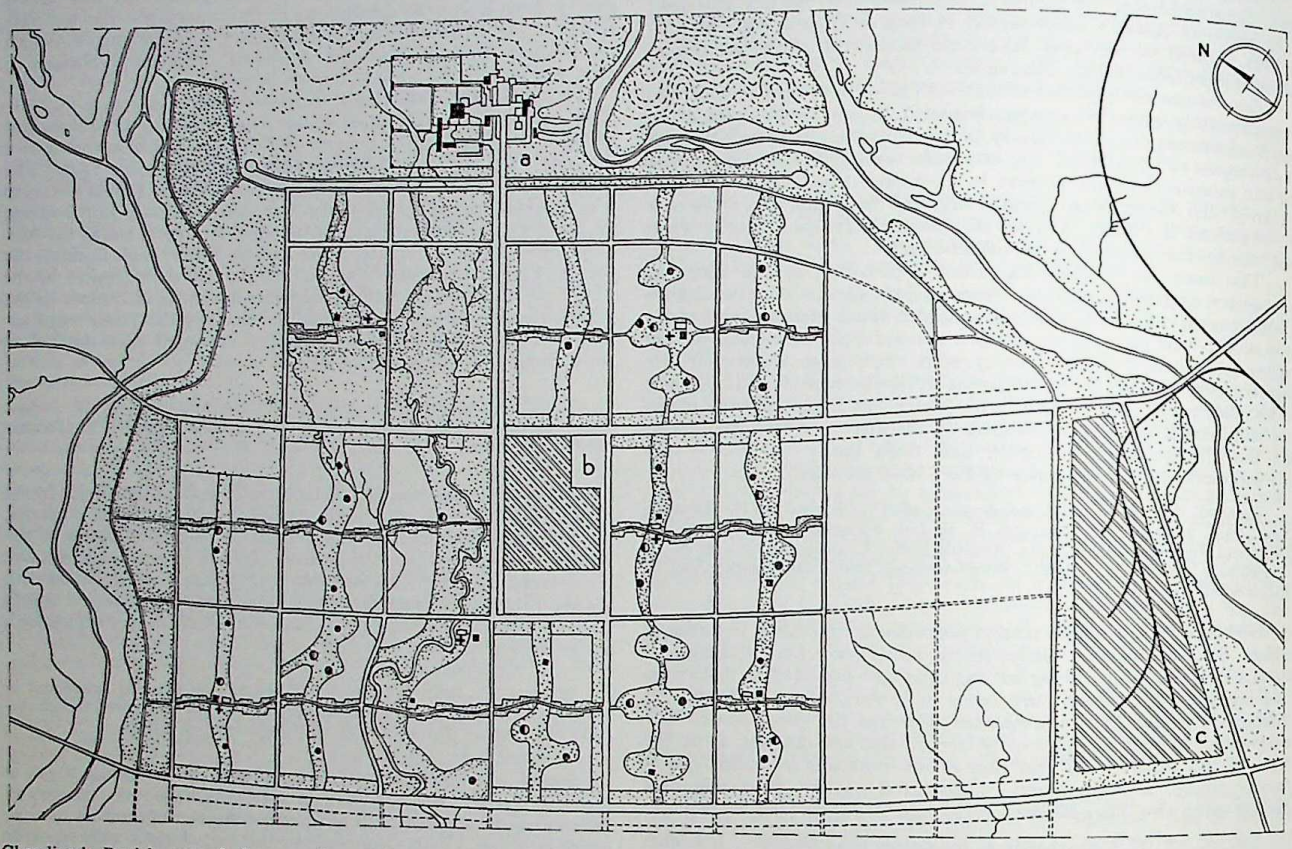
Chandigarh was planned and designed by Le Corbusier, with the assistance of an international group of architects including Pierre Jeanneret, E. Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew, J. K. Chowdhury (chief advisory architect to the government of the Punjab), P. L. Verma, and many Indian architects. Begun on Oct. 7, 1953, and planned for a population of 150,000, it is capable of rapid expansion because of masterly city planning. The city is divided into different sectors of activity: the Capitol (with governmental and administrative buildings), the commercial center, the cultural center (with the university), the industrial center, the railway station, and the civil airport (the last two removed from the nucleus of the city). Access to the different sectors is regulated by roadways that vary in level and color according to the center they serve and the means of transportation available so that the traffic flow is rapid in the industrial and commercial sections and the pedestrian traffic can move freely and safely in the residential and cultural quarters. The architectural outlines have been designed to harmonize with the natural horizon against the backdrop of the Himalaya. Public buildings that had to be made higher were set partially below the ground level and the roads were lowered about 16 ft.; elsewhere (e.g., in the government center), the planners used asymmetry in the structures, interspersing them with spacious gardens, parks, and artificial pools. Le Corbusier was also responsible for the execution of the Capitol (Parliament, Secretariat, etc.), the High Courts of Justice (IX, PL. 108), the governor's palace (1960), and the symbolic Open Hand monument, about 48 ft., high, which stands out clearly against the background of the mountains. Among the notable buildings are the schools, hospitals, hotels (e.g., Mount View Hotel), movie theaters, low-cost houses (1959), and the School of Engineering (1959; architect, J. K. Chowdhury).

BIBLIOG. Chandigarh, Sele Arte, II, 9, 1953, pp. 53–54; C. E. Jeanneret-Gris, Le Corbusier, und Pierre Jeanneret, ihr gesamtes Werk, V, 1946–52, VI, 1953–57, Zurich, 1953, 1957; E. M. Fry and J. B. Drew, Chandigarh and Planning Development in India, J. Royal Soc. of Arts, CIII, 1954–55, pp. 315–33; E. M. Fry, Chandigarh: The Capital of the Punjab, J. Royal Inst. of Br. Arch., LXII, 1954–55, pp. 87–94; E. M. Fry, Chandigarh — New Capital City, Arch. Record, CXVII, June, 1955, pp. 139–48; Inde [Chandigarh], L'Arch. d'aujourd'hui, XXVII, 67–68, 1956, pp. 172–97; Recenti architetture in India, Q. della Società immobiliare di lavori e utilità pubblica ed agricola, 4, 1956; G. Gagnon, Chandigarh, J. Royal Arch Inst. of Canada, XXXIV, 1957, pp. 193–200; L. Lionni, Corbu in India, Arch. Forum, CVI, 1957, pp. 142–47; Una mostra di Le Corbusier, Emporium, CXXIX, 1959, pp. 260–64; Chandigarh, Mārg, XV, 1, 1961 (entire issue).

Kangra. Kangra, in the upper Beas Valley, was one of the last outposts of Rajput resistance to the Moslems. The 1905 earthquake demolished many of its monuments, including both the Temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and that of Śītalā in the city's fortress. The palace-fortress of the raja of Kangra at Tira Sujanpur, which was begun in 1748 on the left bank of the Beas, is an example of the civil architecture of the region, in which Moghul influences were added to the Rajput style. In the late 18th century a school of painting was established in Kangra, which flourished under the patronage of Raja Sansār Cand (1775–1823); this became the most famous of the schools of miniature painting belonging to the mountain group (Pahari). The legend of Kṛṣṇa is one of the favorite themes of the artists composing this school (see INDIAN ART; MINIATURES AND ILLUMINATION).




Chandigarh, Punjab, general plan according to the project of Le Corbusier: (*a*) The Capitol, administrative center; (*b*) commercial area; (*c*) industrial area.

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New Nangal. A modern city, planned on the pattern of Chandigarh, New Nangal was built in 1957–58 in the desert area of the Punjab, after extensive land reclamation work had been accomplished in the region.

Rupar. The exploration of Rupar, in the Sutlej Valley, has revealed that this site has been inhabited continuously from protohistoric times to the present. The earliest relics discovered are from the Indus culture; these are followed by those from a culture identified by painted gray ware (P.G.), which seems to indicate links with Ganges Valley cultures. The strata of the next period, which extends to the end of the Maurya dynasty, have yielded northern black polished ware (N.B.P.), several iron and copper utensils, an ivory seal bearing an inscription in Brahmi characters, and ruins of buildings of fired brick or earth mixed with pebbles. Many construction levels are from the Śuṅga, Kushan, and Gupta periods; in them have been found red,

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incised pottery, terra-cotta figurines, coins, and seals. From a later period are glazed pre-Moghul pottery and Moslem coins.

BIBLIOG. Y. D. Sharma, Explorations of Historical Sites, Ancient India, IX, 1953, pp. 116–69 at 123; Y. D. Sharma, Past patterns in Living as Unfolded by Excavations at Rupar, Latit-Kāla, I–II, 1955–56, pp. 121–29.

RAJASTHAN. *Historical survey.* Rajasthan includes Thar, a desert region which, morphologically, probably is part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, and Rajputana, which merges with the peninsular plain. The region's climate is definitely continental, and its habitable area is the most westerly hilly section sloping down to the Jamuna and its tributary, the Chambal. The population is Indo-Aryan.

Rajasthan was part of Aśoka's empire; an edict carved in the rock at Bairat quotes the Buddhist texts recommended by this emperor. In the early 2d century B.C. the Indo-Greek king Menander, who had invaded India, descended the Ganges, and drove on as far as Chitor in southern Rajasthan. However, the real debut of this region in history came with the Gujars (Gurjaras), a warlike people probably originating in Central Asia, a clan of which appears to have settled in Marwar in the mid-6th century. Another clan, the Pratīhāras, settling south of Rajputana and in Malwa, during the 8th century aspired to rule all India; after clashes with the Rashtrakutas of the Marāṭha territory and the Palas of Bengal, they succeeded in conquering Kanauj and dominating the middle course of the Ganges, thus becoming the paramount power in the Indian world. In the late 9th century the Pratīhāra kingdom included, besides Rajputana, Malwa, Gwalior, and Ujjain, a portion of Oudh, Doab, and part of the eastern Punjab. Toward the mid-10th century, however, the Pratīhāras lost this realm, for another Rajput dynasty, the Paramāras, established themselves at Dhar in Malwa, and the King of Gwalior managed to escape from Pratīhāra control. Furthermore, the Pratīhāras were powerless to resist the Moslem invasion by Maḥmūd of Ghazni, who sacked Kanauj in 1018 and ended their reign.

After this invasion another Rajput dynasty, that of the Cāhamānas, or Cauhāns, whose presence in the region since 700 is confirmed, succeeded in founding a new kingdom. About 1130 the Cāhamānas founded the city of Ajmer and reached the zenith of their power late in the 12th century with Pṛthvīrāja III, whose realm extended over the Ganges plain as far as Mathura, Delhi, and Thanesar. A new Moslem invasion loomed on the horizon in 1193 — that of Muḥammad of Ghor, who established a Turko-Afghan sultanate in India with its capital in Delhi. Ajmer, Ranthambor, and Chitor, in Rajputana, remained in the Cāhamānas' hands until 1301 or 1302, when they in turn were occupied by A'lā-ud-Dīn.

Late in the 14th century Chitor and Ranthambor were annexed to Mewar to constitute a new and important Rajput state, which was obliged to fight the Moslems of Gujarat and Malwa. The states of Marwar, Bikaner, and Bundi also became vassals of Emperor Akbar, and only the state of Mewar remained independent. With the advent of Aurangzēb the Rajputs launched a campaign for independence in Marwar. In the 19th century they accepted the British protectorate. The Rajputs had guarded zealously the Hindu tradition in northwestern India during the centuries of Moslem domination (see RAJPUT SCHOOL).

BIBLIOG. J. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 2 vols., London, 1829–32 (rev. ed., 2 vols., London, 1957); G. Ojha, History of Rajputana, Ajmer, 1932; A. Ghosh, The Rajputana Desert and Its Archaeological Aspect, B. Nat. Inst. of Science of India, I, 1952; Rajasthani Painting, Mārg, XI, 2, 1958; Rajasthani Sculpture, Mārg, XII, 2, 1959 (entire issue).

*Art centers.* Abaneri. Abaneri is a small village in the former state of Jaipur, site of the ruins of two monuments dating from the beginning of the medieval period: the Temple of Harṣat Mata and the Chānd Baōri. The style of the sculptures, which depict gods, scenes of music and dancing, and so on, is still very close to the post-Gupta style (PL. 229).

BIBLIOG. R. C. Agrawala, Sculptures from Ābāneri, Rajasthan, Lalit-Kāla, I–II, 1955–56, pp. 130–33; P. Jayakar, Notes on Some Sculptures in Situ at Ābāneri, Lalit-Kāla, I–II, 1955–56, pp. 139–44; P. Jayakar, Abaneri, Mārg, XII, 2, 1959, pp. 28–30.

Ajmer. The Arhai-dīn-kā-Jhōnpṛa at Ajmer, construction of which was begun about 1200, is generally attributed to Sultan Quṭb-ud-Dīn. This mosque reproduces, on a larger scale, the plan of the Quṭb Mīnār of Delhi; three pillars from a Jain temple are superimposed to form the columns. (The materials do, in fact, come from dismantled temples.) Sultan Iltutmish had a seven-arched stone screen added to the façade. The central arch, higher than the side ones, is surmounted by two minarets. In the 17th century Akbar built a fort, whose exterior aspect is severe and forbidding but which encloses a charming little palace surrounded by a colonnade facing on an open court.

BIBLIOG. A. L. P. Tucker, Restoration Work in Ajmir, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1902–03, pp. 80–84; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, pp. 12–13.

Amber. Amber, about 4 miles from Jaipur, was founded in the 11th century and until 1728 was the capital of the state of Jaipur. Located at the entrance to a rocky pass and on the shores of a lake, it is a highly picturesque and romantic spot. The royal palace, on which construction was begun in 1600 by Mān Siṅgh, stands on the slopes of a hill on whose summit is a fortress linked to the palace. The palace is built of red sandstone and white marble, and the walls and ceilings are incrusted with varicolored stones. The edifice embraces, in the fashion of Moghul palaces, a Dīwān-i Am (Hall of Public Audience) and a Dīwān-i Khās (Hall of Private Audience), and is surrounded by gardens. The royal apartments, which stand on a high terrace at one end of the ceremonial court, are embellished with mosaics and paintings. There are also palaces and temples in this site (several dating from the late 11th cent.), including the Jagat Siromini, northeast of the royal palace, also built of red sandstone and white marble. Many shrines are today in ruins. Akbar had a mosque built at Amber in 1569.

BIBLIOG. S. Prakash, Amber: Ancient Capital of Jaipur, Indian Art and Letters, XXII, 1948, pp. 12–15; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 128.

Bairat. This is an archaeologically important site, north of Jaipur, near which one of Aśoka's edicts is carved. The ruins of a circular-plan temple dating from the Maurya period have been discovered here. It is built of panels of large bricks alternating with 26 octagonal wooden pillars. A wide entrance on the east leads to the stupa built inside. Also discovered were the ruins of a monastery and many small objects — terra-cotta figurines, punch-marked coins, and Indo-Greek coins.

BIBLIOG. D. R. Sahni, Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1935–36, pp. 84–87; S. Piggott, The Earliest Buddhist Shrines, Antiquity, XVII, 1943, pp. 1–10; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 15; E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, I, Louvain, 1958, p. 246.

Bikaner. Bikaner, a Rajput state in the heart of the Thar Desert, on the confines of Punjab and Rajasthan, was an important art center from the 16th to the 19th century. The architecture of the 16th–17th century displays, alongside the slender Hindu-style shikara, the heavy Moslem-style domes. The late 17th-century tombs, like the Moghul-style mausoleums, are rather imposing and massive. In the 18th and 19th centuries civil architecture expanded greatly and sumptuous palaces were built. Bikaner was a highly important center of miniature painting. In the 15th century there was extensive production in Gujarat style, which was later affected by influences from Bengal, other Rajput centers, and the Moghul schools. The miniatures reveal a keen decorative sense; the subjects are exclusively Hindu. In the 17th century a Rajput-Moghul style appeared, which reached its apogee in the 18th century (see MINIATURES AND ILLUMINATION).

BIBLIOG. H. Goetz, The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State, Oxford, 1950; A. Ghosh, Exploration in Bikaner, East and West, IV, 1953–54, pp. 31–34.

Jaipur. The "pink city" of India, founded by the astronomer-maharaja Jai Siṅgh II, was built in 1728 according to a precise checkerboard plan, with straight streets as much as 100 ft. wide. The 18th-century houses with balconies, ogive-arched double galleries, and stone edging are capped by domes and are painted pink. In coloration, plan, and architecture Jaipur is extraordinarily homogeneous. Among the chief buildings are the observatory, the largest of those built by Jai Siṅgh II and in good condition, with all the astronomical instruments in masonry; the city hall, housing the library, with a fine collection of manuscripts and paintings and a remarkable arms collection; and the Dīwān-i Khās, with a spacious garden. Also outstanding are the Hawā Mahal (Palace of the Winds), whose broad façade has several orders of windows, with polygonal rooms, capped by small domes ornamented with mythical figures; and the museum, with magnificent collections of repoussé copper and other metals.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 179–81; S. Prakash, A Note on Some Typical Jaipur Frescoes, Lalit-Kāla, I–II, 1955–56, pp. 136–38; Delhi, Agra e Jaipur: tre grandi attrazioni dell'India, India, VI, 1957, p. 62 ff.

Jodhpur. Jodhpur was founded by Rao Jodha in 1459; it is surrounded by a strong wall that was built later. In the city are numerous temples, palaces of princes, and the maharaja's palace. Jodhpur is dominated by a fort, built on an isolated rock encircled by massive walls and many towers. Inside the fort is a noteworthy group of buildings and the maharaja's residence.

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BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 171–73.

Kiradu. At Kiradu, in Marwar, are the ruins of a group of temples dating from the 11th or 12th century, typical of the architecture of the Solanki dynasty. Yet they show traces of Gupta influence, especially in the design of the small towers flanking the shikara and in the brimming-vase capitals adorning the pillars. The earliest of these temples is that of Viṣṇu, and the most important is the Someśvara.

BIBLIOG. P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 149; Rajasthani Sculpture, Mārg, XII, 2, 1959.

Mount Abu. Mount Abu, on the boundary between Rajasthan and Gujarat, is one of the pilgrimage shrines of Jainism (q.v.) and is celebrated for the white marble temples built there. The earliest and most interesting of these are the temples of Vimala and Tejapāla, the former built in the 11th century, the latter two centuries later. Both follow the same plan as the Neminātha temple at Girnar, being built inside a rectangular enclosure surrounded by colonnades and a row of small chapels, each containing a statue of a seated jina (saint). The temple includes a sanctuary, with anterior mandapa. The exterior is very plain, while interior ornamentation is lavish (PL. 484; VIII, PL. 254), particularly that of the mandapa, which has a corbeled dome on pendentives, resting upon piers.

BIBLIOG. J. Rowland, Mount Abu, Indian Antiquary, II, 1873, pp. 249–57; D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Temples on Mount Abu, Rūpam, III, 1920, pp. 11–21; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 148.

Osia. Osia, lying northwest of Jodhpur, was a very important center from the 8th to the 12th century as is attested by the many Brahmanic and Jain temples built there. The earliest, three of which are dedicated to Harihara, are small but skillfully made, and their shikaras recall the early Orissa type. The pillars are generally decorated with the brimming-vase motif; the decoration of the doors leading to the sanctuary is executed with special care. The Sūrya temple, one of the finest, built during the 10th century, consists of a shikara preceded by an open mandapa.

BIBLIOG. J. Burgess, The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India, I, London, 1897; D. R. Bhandarkar, The Temples of Osia, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1908–09, pp. 100–15; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, pp. 140–41.

Udaipur. Udaipur, the capital of Mewar, is a picturesque city situated in a valley amid wooded hills and on the shores of a large lake. It has many palaces of marble and granite, with lush gardens. The maharana's palace, crowning a hill overlooking the city, dates from 1570 but has been added to and remodeled in varying styles, particularly in the interiors, where French influence is apparent. Numerous palaces dating from the mid-17th to the mid-18th century stand on the two islands in the lake. The surrounding heights are topped by ancient fortresses.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 128–30.

UTTAR PRADESH AND DELHI. *Historical survey.* The upper Ganges Valley (Doab and Oudh) constitutes the modern state of Uttar Pradesh. At the time of the Buddha (6th cent. B.C.) it comprised the former provinces of Kuru, Panchala, Surasena, Vatsa, Kosala, and Kasi. Its monsoonal-continental climate has widely disparate extremes of temperature and a dry season lasting seven or eight months. A region of great importance, the valley has many historical cities. The Aryans penetrated here after the conquest of the Punjab, encountering a Dravidian population with whom they mingled. Two sites have been excavated in Uttar Pradesh, Alamgirpur and Ukhlina, on the Jamuna, which in all probability date back to the 3d millennium B.C. and belong to the Indus culture. The political and cultural center of the first Aryan Brahmans was Doab, between the Ganges and its tributary, the Jamuna. In the northern part of Uttar Pradesh was the kingdom of Kuru, whose capital, Hastinapura, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The Aryan culture shifted progressively toward the southeast; thus Hastinapura, having been destroyed by fire, was not rebuilt, and it was supplanted by Kausambi (Kosam), located in the kingdom of Vatsa (Allahabad region). The other important cities in this period were Mathura, in Surasena, Kasi (Benares), and Ajodhya, capital of the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in Kosala. All these kingdoms were subsequently annexed to Magadha by the Śaiśunāga dynasty and remained among the holdings of their successors, the Nandas and Mauryas. During the reign of the last sovereigns of the Maurya dynasty they fell once more into the hands of local princes, and the Śuṅgas, successors of the Mauryas about 185 B.C., saw their authority recognized, in the upper Ganges Valley, only in Oudh and the Kausambi region.

The Indo-Greek king Menander invaded the Ganges Valley, probably occupying Panchala, Surasena, and Ajodhya in Oudh, and apparently held Mathura until his death, about 150–145 B.C. This same region was conquered about the beginning of the Christian Era by the Śakas, Scythian nomads who came from Central Asia through the Punjab. The Śakas were in turn expelled and their place was taken by other nomads, the Kushans. An inscription of the Kushan king Kaniṣka, discovered at Sravasti (Saheth-Maheth), conveys the impression that the Kushans may have extended their rule even as far as Oudh. Under the Kushans Mathura became a leading art center (see MATHURA).

All these territories were absorbed into the Gupta empire, which, during the 4th century, unified northern India; during the 5th century the Ephthalites, who had settled in Bactria, came down to the frontier of Doab, whence they were expelled by King Skandagupta (455–67). Despite this victory the Gupta empire emerged from this struggle in weakened condition, and mastery of the Ganges Valley then was disputed between the dynasties of Thanesar, Bengal, and the last of the Guptas, Harṣavardhana (606–47), then king of Thanesar, succeeded in gaining control of Kanauj, the key area for penetrating Doab and Oudh. His kingdom, well known through the accounts given by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who stayed at his court, was artistically and culturally one of the most brilliant in Indian history. After the death of Harṣavardhana the struggle recommenced, and about 816 the Pratīhāras, a Gurjara clan from Central Asia, gained control of Kanauj, dominating the middle reaches of the Ganges Valley until 1018, when the Moslems sacked Kanauj and Mathura itself. Another Rajput clan, that of the Gāhaḍavālas, or Gāharwārs, reestablished a limited kingdom in the area between Kanauj and Benares, while Delhi and Mathura were annexed to another Rajput kingdom, that of the Cāhamānas.

In 1193 the Turko-Afghan Muḥammad of Ghor invaded the Ganges Valley, sacked Kanauj and Benares, and made Delhi the capital of the sultanate he founded, which at his death in 1206 encompassed all the territories in the Indo-Gangetic plain. One of his lieutenants and successors, Iltutmish, had the Quṭb Minār built in Delhi. In the late 13th century the sultanate of Delhi passed into the hands of the Turkish clan of the Khiljis; A'lā-ud-Dīn (1296–1316) made new conquests and strenuously resisted the Mongols, eventually repulsing them. He thus was able to shield India from the Mongol invasion then overrunning all Asia. With the reign of another Turk, Muḥammad ibn-Tughlaq (1325–51), the sultanate of Delhi, then extending over all India, reached its zenith. It began gradually to crumble, and at the time of Tamerlane's invasion (1398) it included no more than the Punjab and Doab. An independent Moslem kingdom, Jaunpur, founded in Oudh in 1394, subsequently became a notable Indo-Moslem cultural center. Next, a period of anarchy preceded the establishment of a new Moslem empire, that of the Moghuls. The emperor Bābur gained mastery of Delhi in 1526, but it was his grandson Akbar who laid the solid foundations of the new empire, gradually annexing all northern India. Toward 1748 Oudh attempted to win independence; a century later it acknowledged British domination.

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*Art centers.* Agra. In 1564 the emperor Akbar began construction of the fort of Agra, on the banks of the Jamuna. The fort, in the form of a semicircle whose diameter lies along the river, is built of red sandstone; access to the structure is afforded by two gates. The main entrance, to the east, is called the Delhi gate; simple and harmonious in form, it consists of two octagonal towers joined by an arch and embellished with a revetment of white marble. Inside, Akbar had many palaces built overlooking the river, but of these only the Jahāngīr Mahal, patterned after wooden architecture, remains intact. This structure exemplifies a transitional phase between the Indian style and the Moghul. Shah Jahān demolished most of the other palaces in order to replace them with white marble buildings incrusted with colored stones and having polylobed arches, such as the Dīwān-i Am (Hall of Public Audience; VIII, PL. 165), Dīwān-i Khās (Hall of Private Audience), Motī Masjid (Pearl Mosque), and Khās Mahal.

Beyond the fort's ramparts are several mausoleums. That of Akbar at Sikandra exhibits unusual features; standing in the center of a garden, entered by a gate surmounted by four minarets (VIII, PL. 166), it is made up of several superimposed square terraces of red sandstone. The cenotaph stands on the summit in the center of an open court encircled by white marble balustrades. The tomb of I'timād-ud-Daula, built entirely of white marble, with decoration of colored stone, is also square in plan but has octagonal towers at

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the corners (PL. 498; VIII, PL. 89). Finally, the most renowned tomb is the Tāj Mahal (PL. 498), built at the order of the emperor Shah Jahān in memory of his wife, known as Mumtaz Mahal ("the ornament of the palace"). Set within a vast series of gardens, embellished by a great many fountains, it stands upon a terrace overlooking the Jamuna. In structure the Tāj Mahal is patterned on the Persian type, with a domed roof like the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi. In plan it is simple but harmonious, and the façade consists of a liwan (*īvān*) surrounded by niches. The corners, with beveled edges, are surmounted by small domes. A three-storied minaret stands at each corner of the foundation. The sarcophagus, surrounded by an openwork balustrade, is found at the center of a hall decorated with incrustations of precious stones. The white marble, reflecting the changes in the light, gives to the Tāj Mahal a great diversity of tones, which enhances its beauty.

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Ahichchhatra (mod. Ramnagar). Ahichchhatra, in the Bareilly district, was the capital of the kingdom of Panchala in the Buddha's time. Abandoned about 1100, it is today a deserted city, surrounded by walls that enclose the ruins of a medieval temple. Excavations here in 1940 brought to light a wall of fired brick and in the lower strata two bastions of rammed earth. Painted gray ware (P.G.) was found at the level of the earliest bastion, which may date back, at the latest, to 500 B.C. Nine strata, discernible from this period up to the 12th century, are characterized by typical pottery; the polished black (500–200 B.C.) associated with round or square coins; a type of plain gray pottery (300–100 B.C.); red pottery with molded decoration (100–350); and, last, red pottery containing mica with geometric decoration, often painted in black (350–1100).

BIBLIOG. B. C. Law, Pañchālas and Their Capital Ahichchhatra, Delhi, 1942; A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi, Pottery of Ahichchhatra, Uttar Pradesh, Ancient India, I, 1946, pp. 37–59; V. S. Agrawala, Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District of Bareilly, Ancient India, IV, 1948, pp. 104–79; M. G. Dikshit, Beads from Ahichchhatra, Uttar Pradesh, Ancient India, VIII, 1952, pp. 33–63; D. Mitra, Three Kushan Sculptures from Ahichchhatrā, JRAS of Bengal, XXI, 1955, pp. 63–68; V. S. Agrawala, Pottery Designs from Ahichchhatra, Lalit-Kāla, III–IV, 1956–57, pp. 74–81.

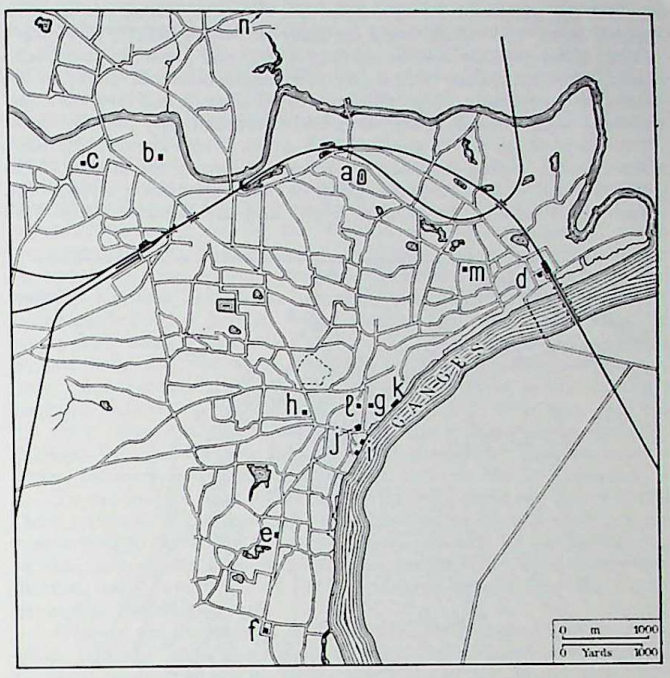
Allahabad. To Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jamuna and the Ganges, was transported, perhaps by the emperor Akbar, the column that Aśoka had had erected at Kausambi and on which he had ordered six of his edicts carved. Other inscriptions were added to this column, notably the panegyric of King Samudragupta carved during the 4th century. In 1583 Akbar began construction of a fort, which was later demolished, but one structure of the royal palace within the fort still remains, known as the "Zenana Palace." This building, covered with a terraced roof, has an interior hall with pillars arranged in pairs.

BIBLIOG. K. Rao Sahib and A. Ghosh, A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka, JRAS, 1935, pp. 679–706; S. C. Kala, Sculpture in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Simla, 1945; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, pp. 100–01.

Benares. Located on the right bank of the sacred river, the Ganges, this holy city of Hinduism and constant goal of pilgrimages is among the most ancient cities of the world, having existed continuously from as early as the 6th century B.C. Of this remote past virtually no trace remains in the present aspect, all the chief civil or religious structures being of comparatively recent origin. The princes who came to Benares from different regions had their architects build red sandstone palaces overlooking the ghats, the series of broad steps leading down to the river. All these palaces have massive foundations to enable them to resist the flooding of the Ganges; the buildings themselves, on the contrary, with pillared loggias and overhanging balconies, convey an impression of lightness. One of the earliest is the Mān Mandir Ghat, built in 1600 by the raja Mān Siṅgh of Amber.

BIBLIOG. H. A. Newell, Benares: The Hindu's Holy City, Madras, n.d.; R. R. Sen, The Holy City (Benares), Chittagong, 1912; A. S. Altekar, Benares and Sarnath: Past and Present, 2d ed., Benares, 1947; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, pp. 121, 133.

Delhi. Capital of the Indian Union. On the right bank of the Jamuna, on the site formerly known as Indraprastha, several successive cities were erected in the Moslem epoch, which show the importance given to the capital of the sultanate of Delhi. Some archaeological vestiges go back to a much earlier period; particularly notable are two commemorative columns of the emperor Aśoka and the Iron Pillar




Benares, plan. Principal monuments: (*a*) Bahariyā Kuṇḍ; (*b*) Nandeśvara Koṭhī; (*c*) St. Mary's Church; (*d*) Mosque of Arṇāī Kaṅgūrā; (*e*) Palace of Vizianagaram; (*f*) Temple of Durgā; (*g*) Golden Temple; (*h*) Temple of Viśveśvara; (*i*) Daśāśvamedh Ghat and Mān Mandir Ghat; (*j*) Nepalese temple; (*k*) Maṇikarṇikā Ghat; (*l*) Mosque of Aurangzēb; (*m*) Temple of Vṛddhkāl; (*n*) road to Sarnath.

on which are carved some inscriptions of the Gupta king Candragupta II. The columns are from Topra and Meerut (Mirath); the Iron Pillar is from the region of Mathura; all three were brought to Delhi during the Moslem period.

The first Moslem city was constructed late in the 12th century by Quṭb-ud-Dīn. The mosque he had built is particularly famous for its minaret, the Quṭb Minār, a fluted circular tower of red sandstone, which has five stories (the fifth was added later) of decreasing size, each of which is finished with an elaborate balcony (VIII, PLS. 15, 164). To construct the oratory of the mosque materials were reused from Jain temples; short pillars were placed one atop the other to achieve greater height. An ogive-arched stone screen was erected across the front of the oratory on the west. Quṭb-ud-Dīn's successor, Īltutmish, surrounded the mosque by a court and extended the screen of arches. Also dating from his reign is the underground mausoleum called "Sulṭān Ghārī," named for his son; built in 1231 of gray granite, it is square in plan and has a bastion at each corner. The mausoleum of Īltutmish has a plain exterior, but the interior decoration is inset with white marble, and the principal decorative motifs are provided by inscriptions from the Koran in diverse scripts. At the beginning of the 14th century, A'lā-ud-Dīn conceived the idea of enlarging the Quṭb Minār, but this project was carried no further than the construction of the south gate of the court, the A'lāī Darwāza.

With the advent of the Tughlaq dynasty, new cities were built on the site of Delhi, among which was Tughlakabad, now in ruins, whose irregular layout was adapted to the topography of the site; Tughlakabad was encircled by walls with round towers at the corners. Close by was erected the mausoleum of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq, a structure square in plan with sloping walls, surmounted by a white marble dome and girdled by fortified ramparts.

Another city, Firozabad, was built as early as 1354 on the banks of the Jamuna. It is laid out on a regular plan and contains a great many mosques. One of Aśoka's columns was transported inside its walls. After Tamerlane's sack of Delhi late in the 14th century, there was a halt in construction, and the monuments of the 15th and early 16th centuries are mainly mausoleums. Some of these, including that of Sikandar Lōdī (VIII, PL. 16), lie within a vast enclosure which can be entered through monumental gates; the enclosure also contains a mosque. In 1540 the Afghan usurper Shēr Shah seized control of Delhi and built a citadel there, the Purana Qila, around which it was proposed to build the sixth city of Delhi. All that remain of these fortifications are two gateways in red sandstone and white marble, which contrast, in their colors and fine workmanship, with the solid gray stone walls (VIII, PL. 19).

The Moghuls in their turn were great builders. At Delhi they

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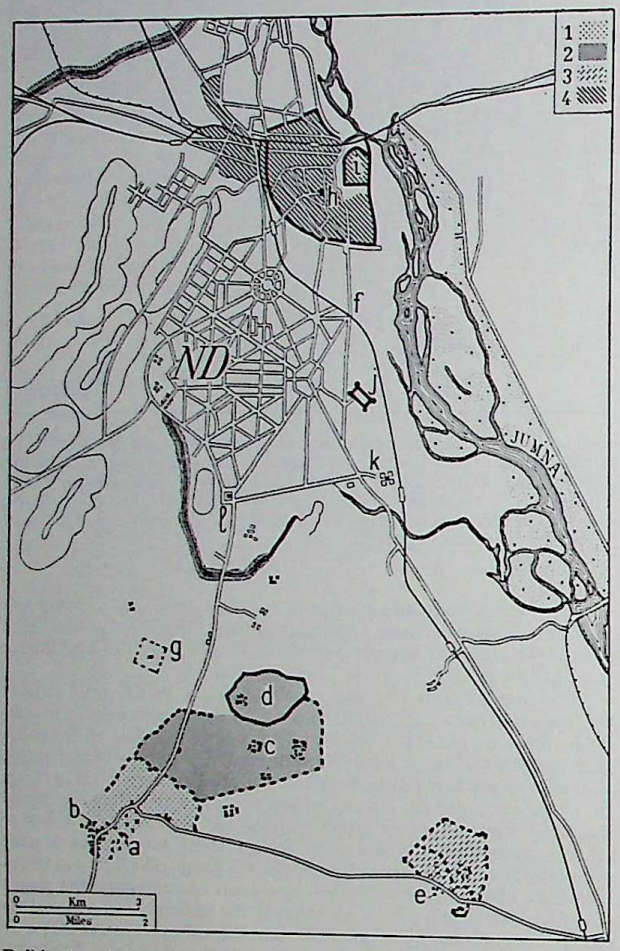
erected the masoleum of Humāyūn (X, PL. 111), which has a white marble dome and stands amid carefully laid-out gardens, to which a monumental gateway affords access. Akbar and Jahāngīr abandoned Delhi, but Shah Jahān built a new city, Shahjahanabad, there, on the banks of the Jamuna. The white marble palaces of this city were surrounded with terraced gardens in which fountain jets played. Most of the city, which fell to the British in 1803, is still enclosed by Shah Jahān's wall; within it stands the palace, known as the Red Fort (X, PL. 114), with the Dīwān-i Am (Hall of Public Audience; X, PL. 115), where the Peacock Throne once stood, and the Dīwān-i Khās (Hall




Delhi, plan of old city centers, with New Delhi. *Key*: (1) Old Delhi sector; (2) Siri sector; (3) Tughlakabad sector; (4) modern Delhi sector. (*ND*) New Delhi. Principal monuments: (*a*) Quṭb Minār and Quwwat-ul-Islām; (*b*) tomb of Adham Khan; (*c*) Jahanpanah; (*d*) fort of Siri; (*e*) mausoleum of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq; (*f*) site of Firozabad; (*g*) tomb of Fīrūz Shah (*h*) Jāmi' Masjid; (*i*) Red Fort; (*j*) Purana Qila; (*k*) mausoleum of Humāyūn; (*l*) tomb of Sāfdar Jaṅg.

of Private Audience), encrusted with precious stones. Outside the walls is the Jāmi' Masjid with its bulbous dome and two minarets. From Aurangzēb's reign is the Motī Masjid (Pearl Mosque; X, PL. 116) sheathed entirely in white marble and standing within the palace enclosure.

Also noteworthy in Delhi are the Chāndni Chauk (a wide market street): the high school (a former imperial residence); the Protestant Church of St. James (1836); the university (1922) with its several colleges; and the extremely important Orientalist Library.

The modern city (New Delhi) was officially inaugurated in 1929. The master urban plan, prepared by Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker, consists of a series of hexagons intersected by broad diagonal avenues, bounded on the west by a semicircular road that skirts the rocky plateau, at whose foot extends the spacious central plaza, with the government buildings. On the principal thoroughfare, the Kingsway (now the Janpath, or people's avenue), stand public and residential buildings; among these, all of plastered brick and in Palladian style, are the Secretariat (architect, Sir Herbert Baker); the Viceroy's Residence (architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens), now the residence (Rashtrapati Bhawan) of the president of the republic; the Parliament (architect, Sir Herbert Baker), circular in plan and enclosed by a colonnade; the Central Library (architect, Sir Herbert Baker); the High Court building (architect, Sir Herbert Baker); and the military hospital. Built between 1900 and 1910 and patterned after the late Rajput-Moghul style are the residences of the princes of Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Bikaner. Also adhering to traditional Indian styles is the Temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. In Occidental style, on the other hand, are the Methodist and Anglican churches, the Catholic Cathedral (mixture of neoclassic and neobaroque), and the Ethnographical Museum. The city is embellished with marvelous gardens designed by Sir Hugh Keeling. Planned for an initial population of 65,000, the city grew tremendously between World Wars I and II; as a result, a great many public and private structures in hybrid style were built. In the immediate postwar period, before the new master plan was put into effect, California-style structures were erected, without regard to local climatic conditions. With the execution of two five-year construction plans, the city expanded tremendously in all directions. Even within the urban perimeter, two-story, four-apartment buildings were quickly constructed. All the most recent architecture shows the influence in technique and style of international trends. Among the most recent structures are the National Physical Laboratory, with its spacious auditorium, the UNESCO building, the pavilion of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, the All-India Radio Studios, the Reserve Bank of India, the Vigyan Bhawan (intended for international conferences), the National Gallery of Modern Art, with collections of painting and sculpture, and many extremely modern hotels such as the Ashoka and the Imperial. Linked with the local tradition, but a felicitous compromise between climatic exigencies and the adoption of new materials (steel and concrete), are the embassies of the United States (1958; architect, Edward D. Stone), Indonesia, and Japan, and the diplomatic residences (architect, Karl Malte) in the diplomatic enclave of Birla Mandir.

BIBLIOG. M. Garcin de Tassy, Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852, JA, XV, 1860, pp. 508–36, XVI, 1860, pp. 190–254, 392–451, 521–43, XVII, 1861, pp. 77–97; H. C. Fanshawe, Delhi, Past and Present, London, 1902; S. K. Banerji, The Quwat-ul-Islam or the Oldest Mosque in Delhi, J. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S., IV, 1908, pp. 293–307; H. Sharp, Delhi: Its Story and Buildings, London, 1921; J. P. Vogel, Facts and Fancies about the Iron Pillar of Old Delhi, J. Panjab H. Soc., IX, 1923, pp. 71–91; J. A. Page, An Historical Memoir on the Qutb of Delhi (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, XXII), Calcutta, 1926; J. A. Page, Guide to the Qutb, Delhi, Calcutta, 1927; G. R. Hearn, The Seven Cities of Delhi, 2d ed., Calcutta, 1928; H. Waddington, 'Ādilābād: A Part of the Fourth Delhi, Ancient India, I, 1946, pp. 60–76; S. A. A. Naqvi, Sultān Ghārī, Delhi, Ancient India, III, 1947, pp. 4–10; J. Appasamy, Some Contemporary Painters in Delhi, Mārg, VII, 4, 1953–54, pp. 47–62; E. Partridge, Nuova Delhi cambia, India, III, 1954, p. 43; HIPBC, pp. 229–55; Recenti architetture in India, Q. della Soc. immobiliare di lavori e utilità pubblica ed agricola, 4, 1956; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958; Mulk Rajanand, Alcune recenti tendenze nell'architettura indiana, India, VIII, 1959, p. 41 ff.; New Public Architecture: Edward Stone's United States Embassy in New Delhi, Arch. Forum, CX, 1959, pp. 84–89; Y. Raj Gupta, A Study of New Delhi's Diplomatic Enclave, Design, III, 1959, pp. 16–27.

Deogarh. Deogarh, formerly called Kesavapura, was located on the road linking Pawaya (Padmavati) to Udayagiri and Sanchi. In the Gupta period probably toward the end of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th, a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu was built here. The Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) temple stands at the center of a high square base with stairways leading up to it on each flank. It is square in plan and is surmounted by a partially crumbled shikara. There is a rectangular doorway, framed by four moldings, opening on the western façade. On it are carved ornamental motifs or figures: dwarfs (*gaṇas*), amorous couples (*mithunas*), and likenesses of the gods (PL. 137). At the centers of the three other façades are carvings in high relief illustrating legends relating to the cult of Viṣṇu, carvings which are surrounded by pilasters and moldings (PLS. 226, 458, 459). On the high foundations are bas-reliefs illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

BIBLIOG. R. Mitra, On the Temples of Deogarh, J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, LII, 1883, pp. 164–204; B. C. Shastri, Identification of a Relief Belonging to the Gupta Temple of Deogarh, ActaO, XII, 1934, pp. 116–25; M. S. Vats, The Gupta Temple of Deogarh (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, LXX), Delhi, 1952; The Gupta Temple at Deogarh, Bombay, 1958.

Fatehpur Sikri. Fatehpur Sikri, the City of Victory founded west of Agra by the emperor Akbar, was inhabited from 1570 to 1585, after which the court was moved to Lahore. Having remained intact, it provides an insight into the life of the Moghul princes during the brief period of its occupation. The city consists of a compound of palaces, mosques, and pavilions (X, PL. 113). It is surrounded on three sides by a rampart slightly over 3 miles long: the fourth side borders on the banks of an artificial lake. The buildings are of red sandstone. The most important structure is the Great Mosque, or Jāmi' Masjid; its southern gateway, the Buland Darwāza (X, PL. 112),

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is reached by means of a long stairway. Also worthy of note are the five-storied Dīwān-i Am and especially the Dīwān-i Khās, which is rectangular in plan and has a terraced roof with a small domed kiosk at each corner. The interior of the Dīwān-i Khās is unique: a central octagonal column supports a circular platform, from which four catwalks extend to the corners of the hall itself.

Bibliog. E. W. Smith, The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, 2 vols., Allahabad, 1894–98; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 101.

Hastinapura. Hastinapura, in the Ganges Valley northeast of Delhi, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of the Pauravas. Excavations undertaken in 1949 by the Archaeological Survey of India brought to light the earliest evidence of inhabitation, from a culture characterized by a type of ocher pottery found in association with copper utensils. The succeeding period is that of painted gray ware (P.G.). The city may have been abandoned as a result of a rise in the level of the Ganges, and the inhabitants may have moved to Kausambi. After a certain time Hastinapura was reoccupied; possibly dating from this period of reoccupation are many relics, including fired or sun-dried brick walls, northern black polished ware (N.B.P.), copper and iron utensils, as well as clay figurines and die-stamped coins. Evidences of conflagration, probably occurring about the 3d century B.C., have been found; this would explain another desertion of the site, which was inhabited again after the lapse of about a century. The basis for establishing the chronology of the new period of occupancy, which lasted until about the end of the 3d century of the Christian Era, is provided by seals bearing inscriptions, coins, terra-cotta figurines, and a type of red pottery with molded or painted ornamentation. A long hiatus, which has been verified, lasted from the 3d century to the 11th, when the site was again occupied until the 15th century.

Bibliog. A. Chand, Hastināpura: The Glory of Ancient India, Benares, 1952; B. B. Lal, Excavations at Hastināpura and Other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins 1950–52, Ancient India, X–XI, 1955, pp. 5–151.

Kausambi (mod. Kosam). Kausambi is one o the cities characteristic of the Ganges Valley culture in the 1st millennium B.C. In the Buddha's time Kausambi was the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa. The emperor Aśoka had one of his commemorative columns erected there, which in the Moslem period was transported to the fort at Allahabad. Excavations made in 1948 by the University of Allahabad revealed a complete defense system of bulwarks reinforced with earthwork bastions, sheathed in fired brick on the exterior and surrounded by a moat. In the interior exist the ruins of many structures, including dwellings and Buddhist monasteries, one of which has been identified through an inscription as the Ghositārāma described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang. Among the objects discovered are northern black polished pottery (N.B.P.), a great many terra cottas dating from different periods (Maurya, Śuṅga, Kushan, Gupta), and seals, one of which bears the name of the Ephthalite ruler Toramāṇa.

Bibliog. V. A. Smith, Kauśāmbī and Srāvastī, JRAS, 1898, pp. 503–31; N. N. Ghosh, Early History of Kauśāmbi, Allahabad, 1935; B. C. Law, Kauśāmbi in Ancient Literature (Mem. Archaeol. Survey of India, LX), Delhi, 1939; S. C. Kala, Terracotta Figurines from Kauśāmbi, Allahabad, 1950; Y. D. Sharma, Exploration of Historical Sites, Ancient India, IX, 1953, pp. 116–69 at 145.

Lucknow. Capital of the state of Uttar Pradesh, this city is an industrial center and an important railway junction, with an abundance of monuments, parks, and gardens. It became the capital of the nawabs of Oudh in 1775, and most of the architecture dates from the first half of the 19th century. Outstanding are the Imāmbāṛā, one of the largest halls in the world; the Great Mosque; the two Chattar Manzils; the Dilkuṣā villa, the Hazratganj section; the palaces of Kaiṣarbāgh and Sikandarbāgh; the Motī Mahal; the Tārāwalī Koṭhī, or observatory; and Bibiapur, outside the city. Another picturesque structure is the Martinière school, housed in a country residence originally known as the Constantia. Among recent buildings following international trends are the medical school and hospital (1905–12).

Bibliog. HIPBC, pp. 293–301; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, pp. 122–23.

Mathura (mod. Muttra). In the Buddha's time Mathura was the capital of Surasena. Situated on the right bank of the Jamuna, it was crossed by the great trade route linking the cities of Gandhara, Taxila in particular, with the lower reaches of the Ganges, the port of Broach, and the western coast. Mathura was a thriving center of cultural activity, particularly at the dawn of the Christian Era, when it was part of the Kushan empire. In the vicinity there were many Buddhist and Jain monasteries, stupas, and sanctuaries, whose sites are now indicated only by a few mounds of earth. Excavations have revealed a great many statues of red sandstone from the quarries of Sikri (PL. 447; VIII, PLS. 410, 412). The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang mentions three stupas attributed to Aśoka, but no traces of them have been found. A few statues in archaic style, including the yaksha of Parkham, date from the Śuṅga period (II, PL. 403). The famous art school of Mathura (q.v.), which takes its name from the city, dates from the early Christian Era (ca. 2d–3d cent.). Its style is a prolongation of the primitive Buddhist art of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas, revitalized through assimilating foreign elements and influences and representing the figure of the Buddha anthropomorphically rather than symbolically. A few statues of Kushan rulers have been found in the ruins of a temple; one bears an inscription identifying the ruler as Kaniṣka. The king is portrayed in Scythian dress — a long tunic girdled by a belt of finely worked precious metal — and he wears high boots (VIII, PL. 1). The Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang mention some twenty Buddhist monasteries. Found in their ruins were statues of the Buddha in Gupta style, several of which may be classed among the masterpieces of this style (PL. 453; II, PL. 380). The creation of Buddhist art seems to have ceased abruptly, perhaps because of the invasion of the Ephthalites. The Jain monasteries, however, remained in operation until the Moslem invasion.

To the west of the modern city (Muttra), on the low hill of Katra (now crowned with a mosque built at the order of Aurangzēb), there was a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, which was still in good condition at the time of the visit there by the 17th-century French travelers Bernier and Tavernier and which had been erected over the site of an earlier Buddhist temple.

Despite the destruction of holy places by Sikandar Lōdī in 1500, Shah Jahān in 1636, Aurangzēb in 1670, and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1757, the city is still an important center of Hindu devotion. Except for Aurangzēb's mosque (1669), all the temples scattered along the river are of recent date. Outstanding monuments also include the government buildings, in carved white marble, the two schools, and the Archaeological Museum, in Rajput-Moghul style.

Bibliog. F. S. Growse, Mathurā, a District Memoir, 3d ed., London, 1883; V. A. Smith, The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā, Allahabad, 1901; J. P. Vogel, Explorations at Mathurā, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1911–12, pp. 120-34; R. P. Chanda, The Mathurā School of Sculpture, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1922–23, pp. 164–70; J. P. Vogel, La sculpture de Mathura, Paris, Brussels, 1930; V. S. Agrawala, Mathura Terracottas, J. United Provinces H. Soc., IX, 1936, pp. 6–38; H. Waddington, Preliminary Report on the Excavations of a Mound at Maholi near Muttra, J. United Provinces H. Soc., XV, 2, 1942, pp. 135–39; K. D. Bajpai, New Buddhist Finds from Mathura, Lalit-Kāla, III–IV, 1956–57, pp. 102–04; K. de B. Codrington, Mathura of the Gods, Mārg, IX, 2, 1956, pp. 41–49.

Sarnath. Located near Benares, Sarnath is one of the holy places of Buddhism, since the Buddha delivered his first sermon here, in the Deer Park. The excavations begun by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1835 brought to light relics of all the periods from the Maurya to the Pala, (PLS. 134, 135, 138, 452, 460–62). The emperor Aśoka ordered one of his commemorative columns to be erected here; a portion of its shaft, in polished sandstone and bearing one of his edicts incised in Brahmi characters, still stands at its original site. Its capital (II, PLS. 400, 401) is bell-shaped and surmounted by an abacus adorned with four animals in relief; the capital supports freestanding rampant lions, which in turn probably supported a large Wheel of the Law, only fragments of which have been found. This is one of the masterpieces of Indian art and has been adopted as the emblem of the Indian state.

Only the foundations of the Dharmarājika stupa, built by Aśoka, remain. Excavations have shown that there were six successive enlargements. Found in the vicinity were a statue of the Buddha preaching, done in Gupta style, and one of a bodhisattva in red sandstone and bearing an inscription from the third year of the reign of the Kushan ruler Kaniṣka. Among the other monuments worthy of mention is the Dhāmekh stupa, from the Gupta period, which has a cylindrical foundation of stone held together with iron cramps and embellished with a floral-motif frieze (IV, PL. 457).

Bibliog. F. O. Oertel, Excavations at Sārnāth, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1904–05, pp. 59–104; J. Marshall and S. Konow, Excavations at Sārnāth, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1906–07, pp. 68–101, 1907–08, pp. 43–80; D. R. Sahni, Catalogue of the Museum of Archeology at Sārnāth, Calcutta, 1914; B. Majumdar, A Guide to Sārnāth, Delhi, 1937; V. S. Agrawala, Sārnāth, Delhi, 1956.

Sravasti. Sravasti, the former capital of Kosala, was identified as Saheth-Maheth by Sir Alexander Cunningham. It was a fortified city; in it were discovered the ruins of a stupa in which had been placed a sandstone reliquary containing a golden leaf and a die-stamped silver coin. The ruins of a temple, adorned with terra-cotta panels illustrating episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, date from the Gupta period.

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WEST BENGAL. *Historical survey.* Bengal, that is, the Ganges Delta region, forms part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. A humid region, its climate is that of a maritime area affected by the monsoon. The dense population blends Mongol features with Dravidian traits.

Bengal first appears in history at the time of the Buddha, when Jain sources mention that Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, had annexed the kingdom of Anga to his domain, thus ending a long rivalry between the two kingdoms. After the fall of the Maurya empire, Bengal was once more included in an Indian empire, one carved out by Candragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Later, in the 7th century, Bengal became part of the empire of Harṣavardhana, king of Kanauj, and in the 7th and 8th centuries it was invaded, first by the Gujars and later by the Rashtrakutas. About 765, the Pala dynasty came to power, ruling over Magadha and Bengal simultaneously and fostering the growth of Buddhist culture by protecting the famous monastic university of Nalanda and encouraging artistic activity and the dissemination of Mahayana thought. The Palas were obliged to contend with invaders; in the 10th century they fought against the Kāmbojas, mountaineers who seized control of part of Bengal, whence they were expelled by King Mahīpāla (ca. 992–1035). About 1023 the Chola ruler Rājendra I reached Bengal with an expedition; however, this event had no aftermath of political importance. Toward the end of the 11th century, the Senas, a Brahmanic family, settled near Midnapur, between Orissa and the Ganges Delta. At first vassals of the Palas, they succeeded in supplanting them during the 12th century. The Senas encouraged arts and letters, but their reign was one of the last expressions of Buddhism in India (see PALA-SENA SCHOOLS); they were driven out of eastern Bengal by the Moslems about the end of the 12th century.

In the mid-13th century, Bengal was completely overrun and was absorbed into the sultanate of Delhi. However, during the 14th century Bihar and Bengal were united in an independent Moslem kingdom, with its capital at Gaur, a kingdom which lasted until Akbar's conquest in 1756. Bengal formed part of the Moghul empire until the 18th century, when the Moslem governor again set up an independent kingdom, which later came under British rule. When India became independent (1947), Bengal was divided into two parts: a western portion, under Indian rule, which is the only part dealt with herein, and an eastern part, which since that time has constituted most of East Pakistan (see PAKISTAN).

BIBLIOG. List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, Calcutta, 1896; M. Chakravarti, Notes on the Geography of Old Bengal, J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengala, N.S., IV, 1908, pp. 281–82; M. Chakravarti, Notes on Gaur and Other Places in Bengal, J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S., V, 1909, pp. 199–235; Abu'l Wali, Notes on Archaeological Remains in Bengal, J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S., XX, 1924, pp. 489–521; A. Ghose, Bemalte Buchdeckel aus Alt-Bengalen, OAZ, XV, 1929, pp. 119–21; R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture (Archaeol. Survey of India, Imperial Ser., XLVII), Delhi, 1933; N. N. Das-Gupta, The Buddhist Vihāras of Bengal, Indian Culture, I, 1934, pp. 227–33; S. K. Saraswati, The Stūpa of Bengal, J. Calcutta Univ. Dept. of Letters, XXIX, 6, 1937, pp. 1–8; S. K. Saraswati, Early Sculpture of Bengal, J. Calcutta Univ. Dept. of Letters, XXX, 4, 1938, pp. 1–85; B. Bhattacharya, Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal, 11th Century, Baroda State Mus. B., I, 1944, pp. 17–36; B. C. Law, Ancient Historic Sites of Bengal, Ann. Bhandarkar O. Research Inst., XXVI, 1946, pp. 177–91.

*Art centers.* Calcutta. Calcutta is the capital of West Bengal and the principal banking and financial center of the Indian Union. Founded on the site of a small village, on Aug. 24, 1690, by Job Charnock of the English East India Company, the small town was strengthened in 1696 by the construction of Fort William (usually referred to as Old Fort William to distinguish it from the more recent fortification of the same name), and two years later it was officially enlarged to include in its enclosure the villages of Sutanati, Kalikata, and Govindpur. After pillage in 1756 and the occupation of Fort William by the Bengali nawab Suraj-al-Daula, the city returned to English control the following year; the old fort became the headquarters for administrative offices. The erection of the new Fort William near the river (1757) and the creation of the Maidan (a magnificent park adorned with statues) marked the beginning of modern Calcutta, famous as the "city of palaces"; for a short time (1912) it was the capital of British India.

Religious and civil monuments of the 18th and 19th centuries are numerous and impressive: the Old Mission Church (1770), Cathedral of St. John (1787), Roman Catholic Cathedral (1797), Cathedral of St. Paul (late 19th cent., Neo-Gothic), Government House (between the Maidan and the Eden Gardens, laid out by Lord Wellesley, 1799–1802), and the High Court building (patterned after the town hall of Ypres). Other notable monuments are Belvedere House, in the suburb of Alipur (residence of the governor of Bengal, 1854–1912; now a museum), the residence of Warren Hastings (now Nat. Lib.), the Marble Palace (housing art treasures of Mullik family), the Ochterlony monument (1823), the Jain temple, and the Belur Math (home of the Rāmakṛṣṇa Order). Built in the 20th century were the Royal Exchange and the Victoria Monument (1921, Neo-Renaissance, with art gallery and museum). Modern sporting facilities were installed in the Eden Gardens. Beginning in 1912, the substantial increase in population and traffic necessitated the opening of broad new thoroughfares (e.g., Chittaranjan Avenue) and the construction of new residential quarters. Between World Wars I and II many new buildings were erected in a style that is a compromise between Western tendencies and local tradition. Execution of two five-year construction plans introduced international techniques and standards.

BIBLIOG. A. K. Ray, A Short History of Calcutta, n.p., 1901; C. R. Wilson, Old Fort William in Bengal, London, 1906; H. E. Busteed, Echoes from Old Calcutta, 4th ed., London, 1908; HIPBC, pp. 84–101.

Gaur. Former capital of the Senas under the name of Lakhnauti, Gaur was also the capital of the Moslem kingdom of Bengal. No trace is left of the original Hindu monuments, the Moslem sovereigns having demolished them in order to use the material in constructing their own numerous buildings. The Dakhil Darwāza, a triumphal arch opposite the citadel, dates from the 15th century; of great size, it is built of bricks and has a circular bastion at each corner. In the latter half of the 15th century, and throughout the 16th, several brick mosques were also erected, among them the Tāntiparā and Choṭā Sonā masjids. They are rectangular in plan and are adorned with terra-cotta panels on the façade, in which there are five arches. The interior is divided into two aisles by square pillars from Hindu temples. Built about 1488 was the Fīrūz Minār, which is at once a minaret and victory tower (*jayastambha*); in addition to the usual terra-cotta sculptured panel decoration, there are painted blue and white tiles, which were probably introduced into Bengal by Delhi artists about the middle of the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. J. H. Ravenshaw, Guar: Its Ruins and Inscriptions, London, 1878; M. Chakravarti, Notes on Guar and Other Places in Bengal, J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S., V, 1909, pp. 199–235; M. Abid Ali Khan, Notes on Guar and Panduah, Calcutta, 1913; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 2d ed., Bombay, 1958, p. 37 ff.

Murshidabad. A center of industry, items of handcraft (silk, ivory, silver) are produced here. There are several outstanding buildings, such as the Italianate palace of the nawab (1837–40), the Baṛā Koṭhi (1829, copy of a Gothic structure), and the monumental tombs of 'Alī Vardi Khan and Suraj-al-Daula.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, pp. 307–08.

Tamluk. Tamluk was once known as Tamalipta or Tamralipti. A port on the Ganges Delta, it is mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geography* as Tamalites. The Indian navigators setting sail for southeast Asia and China left from here. Excavations undertaken in 1940 brought to light traces of neolithic inhabited sites, evidence of a Gangetic culture dating from the 3d or 2d century B.C., a turned pottery from the dawn of the Christian Era, and finally evidence of a later period of marked Kushan and Gupta influence.

BIBLIOG. T. N. Ramachandran, Tāmraliptī (Tamluk), Artibus Asiae, XIV, 1951, pp. 226–39.

Vishnupur. A great many temples were built at Vishnupur during the 17th and 18th centuries under the Malla dynasty. These structures are generally square in plan, surmounted by a shikara and, sometimes, corner towers. The roof is curved, like that of a thatched hut. A gallery surrounds the cella, and the outer walls are covered with panels depicting religious scenes. The temples are constructed either of laterite (the Laljui and the five-towered Madan Gopal) or brick (Madan Mohan and the five-towered Śyam Rai). There is still another type, also of brick, having an unusual plan duplicating that of two huts adjoining a tower (*jor bangla*).

BIBLIOG. T. Bloch, Progress of Conservation in Bengal, Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1903–04, pp. 37–59; J. N. Mitra, The Ruins of Vishnupur, Calcutta, 1940; P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, 3d ed., Bombay, 1956, p. 182.

STATE OF PONDICHERRY. Pondicherry. Former capital of the French possessions in India (now under the direct administration of the central government of the Union), Pondicherry was founded

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by François Martin in 1683 and fortified in 1697. Still existing are part of the fortifications, destroyed and rebuilt several times during the 18th and 19th centuries, and the ruins of the old French colonial quarters. Among the notable monuments are the college and the building of the High Court of Appeal; reflecting international trends are the dormitories of the Śrī Aurobindo Ghose religious sect, which were designed by the architect Antonin Raymond (1950).

BIBLIOG. Dormitory, Pondichéry (Indes), Arch. d'aujourd'hui, XXII, 38, 1951, pp. 68–70; HIPBC, p. 445.

FORMER PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS. In 1498 the ships of Vasco da Gama reached India, and as a result the Portuguese founded settlements on the Malabar coast. The port of Goa, on this coast halfway between the Gulf of Cambay and Cape Comorin, became the most important city in the Portuguese possessions, which also included Bassein and Damão, north of Bombay, Diu, on the Kathiawar peninsula, and São Tomé of Mylāpore on the Coromandel coast. It was at Goa that St. Francis Xavier landed in 1542; Christian architecture developed, from the early 16th century to the late 18th, gradually becoming differentiated from the Portuguese art that had given birth to it. In the latter half of the 16th century and during the 17th, the Jesuits introduced the forms of classic architecture. Starting in the 18th century, religious architecture became more original, being influenced by local artists and the architecture of the Indian temples.

BIBLIOG. E. D. Ross, The Portuguese in India, Cambridge History of India, V, 1929, pp. 1–27; J. B. Aquarone, L'aventure portugaise dans les mers de l'Inde, B. Association Guillaume Budé, 1953, 3, pp. 62–79; J. Pereira, The Significance and Originality of Goan Art, Mārg, VIII, 1, 1954, pp. 5–12; M. Tavares Chico, Aspects of the Religious Architecture in Portuguese India, Mārg, VIII, 1, 1954, pp. 13–25.

Bassein. A port city on the right bank of the river of the same name, Bassein was destroyed by English troops in 1852; today it is a bustling trade and maritime center. Among its principal monuments, attributable to Western influences, are the churches of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, in baroque style, the Governor's Palace, and the Senate House.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, p. 26.

Diu. Occupied by the Portuguese in 1535 and provided with a fort, Diu underwent bitter sieges in 1538 and 1545. (Jeronimo Corte-Real commemorated the second siege, one of the most famous events in Indo-Portuguese relations, in an epic poem.) Now an important industrial center, the city still retains its towered ramparts and portions of the old Portuguese quarters. Among the more notable buildings are the Cathedral of Sé Matriz (1601) and the Jesuit college.

BIBLIOG. HIPBC, p. 198.

Goa. Capital of Portuguese India, Goa was founded in 1440. It has preserved such monuments as the Cathedral (founded by Affonso de Albuquerque in 1511, rebuilt in 1623); the Franciscan monastery (dating from 1517, rebuilt almost entirely in 1661), with a portal carved in black stone, the earliest surviving specimen of Portuguese architecture in India; the Chapel of St. Catherine (1551); the Church of the Bom Jesus (1594–1603); the 17th-century convents of St. Monica and St. Cajetan; and the College of St. Paul (now in ruins). The new city (New Goa, or Pangim), which developed in a suburban section of the older on the left bank of the Mandavi River, became the Viceroy's residence in 1759 and the capital of Portuguese India in 1843. A fully developed port, Goa numbers among its chief architectural monuments the Palace of the Archbishop, Government House, the military barracks, the business and medical schools, and the agricultural experimental station.

BIBLIOG. J. N. da Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Bombay, 1878; HIPBC, pp. 362–66; G. Renault-Roulier, Goa: Rome of the Orient (Eng. trans., L. C. Sheppard), London, 1957.

Marguerite-Marie DENECK

NOTE. Francesco Negri Arnoldi assisted in the preparation of materials concerning modern and contemporary developments.

Illustrations: 5 figs. in text.

**INDIA, FARTHER.** The generic geographical term Farther India as used here is applied to the greater part of southeastern Asia. The name emphasizes an important cultural factor — the influence of India — that is common to all the various regions included and is the prime determinant in the evolution of huge populations from a culturally underdeveloped level to advanced civilization. The gradual spread of Indian culture (see INDIAN ART), its absorption by very diverse peoples, and the eventual adaptation of this foreign influence to local needs have often produced unexpected results, especially in the arts. The following survey of the cultural and artistic developments in Farther India is intended as a general view, coordinating the information set forth in the articles on the several specific areas (see BURMA; BURMESE ART; CAMBODIA; CHAM, SCHOOL OF; INDONESIA; INDONESIAN CULTURES; KHMER; LAOS; LAOTIAN ART; MALAYA; SIAMESE ART; THAILAND; VIETNAM; VIETNAMESE ART). In addition its purpose is to highlight the vitality of Indian art along with the accompanying commercial, religious, and political factors that activated its expansion. For the art historian an examination of the development of the arts in Farther India is particularly interesting in that they reflect the modes and the results of encounters between a rich and mature civilization and the fresh imagination of peoples who quickly climbed toward the most advanced cultural levels. Furthermore, a comparison can be drawn, to a certain extent, between the characteristics of the sea-borne Indian cultural expansions to the southeastern Asian areas and those of the analogous, though quite different, Indian diffusion to Central Asia (q.v.) via the caravan routes of the silk and gold trade.

SUMMARY. The geographical area of Farther India (col. 914). The phases preceding Indian influence (col. 914). The Indian cultural expansion (col. 918). The art of Farther India (col. 921).

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF FARTHER INDIA. Aside from Assam (which is in all respects simply an appendage to the Indian subcontinent and has played a limited and intermediary role), the geographical area involved comprises Burma, Thailand, Malaya (at the end of the Malay Peninsula), Cambodia, and most of Laos and Vietnam. The northern regions of these last, together with Tonkin, fall within the Chinese orbit and are chiefly influenced by that culture in its southward expansion. Farther India also includes all of Indonesia but not the Philippines. Indian influence on the large islands of the southeast is readily explained by the fact that Indian navigators on the way to the ports of eastern Asia followed the coastlines, passed through the Strait of Malacca, and branched out into the Sunda Trough and the Java Sea, drawn by the conspicuous natural wealth of insular Asia. Sumatra and Java particularly were influenced by India from ancient times. The predominance of Sanskrit in Java up to the 9th century is a clear indication of the purely Indian character of the culture of these areas.

The geographical area of Farther India is thus extremely widespread and includes a diversity of peoples who reacted in different ways to the Indian influence. The spread of Indian influence was not the result of a political plan or an armed conquest; rather, it had all the characteristics of a peaceful colonization by sporadic immigration. These territories had in common a minimum cultural and economic development which advanced to higher levels of culture only through contacts with India. However, they fall into two groups: the continental areas, in direct contact with the Indian world by way of Assam but also affected by trade and contacts with India through the sea routes; and the insular sector, which was more isolated and was exposed exclusively to indirect Indian diffusion. The southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, although geographically part of the continent, belongs to the insular section from the ethnic as well as the historical point of view. The cultural and evolutionary features of the two sectors, departing from a given cultural level, differ considerably, though both are entirely dependent on the common Indian source. The unifying characteristic, as pointed out by G. Cœdès (1956), is that "the autochthonous populations entered history only when and to the extent that they had been raised by India to the dignity of civilized peoples." Everywhere the nebulous phases of persistent primitive cultures were abruptly replaced by great civilization which, although acquiring autonomous traits, never obliterated Indian inspiration.

THE PHASES PRECEDING INDIAN INFLUENCE. One of the basic art-historical questions is how the art currents of India, with

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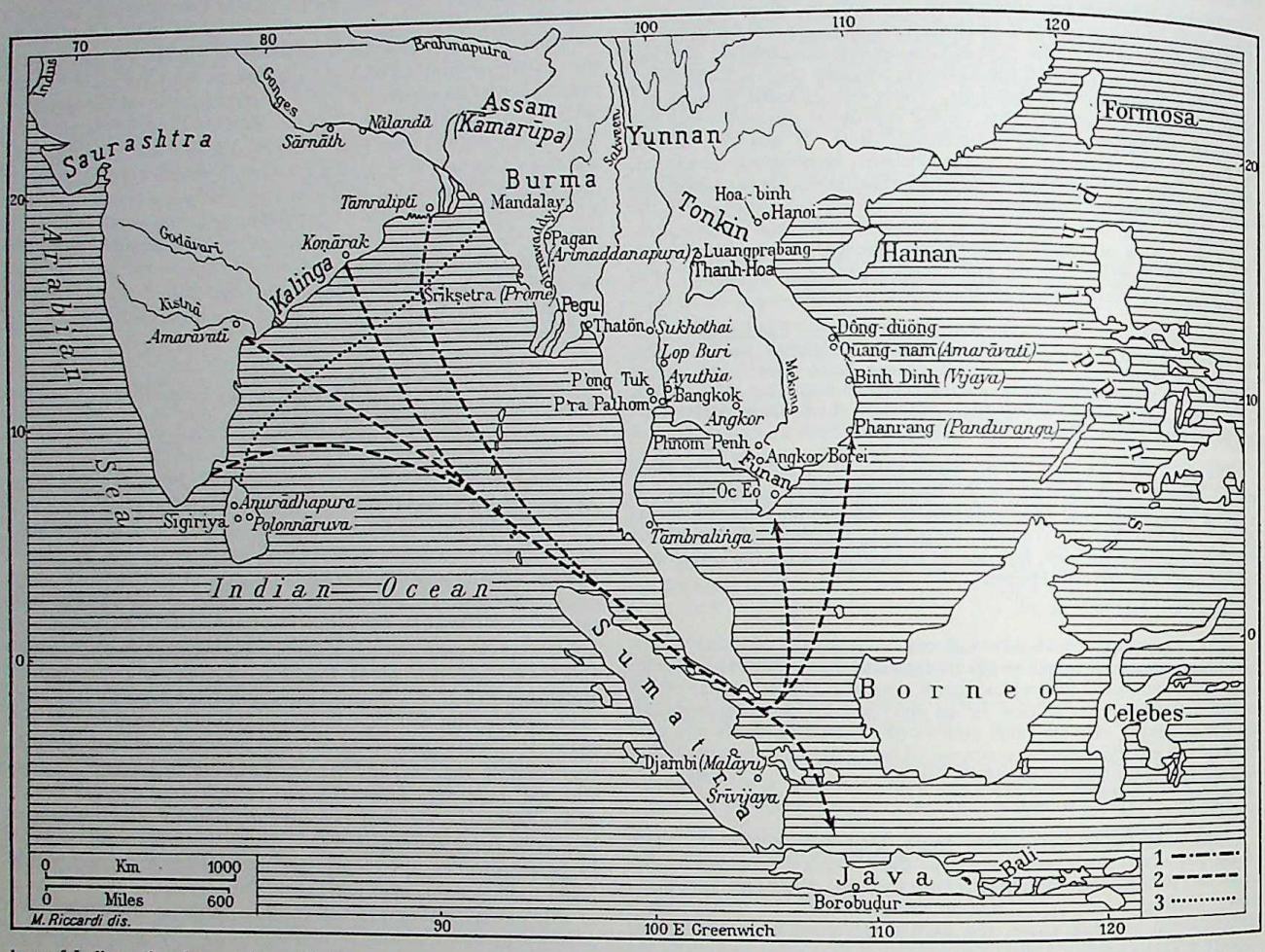
their related schools and styles, could be transplanted to produce other tendencies and schools, some of notable attainments, in these foreign areas. Unfortunately, between the beginning of the Indian influence — which coincides with the birth of the first Indianized culture in the early decades of the Christian Era (Funan kingdom) — and the preceding cultural phases there is a vast lacuna in the art-historical documentation. A detailed knowledge of the genesis of certain local traits is therefore impossible, though they emerge clearly if one compares, for example, the earliest architecture of the Indochinese peninsula with contemporary or earlier examples on the Indian subcontinent. It must be presupposed that an extensive process of adaptation and transformation took place exclusively in works in wood or other perishable materials. The inevitable disappearance of this precious documentation most likely accounts for the lacuna.

Nonetheless, a brief examination of some of the data concerning the periods preceding the spread of Indian cultural influence may serve to define more precisely this process of seemingly profound alteration of the preexisting system of relationships and dependencies. After the very earliest phases of human evolution in these regions. which are not relevant here, the two oldest cultures on a relatively high level, generally classed as mesolithic, were diffused over an area including Tonkin and northern Vietnam, regions which remained outside the area of Indian diffusion. In both the Hoa-binh culture (so called from the station of Hoa-binh in Tonkin) and the Bac-sön culture (from the station of Bac-sön, also in Tonkin) there was a gradual expansion from the continent toward the Indonesian islands. The Hoa-binh culture was widespread in northern Vietnam, Laos (Luangprabang), Thailand (Chieng Rai, Lop Buri, Rat Buri), the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra. The finds in Sumatra, almost all concentrated on the eastern coast of the island, appear to be slightly modified derivations of the continental types. As for the Bac-sön culture, which had a rough pottery from the middle phase on, it suffices to point out the frequent use of the impressed cord decoration on clay vessels. The decoration relates this culture to those of the northeastern continental areas and the Japanese archipelago. Apart from the cultures characterized by the working of flaked stone and microlithic industry, which seem to be associated with the Negrito and Veddoid races and appear throughout a great part of insular Asia, there is another, evidently later, culture characterized by extensive production of bone implements and diffused over a broad area. Moving from Indochina to Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, and most of the southern islands, it then turned, by way of the Philippines, Formosa, and the Ryukyu Islands, toward Japan. Cœdès (1948, p. 20) thought it could be connected with the emigration or expansion of a race as yet to be identified. At the beginning of the Neolithic period proper the continental areas seem to have become culturally distinct from the southern ones. It may even be that this differentiation was due to the arrival of other peoples from the north, among whom (and this is a hypothesis to be advanced with all possible caution) may have been the original bearers of that Mongoloid element so readily identifiable in the Indochinese regions which was to increase under other stimuli. Be that as it may, at the beginning of the real Neolithic period the ax of rectangular cross-section was widely diffused, apparently indicating a flow of influences from the southern provinces of the Chinese territory. The diffusion




Area of Indian cultural expansion, with the main routes and major art centers. *Key*: Commercial routes: (1) route from Tamralipti via the Andaman Islands; (2) Nicobar Islands route and ramifications; (3) line of maritime contacts between Ceylon and Burma.

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of this characteristic tool seems to have taken three directions: toward the west, reaching India; northeast, across the continent toward Japan; and, most important, down along the Malay Peninsula toward Sumatra and Java and up across Borneo, the Philippines, and the Ryukyu Islands as far as the large islands of Japan. According to R. von Heine-Geldern (*Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, 1955), the diffusion of this ax seems to indicate a slow migration from the north along the riverways before crossing the open sea to the islands. There would, then, seem to be no doubt as to a dependence on the continent, more precisely on the regions of southern China. On the other hand, however the controversial question of the clay production of Samròng-sèn in Cambodia is solved, the decoration of the local pottery unquestionably goes back to a Chinese source. It may be more or less directly derived from the painted pottery of Kansu and Honan (see ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY; CHINA; CHINESE ART), or it may be derived from — or at least related to — the decoration of bronzes of the Dông-so'n culture in northern Indochina, which was under a strong Chinese influence. It is difficult here to divide the Bronze Age and the spread of iron; S. P. Tolstov [*Drevnij Horezm* (Ancient Khwarizm), Moscow, 1948] puts forth the hypothesis that the last stages of the migratory thrust which would account for the Tazabagyab culture (see ASIA, CENTRAL; ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY) are to be sought in Burma. In any case, the appearance of metal in the areas in question certainly followed the diffusion from Chinese metalworking centers. However, hypotheses concerning the so-called "Pontic migration" (R. von Heine-Geldern, "Das Tocharer Problem und die Pontische Wanderung," *Saeculum*, II, 1951, pp. 225–55) may indicate a contribution that could be called European to the bronze cultures of southeastern Asia, since some ornamental motifs seem to go back to the Hallstatt culture (see EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY) and the stations of the Caucasus. Spreading from Ordos (q.v.) and northwestern China (see CHINESE ART) southward, these motifs, even if reworked, may have been absorbed by the Bronze Age cultures of Tonkin and northern Vietnam and later carried into other areas. The previously mentioned Dông-so'n culture extended, with slight variations, over vast regions and eventually included even Indonesia, though in some aspects of metal production the latter retained a degree of independence.

It is evident that the Chinese influence was strong in the metalwork of the regions under discussion, even though specialists may easily single out independent local styles in figures that bear only slight resemblance to the Chinese late Chou stylization. The characteristic bronze bells known in Cambodia, Tonkin, Dông-so'n, and Malaya, decorated in a style that is doubtless local, may perhaps be related to the Japanese *dotaku* (see ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY), while the bronze production of Cambodia finds echoes both in Sumatra (bronzes) and in the rest of Indonesia (terra cottas). The megaliths pose a problem that partly involves the diffusion of metalworking and the identification of the cultural currents branching out over Farther India; their presence here can, theoretically, be related to the megalithic cultures of southern India. However, the phase known as "recent megalithic" — particularly well documented in Sumatra, Bali, and Borneo and widespread in Celebes as well — includes stone sculptures in the round and low-relief engravings which seem to recall Chinese Han period sculpture, although revealing an independent taste. This fact is important, since it shows a persistent, even if tenuous, derivation from China, or from peoples in the orbit of the Chinese culture, in the art of the Indonesian archipelago. This dependence is somewhat surprising because of the vastness and remoteness of the geographical area concerned and because it involves a particular class of art works connected with characteristic cultural phases, but it is not without precedent; the Chinese penetration in northern Vietnam became consistent and voluminous beginning with the Ch'in period about 214 B.C. (see CHINESE ART).

The foregoing discussion shows that before the affirmation of the Indian influence, Farther India was culturally dependent on Chinese areas. This was evidenced in various forms, more or less clearly, though not to the exclusion of occasional influences from the easternmost regions and even Japan. In this system of relationships and contacts, which still permitted a considerable autonomy in the field of art, the Indian diffusion inserted itself as a new element.

THE INDIAN CULTURAL EXPANSION. Several still obscure elements seem to indicate contacts between the regions of Farther India and the Indian subcontinent from earliest times. The possible relationship between certain non-Aryan peoples in India and the ancient inhabitants of the Indonesian zone constitutes a complex research problem in various fields, including that of linguistics. While we cannot dismiss the possibility of such a contact — which would explain some of the cultural affinities between the two worlds as the result of a common ancient background — neither can we afford to lean too heavily on the highly speculative hypotheses formulated up to this point.

The Indian influence therefore must be considered only within the actual historical period. One of the first steps in the Indian religious diffusion to the east was the mission of the Buddhist monks Soṇa and Uttara, sent by the emperor Aśoka into the "land of gold" (Skr., *Suvarṇabhūmi*; Gr., Χρυσή), perhaps to be identified with the ancient Mon region in Burma (see BURMESE ART). After this the first Indianized state, called "Funan" by Chinese sources, was a region occupying part of present Cambodia, primarily along the lower course of the Mekong. The same sources — accounts of the Chinese envoys who visited Funan in the 3d century — report as a legend what might also be, in essence, a historical fact: The best narration of the story is in a Sanskrit inscription from Champa, although even here it is recounted as a legend. This version, which seems to have been elaborated in an Indian environment, attributes the origin of the Funan state and dynasty to the exploits of an Indian, the Brahman Kaundinya, and his marriage with a local princess, who in the Indian version of the story appears as a semidivine being. The legend corresponds very well with the early form of peaceful Indian colonization, always linked with a sporadic penetration of individuals or small groups and usually the result of these Indians' prestige and technical ability. The creation of complex state organisms, almost always similar to those existing at the time in India, must have been achieved in many different ways, one of the simplest being matrimonial unions with the families of indigenous chiefs. The name of the Brahman Kaundinya indicates a bond with the Brahman clan of that name, which originated in northern India, a branch of which enjoyed considerable power in southern India among the Pallava. Highly cultivated individuals, both Brahman and Buddhist, could easily gain great personal prestige by introducing, along with their religious faith, scientific, medical, and artistic knowledge. Better than merchants, sailors, and adventurers for a multitude of reasons, they could engage in a far-flung activity of diffusion and consolidation of Indian culture in foreign territory.

Two old kingdoms were particularly important in Farther India: Funan and Linyi. The former seems to have assumed the characteristics of a veritable empire or at least to have dominated a kind of federation of small Hinduized states. It extended its conquests as far as the Malay Peninsula and remained the chief power in the Indochinese area until the middle of the 6th century. Linyi was the first civil nucleus of ancient Champa, and its establishment (A.D. 192) is connected with the crisis of the Chinese empire that preceded the fall of the Han dynasty. The establishment of Linyi resulted from the revolt of a native official, whose name in the Chinese sources has the same sound as the name of the barbarian group that fifty years earlier had penetrated the Linyi area. This group may have consisted of Cham or may have been a composite group. What is certain — notwithstanding the fact that all the pertinent documents are of later date — is that the kingdom established when this official proclaimed himself king soon came under Indian influence. Later this kingdom was to resist the southern expansion of the Sinicized masses of Vietnamese and arouse Chinese hostility. At the beginning Linyi even attempted an expansion to the north. Thus, the assimilation of elements of Indian culture was unquestionably favored by hostility to China. Setting aside the interesting history of the second wave of Indian influ-

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ences that reached Funan, it should at least be noted that the origin of this second wave is to be sought in northwestern India (particularly among the Kushan; see GANDHARA; KUSHAN ART); this is confirmed by resemblances of some titles, place names, and elements of iconography.

When Funan fell in the mid-6th century of our era, the kingdom of the Khmer, known also as Kambuja (Cambodia), arose from its ruins. Almost at the same time, the Mon groups to the west came into power in the basin of the Menam. They soon came under Indian influence and were converted to Theravāda Buddhism. Extending along the coastal strip into the regions of the Irrawaddy delta and the Salween River they gave rise to the kingdom of Dvaravati. From the northwest the advance guard of the Tibetan-Burmese peoples descended into the basins of the Irrawaddy and Sittang rivers. These peoples were the Pyus, undoubtedly less advanced than the Mon but likewise converted to Buddhism (Tantric Buddhism). In the same period the birth of an Indianized state in Java, called Kalinga (Chin., *Holing*), may perhaps be linked to a migration from the region of the same name in India, which was disturbed by historical upheavals. At the end of the 7th century the historically important kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) in Sumatra came into being and rapidly expanded. This expansion was effected not only at the expense of weaker island neighbors, such as the Malāyu, another Indianized state annexed in 692 by Śrīvijaya, but also on the mainland, as revealed by an inscription of 775 found on the Malay Peninsula. At the end of the 8th century the Javanese dynasty of the Śailendras (a name that may go back to the title carried by the Funan sovereigns) married into the Śrīvijaya dynasty and came to rule over Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The Śailendras, as pointed out by G. Cœdès (1948, p. 415), covered the country with large Buddhist monuments and seemed to exercise a kind of hegemony over an area extending as far as Cambodia. In this period a series of maritime incursions, whose base was in the Sunda Islands, devastated the coasts of the Indochinese peninsula from north to south. The Śailendra reached its apogee during the troubled times that followed the accession of the T'ang emperors in China. At this time Mahayana Buddhism was prospering in Farther India, in part through the influence of the Indian Pala dynasty and the university of Nalanda in Bengal. The slow waning of the expansive force of the Śailendras facilitated the renascence of the Khmer kingdom, completely liberated in 802 from Javanese rule, and the birth of the domain called "Angkor" (Skr., *nagara*; antonomasia for "the city"), the "urbs" of southeastern Asia. For four centuries the domain of Angkor was one of the dominant powers of Farther India.

The diminishing of Chinese power that resulted from the T'ang crises favored the fortunes of Khmer power and culture, so superbly expressed in Angkor, just as it facilitated the birth of the sea power of Śrīvijaya, which first challenged and then allied itself to the Indian Chola empire. The latter also sought glory on the seas and, between the end of the 10th and the second half of the 11th century, conquered Ceylon, Malaya, and the northern part of Sumatra; exacted tribute from the area of Pegu (part of the Irrawaddy delta); and reduced the Bay of Bengal to "a Chola lake." The successes of the Cholas were not without consequences for the eastward diffusion of Indian influence. But as early as the late 10th century, Sung China (see CHINESE ART) again became an active power in the South Seas, while in the early 11th century the sovereign of Cambodia, Sūryavarman I, extended the rule of Angkor westward as far as the valley of the Menam, which was held by the Mons. There was also a Javanese revival under the great King Erlaṅga, who took advantage of the initial hostility between Śrīvijaya and the Cholas. In the mid-11th century a great sovereign, Anawratā (Aniruddha, 1044–77) extended Burmese rule to the Irrawaddy delta; the violent but fruitful contact between the Burmese and the Mons marked the full entry of Burma into history and that country's rapid achievement of a high level of civilization. Through the Mons a knowledge of literature, religion (Theravāda Buddhism), and art penetrated the Burmese world, which owed a special debt to the conquered for their writing system. The successors of Anawratā, like the Khmer and Cham rulers, took advantage of crises in the Chinese Sung empire to enlarge their state and became great builders. The diffusion of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma attracted the influx of Singhalese Buddhism (also of the "Lesser Vehicle"), which subsequently spread from Burma throughout the Indochinese peninsula. At the end of the 12th century Cambodia, having weathered a serious crisis, reached the zenith of its power and succeeded in annexing even Champa. Shortly thereafter began Cambodia's decline. The Mongol onslaught and Kublai Khan's interest in the southern regions led to a series of campaigns that considerably upset the political equilibrium of Farther India, although the long-term results were not grave. Kublai Khan's two expeditions into Vietnam and that of General Soġatu into Champa achieved no more than nominal submission. The single attack on Cambodia resulted in the destruction of the small Mongolian division led by Soġatu himself. Clashes with Burma, which greatly interested the Mongols, were even more violent but, notwithstanding the collapse of the political framework of Pagan's rule (1287), Kublai Khan did not get his own sovereignty confirmed. The expedition against Java had no appreciable results for the Mongols, notwithstanding their military victories. Everywhere guerilla warfare and the difficulties of the climate and environment wore down and exhausted the conquering thrust of the Mongols, who had hoped to divide the older Indianized states into small principalities. By repercussion, however, these upheavals gave rise to other important movements, including the expansion of the Tai (Thai) in Burma, their penetration into the Malay Peninsula, the crisis of the Sumatran kingdom, and the establishment by Rāden Vijaya of the Javanese empire of Majapahit. In the 14th century the Tai expansion was consolidated, and Lan Ch'ang was established in Laos and Ayuthia (Ayudhya) founded on the Menam. But by the second half of the 14th century there were only two great ruling powers in Farther India: Ayuthia and Majapahit. In the next century the Tai and Vietnamese thrust from the north forced the Khmer sovereigns to abandon Angkor and the Cham to give up Vijaya. The great flowering of Farther India was then approaching its end. For some time the advance of Islam, not only in India but also in Indonesia, had been drying up the traditional sources of the culture of Farther India, and soon European penetration joined that of the Moslems. The Portuguese occupation of Malacca, which had succeeded the kingdom of Sumatra a century earlier, marked the end of the history of Farther India as a living organism, even though the effects of Indian cultural diffusion have continued to remain alive and operative, above all in language.

In summary, the states of Farther India remained completely free of any political structure based in India, even though historical events on the subcontinent sometimes intensified the process of Indianization, chiefly through the arrival of relatively small numbers of Indian refugees. The alliance of Śrīvijaya with the Cholas was an exception in the political history of these two areas, which in other ways were closely related. Indian colonization was always pacific, independent of politics, and by its very nature much more acceptable and effectual than the Chinese, which was animated by a desire for conquest and consequently accompanied by the imposition of the organizational systems of the empire. Therefore each crisis in the Chinese empire was a boon to Farther India, and it can be said that the vitality of Farther India increased whenever the imperial power to the north was eclipsed or went into decline. Undoubtedly all of Farther India is related to the Chinese world, just as it is related, in another way, to the island areas reaching toward Japan. This connection or dependence, particularly evident in protohistorical times, remained a constant fact. But once the process of Indianization had begun, Farther India's dependence on China took on a completely different aspect. Although Chinese cultural diffusion was limited to small areas, the political power of the north still slowed down the development of the Indianized states. The nature of the Indianized culture of these states has not perhaps been better summarized than by G. Cœdès (1948, p. 36); he states that the Indian acculturation should be understood as essentially the expansion of an organized culture, a culture based on the Hindu concept of royalty, char-

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acterized by Hindu and Buddhist worship, Purāṇa mythology, observance of the Dharmaśāstras (treatises of the law), and the use of Sanskrit as its means of expression. An extremely important and vital part of this complex phenomenon was the use of Sanskrit, which provided religious and social terminology, almost all the words dealing with abstract concepts as well as others concerned with day-to-day life, technical terms, and grammatical particles, which rendered more flexible the various languages of the area, all of which were isolating languages. Sanskrit's contribution of particles may be the most important of all. Of great importance, too, is the influence on the various populations of the particular habit of mind of Indian culture. Always guided by a clear and coherent philosophic vision, it tended to gather into systematic expositions or treatises (*śāstra*) all the knowledge of any branch of human activity, from jurisprudence to politics, from esthetics to technical knowledge, and even to the pursuit of pleasure. It has been suggested, albeit injudiciously, that the process of Indianization was effected by means of such treatises, once the language in which they were written was learned and diffused. The determining causes of the development of an Indianized culture and the most frequent means of contact between India and Farther India remain to be established. It is probable that from very early times there were sporadic contacts of a commercial and exploratory nature, above all with places (such as Oc Eo) that later became important commercial centers. But it does not seem likely that the causes of Indianization are to be found in the conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka Maurya in the 3d century B.C. (even though fugitives from massacre and imprisonment may have attempted the journey to Farther India), in the Kushan pressure on India, or in any other political phenomena that involved a larger or smaller area of Indian territory. The Indian cultural diffusion was probably a result of the commercial attraction of the wealth of the southeastern Asian territories. Thus the origins of the Indian acculturation are related to economic and commercial events and probably reflect the diminution of trade elsewhere, apparently the result of political events. Alterations or interruptions in trade with the Mediterranean world and with central Asia and Siberia — exposed as they were to endless upheavals — may have encouraged the opening of new routes eastward. Much later, when the consolidation of the Islamic powers and Moslem states had again rendered unstable trade with the West, the southern and central Indian states were forced to increase enormously their commerce with the eastern lands. Competition between the Indian states grew so fierce that there were bloody clashes over access to the seas of the southern Malay Peninsula.

Naturally such expansion was entrusted to small groups of individuals and may have involved undertakings organized by merchants' and craftsmen's corporations. In any case, a premeditated political or strategic plan was lacking. A predominantly commercial interest does not at all exclude, but rather presupposes, a cultural contribution. In Farther India, this contribution was chiefly religious, the fruit of the examples set by the merchants themselves and by the priests who accompanied them. Obviously other knowledge of Indian culture accompanied the religious element.

The routes of expansion included one that reached the Malay Peninsula by way of the Andaman Islands and another farther south that reached Sumatra via the Nicobars. Other coastal routes joined these two, and maritime commerce was later integrated with land routes through Burma, since the intensity of sea trade attracted pirates and coastal raiders. In any case, as L. de La Vallée Poussin has pointed out, all the ports of eastern India — from Tamralipti in the Ganges Delta to the extreme south — contributed to the transmission of Indian culture to Farther India. Vague clues and inconclusive but important documents suggest that the southern ports were most active in this process.

This survey of the historical evolution of Farther India should provide an orientation for an examination of the complex artistic history of the area.

THE ART OF FARTHER INDIA. The artistic evolution of Farther India before the end of the 6th century of our era (when nonperishable materials began to be used regularly in architectural construction and decoration throughout the area) cannot be directly examined, although archaeological documentation is rather extensive. This documentation demonstrates the existence not only of direct contacts with India but also of indirect ones with the Roman West (Oc Eo, Tra Vinh, P'ong tuk). Contact with the West was extensive because India was inseparably linked to the classical world. The famous bronze Buddha of Dông-düông belongs — like other images found at the borders or just outside the area of most intense Indian acculturation, such as Borneo and Celebes — to the Amaravati school and is probably datable to the 2d or early 3d century of our era. The bronze was, in any case, imported from India, apparently immediately or soon after it was cast. The fact that it was found in an area that belonged to Linyi is important. By one of those transpositions of names so frequent in Farther India, the area was also called "Amaravati," almost as if to identify the origin of the cult statues that testify without the shadow of a doubt to the existence of a considerable degree of Buddhist diffusion in the early phase of the Indian eastward expansion.

From the 6th century, when the marvelous flowering of the Gupta period was still vital in India, the artistic evolution of Farther India can be quite clearly followed through its various phases. The diverse artistic currents — which some consider at the beginning as manifestations of a colonial Gupta art, contrasting them with the encounter of Gupta and Iranian currents in north and central Asia — are closely interrelated by their common origin and the extreme vitality of their Indian inspiration. Later, however, each of the various trends, following an independent stylistic evolution and adapting to quite different environments, took on a form of its own, as seen in the art of Java and of Champa as well as in Khmer and Siamese art. (For various reasons Burmese art remained more faithful to Indian prototypes and artistic evolution.) The differentiation and continued autonomy of the various trends did not exclude the survival of considerable similarities, nor, obviously, did they limit the occasionally intense exchanges between the various currents. The continued Indian diffusion naturally resulted in the absorption of common elements in contexts already formed of similar cultural elements. Religious ideas, traditions, and identical iconographical themes, along with contributions and ideas derived from Indian technical treatises, formed a common patrimony, which, for the most part, is related to the diffusion of the two great Indian religious currents: Buddhism and Hinduism. Naturally, particular beliefs and local traditions did not fail to exercise some influence on the figural repertory, which was also enriched by historical and legendary accounts. In Javanese and particularly Khmer art, the exaltation of royalty and the person of the sovereign (who was identified with a divinity after death) produced, as it did to some extent in India, notable results. In Khmer, the assimilation of the sovereign to a god took place even before death and in a later period was extended to members of the royal family who had particularly distinguished themselves for some outstanding virtue or deed. The erection of temples designed to house the phallic emblem of the god Śiva, in which the subtle and invisible essence of the king was supposed to dwell, was of no small consequence for architecture. The Khmer sovereigns and their courts lived in wooden palaces, while the enormous stone architectural complexes — the royal cities — were built only to celebrate and worship the gods and to house deified royalty (see ESCHATOLOGY). The royal city was therefore a microcosm, an image in miniature of the universe conceived according to Indian cosmological ideas and interpreted through the symbolism established by Indian thought. In the center the main temple, custodian of the royal essence, immediately took on the form of the temple-mountain, partly as a result of the identification of the sovereign with Śiva, the mountain god. Later, in the 12th century, the prevalence of Vishnuite worship and of Buddhism somewhat modified the religious concept of the nature of kingship, which was considered an emanation of other divinities, but it did not alter the structure of the temple, which retained the form of a truncated pyramid in which were hollowed out the enormous staircases of the perambulation

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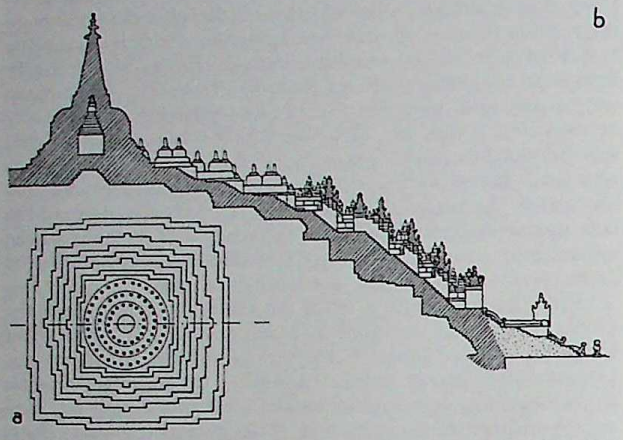
terraces. All other elements of the royal city were always related to cosmological symbolism. Thus the external moats represent the ocean surrounding the earth, the perimetric walls symbolize the mountain chains dividing the continents, and all other structures — even when seemingly inspired by functional concepts — are revealed on closer inspection as the expression of a complex symbolism always inspired by Indian thought.



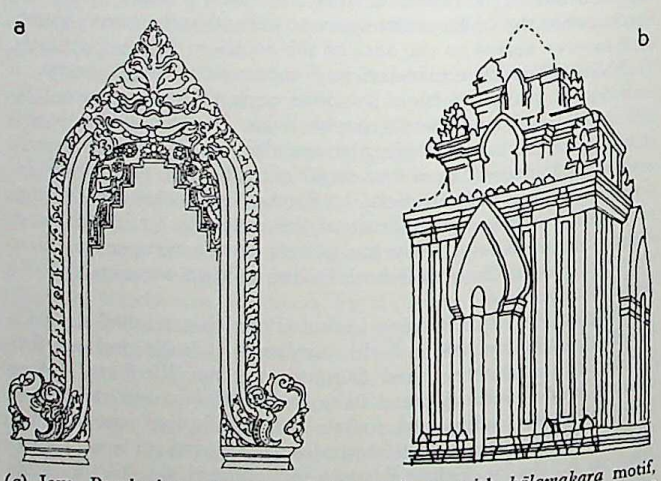

Java, Borobudur, mid-8th cent. (*a*) plan; (*b*) cross section (*from Hallade*).

Similar ideas are found in the conception of the enormous Buddhist structure of Borobudur in Java (III, PL. 485; VIII, PLS. 30, 33, 36), which is also inspired by the symbolism of the cosmic mountain, the axis of the world, which rises from the lower depths to the ultimate spheres of final liberation. Altogether, the symbolic structure and the rich sculptural decoration of the immense terraced base (atop of which rises the main stupa) — which is beautifully decorated even on the foundations covered by earth — make Borobudur a splendid synthesis of Mahayana Buddhism. The sculpture includes figural representations of such famous Buddhist texts as the *Lalitavistara*, the *Divyāvadāna*, part of the *Jātakamālā*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the Mādhyamika — to which an entire gallery is dedicated — and various parts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (FIG. 923).

In content and spirit these colossal constructions are purely Indian, so that Sylvan Lévi's assertion (*L'Inde et le monde*, Paris, 1926) that India produced its ultimate masterpieces only through foreign influence and in foreign lands has become, by universal consensus, almost axiomatic. Angkor in Cambodia and Borobudur in Java are undoubtedly the two greatest architectural marvels of Indian genius. Today, however, with our knowledge of the colossal dimensions of the stupa of Lauriya Nandangarh in India (see INDIA; INDIAN ART), which was rebuilt several times and which was certainly reconsecrated at the beginning of the 4th century, the bond between India and the Indianized lands seems even closer. The stupa of Lauriya Nandangarh was broader than Borobudur and certainly taller as well; the diameter of the former was about 500 ft., that of the latter about 400 ft. But while the structure, religious fame, and dimensions of these two monuments were comparable, the stupa of Lauriya Nandangarh must have lacked the decorative wealth of Borobudur (J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *AAs*, XIX, 1956, p. 279 ff.). Even if the sense of gigantic monumentality that animates the great architectural masterpieces of Farther India is matched in similar Indian attitudes, there are other details that indicate greater refinement and more careful search for symbolic values through a union of sculpture and architecture in the Indian-inspired works of southeastern Asia. There is, indeed, no question as to the Indian inspiration, both doctrinal and artistic, of these works, and the inspiration of Borobudur is clearly of Pala origin. On the other hand, the frequency of truncated pyramid constructions suggests a conscious choice made by the Indianized peoples, or at least a remarkable correspondence of this architectural form to their taste, even though the form was of Indian derivation and expressed specific symbolic values. In other words, it is not impossible that the choice of this architectural structure was dictated not merely by necessity and specific religious requirements but also by a particular inclination of local taste. Thus, right at the beginning the Indian-influenced art of Java, also called "Indo-Javanese" (ca. 7th–10th cent.), presented important elements that distinguished it from contemporary Indian art trends. Such elements include the bell shape of the minor stupas, the great importance attributed to the bases of the monumental buildings and of the access stairways, and especially the ornamentation of the side supports of the stairways, as well as the wealth of the over-all sculptural decoration, always arranged with a great sense of balance. Moreover, the characteristic framing of entrance portals and niches (as at Borobudur) was a distinctive element whose popularity reveals the influence of local taste. The monstrous face (*kāla*) surmounting the corbeled arch and the two fantastic animals (*makara*) that terminate the jambs of the cornice, which descend from the maw of the *kāla*, give this element the name "*kālamakara* arch" (FIG. 924). Its monumental proportions and its characteristic lancet outline provided the basis for other decorative structures and reveal a taste that remains autonomous in spite of its use of Indian elements. At the end of the second phase of Javanese art, called "eastern Javanese" (10th–15th cent.), the temple entrance doors were curiously transformed. They took on the appearance of a sanctuary with a pyramidal roof, which was longitudinally bisected (FIG. 925) so that the separated halves formed a narrow entrance corridor between them, which was reached by a staircase.

This transformation shows that the original architectural structure was considered as a solid volume and that the interior space was not given particular meaning. The strucure might almost be considered a geometric body, divisible into symmetric parts, each of which assumed its own significance at the expense of the disappearance of interior space.

The Javanese *kālamakara* arch achieved a notable popularity among the Khmer, which illustrates the continuous interaction of the various artistic trends of Farther India. Elements of Indian inspiration were profoundly transformed by the Khmer architects, who were inspired by a sense of order and symmetry in harmony with other-worldly, and consequently immutable, values. The sanctuary tower of Indian derivation (FIG. 925), which the Khmer called *prasāt*, was transformed by local taste, as it was by Cham and Javanese architects. In the last




(*a*) Java, Borobudur, entrance arch to a stairway with *kālamakara* motif, mid-8th cent. (*b*) Champa, main tower of Po Nagar, Nhatrang, with lancet arches, ca. 11th cent. (*from Hallade*).

phase of the Khmer empire, under Jayavarman VII (1181–1218/19), the *prasāt* was given new symbolic value and an unusual form: out of the superstructure of the tower were carved four enormous human faces wearing royal crowns and oriented toward the cardinal points. (Two different renditions are represented by the Bayon and the entrance doors of Angkor Thom, VIII, PL. 373.) At times the faces represented the king as the

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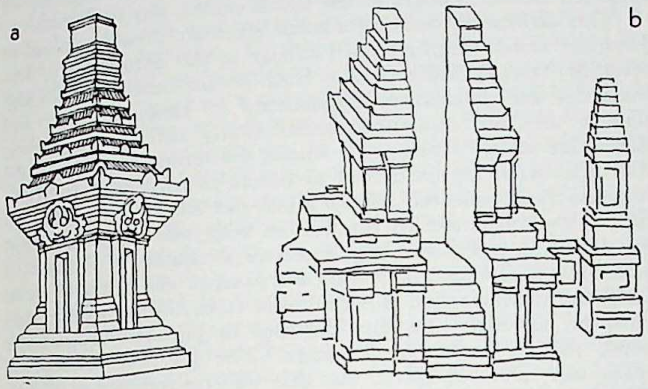
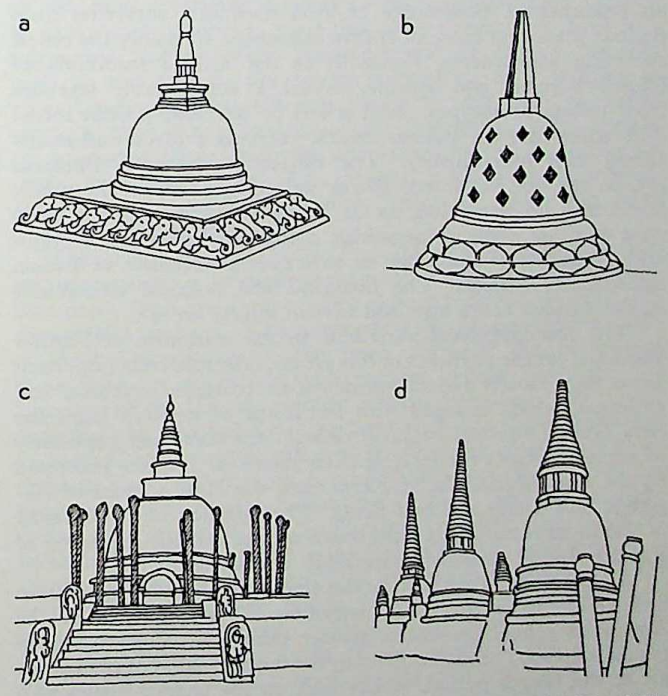
Bodhisattva Lokeśvara — the bodhisattva of compassion, described as *Samantamukha* (he who has faces in all directions). The union of architectural and sculptural values in this construction was supported by the technique of drawing forth the sculptural ornament from the very body of the already constructed monument, but the work of the architect was independent from that of the sculptor. This concept may have had Indian precedents, for the Chinese pilgrim Yi-ching speaks of decora-




Sanctuary tower and bisected symmetrical structure. (*a*) Java, Panataran, so-called "date of the year temple," 1369; (*b*) Java, Duwar, entrance to a building (*from Hallade*).

tion with human faces in Nalanda, though he does not describe the technique. There may be a connection, however, with some Indian temples in which sculptural decoration is related to architectural structure; the plant decoration of these temples seems to suggest the vegetation that covers mountains. Nevertheless, the technique and the range of sculptural and architectural values expressed in the Khmer works are certainly independent, and their undeniable evocative power makes up in part for the limited structural importance of the large monuments of the period of Jayavarman VII. The sanctuary tower was only one of three main architectural types in Khmer art; the other two were the pyramid temple and the gallery. In Cham architecture, however, the sanctuary tower, called *kalan*, was the principal element of all building activity. The distinct and particularly harmonious character of the *kalan* was partly due to the upward thrust of the constantly repeated vertical lines of the decoration. The *kalan*, unlike the Khmer *prasāt*, represents the triumph of pure architectural harmony. The plastic ornament is relatively sober, albeit original and imaginative. In short, the esthetic interest is concentrated on the architectural structure of the monument as a whole, and most of the ornamentation is achieved by architectural means. One of the characteristic elements of Cham architecture are the forms of the arcades, particularly the lancet-shaped forms, often placed in series one above the other, of the middle phase (Mi-sön $A_1$, 10th cent.) The general tendencies of Cham art are evident in the older surviving structures (e.g., the sanctuary tower of Hoa-lai, 8th–9th cent.; III, PL. 192). Even more transformed are the Indian ideas in the works of Dông-düöng (III, PL. 192), a Buddhist monastery datable to the end of the 9th century, which is the only Cham monumental complex comparable in the complexity of its plan and structure to the Khmer royal cities. In the 12th century, Cham art felt some Khmer influence (Binh Dinh style) as a result of contacts between the two areas. The tower of Hüng-thanh (or "Jade Tower") at the entrance to modern Quinhon recalls Angkor Wat and, even more clearly, the so-called "Ivory Towers" (late 12th cent.). Notwithstanding Khmer influence, local taste was strongly expressed in the Cham works of the so-called "late style" (14th–17th cent.).

The use of the ribbed vault in Burma is enough to distinguish that country's architecture from that of the rest of Farther India. The Indian influence is more evident in Burma than elsewhere (although the ribbed vault has also been thought to be of Chinese or Persian derivation), because of direct contacts with India, particularly with Bengal and Orissa. Other Indian influences were transmitted by way of Singhalese art and were related to common Buddhist heritage. The absolute prevalence of building in brick and the curious effect of being hollowed out of solid mass that is given by the inner rooms of the massive Burmese monuments are other distinguishing features of the architecture. Originally the structure of the Burmese stupa was cylindrical (e.g., Bawbawgyi stupa, early 7th cent., II, PL. 411) or sugarloaf (e.g., Payama and Payagyi stupas, which look like gigantic missiles; the cross section of the cupolas look like very narrow ogee arches). These stupas are related to the Indian types in the transitional phase from a bulbous to a more slender or tower-shaped top (see GANDHARA). This tower form probably reached Burma by way of Orissa, but it was also widespread in Afghanistan (Kotpur T. 1 and 2 in G. Masson's nomenclature). A characteristic trait of the Burmese stupa is the general absence of the *harmikā*, a masonry terrace crowning the body of the stupa, although a few hemispherical stupas, more faithful to Indian and Singhalese prototypes, preserve this element. The bell-shaped stupa (FIG. 926), used in the Pagan dynasty beginning with Anawratā's reign, seems to be of Singhalese derivation, notwithstanding the employment of similar forms in Java (where they were treated differently) and notwithstanding similarities between the Shwesandaw stupa (attributed to Anawratā) and Borobudur. The Shwesandaw stupa also shows resemblances to the Zokthok stupa in Thaton, in the Mon region of lower Burma. The variety of forms used by Burmese architects in building stupas clearly indicates the wide range of influences that met and mingled in the region. In some cases (e.g., Thatbyinnyu temple, 1144; II, PL. 415) there is a mixing of various architectural types — stupa, vihara, and sikhara — showing a desire to reelaborate traditional Indian




Farther Indian bell-shaped stupas of Ceylonese derivation. (*a*) Monolithic Ceylonese stupa (dagoba) on the terrace of the great stupa of Ruvanvali (Anuradhapura); (*b*) Indonesian stupa of one of the circular terraces of Borobudur; (*c*) Ceylonese stupa (dagoba) at Anuradhapura, Thūpārāma (restored); (*d*) group of Siamese bell-shaped stupas inspired by the Ceylonese stupa, Wat Sri Sampet, 16th cent. (*from Hallade*).

architecture and an attempt to fuse structures and types that originally were irreconcilably different.

The Lop Buri style (11th–13th cent.) of Tai art may be considered almost a provincial Khmer art, as a result of Khmer expansion and conquests. The later phases of Tai art were more original and combined prevailing Burmese influences and others

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derived from Ceylon; the latter influences seem to have been related to the older tradition of Buddhist art in the Menam Valley, where austere and primitive schemata (preserved in Ceylon as well) were still strong. Very little is known of ancient Tai architecture. In the Lop Buri style the Khmer tradition was only slightly altered by minor details, which were treated more severely, but the harmony of Khmer proportions was missing. A basic characteristic of Tai art in its fully developed phases is the preoccupation with rendering upward movement through lengthened forms with pointed terminals, a preoccupation that has remained an essential element of Tai taste and is reflected in all branches of artistic activity.

Thus far we have seen the variety of attitudes of the various peoples of Farther India toward Indian inspiration in architecture, the importance of Ceylon in diffusing Indian ideas, and the interaction of various local styles once they had been formed. On the whole, the architecture of Farther India differs markedly from that of India, but it sometimes provides valuable information regarding the origin and evolution of Indian types and structures, which were employed in both India and Farther India. The sculpture of Farther India, however, is less clearly distinguished from that of India. Although Indian symbolism remained basically unchanged, architectural forms and techniques were substantially altered in Farther India. The new forms created by local genius showed that the themes and compositions created by India were susceptible of different but equally valid interpretations in the various regions of Farther India. The variety of interpretations — and their interaction, fusion, and eclectic adaptations — confirm the vitality of these types and structures in a variety of environments that are socially and religiously similar. The undeniable originality of the various interpretations of Indian elements, their strong distinguishing features, and their very number may reflect an unsuspected persistence of local traditions surviving from periods preceding those of Indian influence. Certainly the oldest surviving monuments, especially in the artistic traditions of Cham, Khmer, and Burma, reveal a considerable freedom from Indian prototypes. And it was by developing these initial differences that the various artistic currents evolved and maintained their individuality. The differences between Burmese art, on the one hand, and Cham and Khmer art, on the other, could also be attributed, as G. Cœdès suggested, to the presence of more evolved megalithic cultures in the areas of origin and expansion of the latter or to a greater intensity of Indian influence in Burma. The historical and political vicissitudes of the various zones also had certain effects on art.

The iconographical variations in the sculpture of Farther India are, for the purposes of this article, only relatively important since they mostly reflect variations in costume, symbols, and emblems, which changed with the forms of worship [e.g., the Śiva Guru (Agastya) of Java] or with the increased popularity of certain subject matter (e.g., the theme of Buddha protected by the naga Mucalinda, in Khmer art; the Hindu image of Harihara, half Viṣṇu and half Śiva). The question of iconography is bound to factors that only touch on the esthetic evolution of Farther India without appreciably modifying it.

Much more important is the question of style, sometimes inseparable from that of iconography. The influence of the Amaravati school (probably greater than scant documentation makes it appear) prepared the way for the expansion of the Indian art of the Gupta period, which took on the characteristics of a genuine international style and spread throughout most of Asia (see GUPTA, SCHOOL OF). Thus, bronze works of an extreme purity were produced in Java and Sumatra, although altogether provincial works were created in the same period. Because of commercial exchanges with India and the ease of transporting bronze sculptures and because the same technique was required by the material, the bronze works of Java and Sumatra seem less affected by local tastes than do works in stone. In fact, only close examination reveals the slight differences between Javanese bronzes and their Bengal models. The influence of Pala art in Farther India and the relations of the Indonesian Buddhist world with the university of Nalanda are indisputable. Furthermore, it appears that the greater part of the Nalanda bronzes come from Monastery 1 (consecrated by King Devapāla in the first half of the 9th century), which was probably designed for pilgrims from Java and Sumatra. It has even been suggested that these Nalanda works were of Javanese rather than Indian inspiration; this suggestion further emphasizes the contacts and stylistic similarities of the two areas. The later bronze production of Java assumed independent traits, reflecting creative work in other media, and developed characteristics that remained constant for a long time. But the influence of southern Indian bronzes in the Chola period was still great.

The various elements of a scene are more broadly spaced in Javanese stone sculpture (particularly in the decoration of Borobudur) than in Indian work. Such scenic details as trees and buildings are particularly emphasized in Javanese work, and though they are rendered naturalistically still maintain their decorative value. But on the whole, the sculpture of Java and the Indonesian area is closest to Indian prototypes, not only in its sense of volume and taste for relief, but also in its representation of the movement of the human body and its predilection for depicting animals. Only a greater sweetness of features, a controlled moderation of gesture and pose, as well as a preference for genre distinguished this sculpture from Indian work; later, however, fantastic elements depicted in powerful, sometimes harsh motion began to dominate. The Javanese concept of space was never complex, but this was no indication of lack of technical skill, though this was controlled by a desire for clarity and logical order. The compositions may reflect a derivation from theatrical scenery in their lack of depth, in the neutral background from which the personages emerge, and in the establishment of the observer's view — the scene is precisely marked off, and there is a single frontal view of the whole. There is no psychological perspective, as in the sculpture of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, where, for example, the same personage could be depicted several times in the same scene (a technique that found superb expression in the paintings of Ajanta, q.v.); but neither is there that piling up of images so frequent in the various Indian schools. Although the composition of Indian paintings sometimes reveals a theatrical vision (particularly in the treatment of buildings framing scenes), this vision is markedly different from that in Javanese painting.

In Khmer sculpture, genre scenes gave way to large compositions depicting battles, marching armies, rows of donors, and various episodes exalting the glory of the sovereigns. Khmer sculpture presents a consistent evolution unaltered by innovations or conscious archaism. Thus there are greater differences between the early and late phases of the same style (separated by a long period of time) than between the end of one stylistic phase and the beginning of the next. From its beginnings, Khmer sculpture rejected the basic characteristics of Indian sculpture. Thus the rendering of depth was relinquished in indoor low-relief sculpture, though effects of volume were attempted in low-relief works out of doors, where effects of light and shade are stronger. Khmer sculpture also lacks the sweet harmony of the Indian poses and gestures and the extreme sensuality of the female figures. Gestures and poses in Khmer sculpture were often inspired by the dance, but a dance more violent and full of movement than true Indian dance. Local environment and ancient traditions probably contributed to the establishment of those conventional poses, reserved for the depiction of particular actions and events, which are typical of the Khmer figural repertory and which reflect other local canons concerning, among other things, the rendering of human anatomy. In Khmer art, as in that of Farther India generally, the Indian custom of depicting gods with several arms was modified, indicating that this particular iconographic convention seemed artificial to the peoples of southeastern Asia. Some figures whose faces are individually characterized (although individual traits may be more or less idealized) are identified as portraits by their inscriptions. And, at least in the case of the statues of Jayavarman VII (albeit the sovereign is depicted in the guise of Jayabuddha), we have authentic portraits and copies (Cœdès, 1960). The search for expressive means suited to various subject matter (violence and intrigue in battle scenes, rhythm and order in military processions and rows of donors) is also reflected in

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religious depictions and reaches an acme in the serene, slightly smiling faces of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Another distinguishing feature of Khmer art is the handling of drapery; the lack of depth in Khmer representations presented particular problems to the artist who rendered drapery. But these problems were resolved, and with esthetically excellent results, by representational conventions of an indicatory and explicatory nature and by the rendering of some details in naturalistic fashion. But the Khmer sculptor did follow the Indian prescription (J. Boisselier, 1955) requiring that the garments and jewels worn by divinities and mortals in sacred scenes correspond to contemporary fashions. To this end the sculptor exploited his material and skill in following the ever-changing court fashions and eventually evolved a characteristic and unmistakable style that was an authentic and original creation. Elements that distinguish Khmer art from that of India and Java include a stiffening of figures, a hieratic canon of size, and various conventions applied to the representation of figures and the composition of scenes. These characteristics all distinguish Khmer art from Cham art, although there are undeniable bonds between the two, especially in their repertory of ornamental motifs. There is an evident search for rhythm itself in the Cham depictions of dancing figures, who are arranged in harmoniously balanced compositions of notable effectiveness. These compositions are as full of the artist's personality as are the portraits and representations of animals. But there was another trend in Cham art that directly opposed the trend that found expression in the dancing figures. This other trend is characterized by the rigidity of the ethnic type depicted and by the violent rendition of movement. Siamese sculpture consists mainly of idealized images of Buddha, representations in which the elongation and sweetness of features reveal a deep sense of mysticism. Unfortunately there is little information about Burmese sculpture, though it must have been the most closely related to Indian prototypes.

The consistent and gradual artistic evolution of all the regions of Farther India was influenced by the art of India and enriched by local tastes. The artists of Farther India were not really interested in the Indian theoretical approach to esthetics, nor were they much concerned with Indian technical treatises or iconometric canons. It may be that the knowledge gathered in the treatises facilitated the early diffusion of Indian art, but there immediately developed local interpretations that were apparently governed by the traditions and background of native artists. And perhaps what appears as the affirmation of particular artistic preferences was in reality the reflection of traditions handed down through the centuries from one generation of artisans to the next.

In the southeastern regions of the Asian continent the art of India made its own charm and vitality felt. The creative genius and fresh imagination of the peoples who felt its expressive power modified that art in their attempts to master it. In the regions of Indo-Iranian interaction and in Central Asia Indian art met and fused with other art currents at the same level of culture, but in Farther India that art was like a rich seed that generated by itself in a variety of environments several new currents of art, each as valid and fascinating as the next.

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Mario BUSSAGLI

Illustrations: 5 figs. in text.

**INDIAN ART.** The art of India is sustained by a profound esthetic theory and animated by a prodigious sense of the divine that does not exclude pleasure in and love of nature and a warm sensuality. Indian art has its own vision of architectural and plastic space: it created new visual concepts that transform, without undervaluing, the human figure, in terms unknown to the other great art traditions of East and West; it invented an architecture that could not only construct but also carve out of living rock an entire sacred complex. Yet, at the same time, it conceived many of its monuments almost as a transitory reality — built not so much to endure as to "acquire merit" for their builders and donors. Rigorously anonymous, except in rare cases, this art is the work of specialized craftsmen (rather than artists), of guilds, and of itinerant artisans. Indian art, although it is created to provide a bridge between the human and the divine, nevertheless at times adheres closely to a sense of the real, reconciling within itself values that seem intrinsically antithetical.

Scholarship is still far from being able to define exhaustively all aspects of Indian art. Nor can this be done in a short space; to reduce to a formula a world of such extraordinary richness is impossible. Instead, what has been attempted here is a telescoped over-all view; for treatment of specific schools, periods, and regions the reader is referred to a number of other articles: AJANTA; ANDHRA; BUDDHISM; BUDDHIST PRIMITIVE SCHOOLS; DECCAN ART; DRAVIDIAN ART; GANDHARA; GUPTA, SCHOOL OF; HINDUISM; INDIA, FARTHER; INDO-IRANIAN ART; INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS; INDUS VALLEY ART; JAINISM; KASHMIR ART; KUSHAN ART; MATHURA; MOGHUL SCHOOL; NEPALESE ART; PALA-SENA SCHOOLS; RAJPUT SCHOOL.

The art of Moghul India, Indo-Moslem in character (see ISLAM), aroused a certain measure of interest on the part of Europeans from the time of their first substantial political and commercial contacts. The copies that Rembrandt (q.v.) made of Moghul miniatures in the years 1650–56; the fascination these held for collectors such as Sir Joshua Reynolds; the fantasies of the Dutch painter Willem Schellinks (1627?–78) depicting the Moghul court, realized with thorough knowledge of Indo-Moslem motifs and iconography; the miniatures commissioned and collected by Niccolò Mannucci (Paris, Cab. des Estampes); the interest shown by Matisse; and the esthetic movements which within India itself inspired the circle of Rabindranath Tagore (q.v.) in the first half of the 20th century — all these attest to an uninterrupted interest in Moghul art on the part of Western culture, which, if it did not have a profound influence on Western art, cannot in any case be overlooked. In reality, between the India of the Moghuls and a Europe striving for political and commercial domination, there occurred exchanges and contacts which left more traces in the Indian world than in the European but which seem to have been limited to the Indo-Moslem ambient.

On the other hand, the art of Hindu India (see HINDUISM), which was closely linked to Buddhist trends (see BUDDHISM) and which was subject to Jain influences (see JAINISM), remained neglected and almost ignored, not only because it pursued conceptual goals not easy to apprehend immediately but also because for a long time the West concentrated its attention on the religious thought of India, regarding art as an auxiliary vehicle, primarily useful for deepening knowledge in the religious sphere. A combination of various factors has radically altered this situation. Not only is the West ready to recognize a



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continuing evolution in the domain of Indian art and to pursue its history in detail; it is aware of the fact that Indian art offers a fund of esthetic theory and that — once the barrier of complex symbolism and abstruse iconography is surmounted — it enormously widens the horizon of art. Aside from the indisputable Indian masterpieces of universal significance, which Westerners are only now ready to appreciate fully, this art is of the greatest value for students bent on carrying the examination of the processes that enter into artistic creation beyond the boundaries of the West.

In this article on Indian art the terms "India" and "Indian" are used in the historical sense to refer to the entire subcontinent, taking in both the Indian Union, or Bharat, and Pakistan.

SUMMARY. Archaeological exploration of the Indian subcontinent (col. 931). Prehistoric and protohistoric background of Indian art (col. 932). Ancient period (col. 936): *Architecture. Sculpture. Mural painting.* Three great schools of the Kushan and Andhra periods (col. 945): *Historical background. Greco-Buddhist school. School of Mathura. School of Amaravati. Other centers in transitional period.* Gupta and post-Gupta periods (col. 954): *Reestablishment of political unity. Gupta art and purism. Art and religious development. Evolution and transformation of architecture. Diverse aspects of sculpture. Culmination of mural painting.* Medieval period (col. 966): *Breakup of political unity. Different regional styles of north and center: a. Pala style; b. Styles of Orissa and Bundelkhand; c. Styles of Rajputana, Kathiawar, and Gujarat; d. Styles of Kashmir, Nepal, and Brahmanic Bengal. Southern styles. Bronzes. Mural painting.* Moslem India (col. 978): *The Moslem conquest. First Indo-Moslem styles. The Moghul style.* Album painting (col. 981). Modern period (col. 984): *European infiltration. Art and nationalism.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT. To write the history of India and to trace its cultural development, it is necessary to draw upon many kinds of evidence: archaeological remains, sacred and secular writings, records from foreign countries, lapidary inscriptions, coins and seals — in a word, all that time has preserved of its civilization. The problem is not a simple one, for India has never been known for a sense of history, and one is often reduced to supporting hypotheses by deductions, even by grammatical evidence. The study of Indian archaeology is no exception to this general rule. Relatively little precise and dependable information is available for the monuments, particularly in the early period. There are many discrepancies, doubts, and inconsistencies, constituting as many matters for controversy.

Indian art, notwithstanding its coherence and the slowness of its evolution, suffers from this lack of chronological data. Often the dating of monuments must rest on comparisons between one and another: all that can be established, then, is a relative chronology, which is confirmed by no evidence, since none exists. Nevertheless a general trend emerges, and style succeeds style in a fairly comprehensible manner — though it is a frequent experience not to be able to establish a historical connection between two presumably contemporaneous styles.

The slow rhythm of stylistic transformation and the persistence of traditions sometimes blur the transition from one period to another, except when the style is very distinctive. Further, the style of a particular school, preserved for centuries in a particular region, retains the individual accent which it has evolved, adopting formulas from neighboring regions only very slowly. Notwithstanding the political fragmentation which is so characteristic of India, there emerges a considerable uniformity among the sites of the same period, even though usually it is not possible to calculate within fifty years the occurrence of stylistic changes.

The difficulties encountered by Indologists are thus not inconsiderable. Only through ever more numerous and scientifically conducted archaeological excavations can the enigmas be resolved. This is the endeavor in which the Archaeological Department of India, with headquarters at New Delhi, is engaged, carrying on the notable work of the distinguished Archaeological Survey of India. The achievements of the Survey, which founded Indian archaeology, antedating Indology by fifty years, would not have been possible without the indefatigable zeal of Sir Alexander Cunningham, who began his own explorations in 1837 and authored the first serious publications on the subject. He identified most of the historic sites of the Ganges Valley and the Punjab and published the results of his investigations in a number of works still famous today. It was not until 1862 that Sir Alexander was officially placed in charge of the archaeological survey of northern and central India. From 1862 to 1885 he traveled all over India; in 1871 his temporary mission was made a function of the general government administration. He was succeeded by James Burgess, whose contributions to archaeological research are well known; from 1874 on, Burgess had the collaboration of James Fergusson, the first historian of Indian architecture. Burgess retired in 1889, and the Survey, lacking a capable leader, languished until 1899, when Lord Curzon reorganized and revived it.

He appointed as its head Sir John Marshall, who retained the directorship until 1931; to him are due the excavations in the Indus Valley, which, bringing to light the cultural phase known as the "Indus civilization," revolutionized ideas on the antiquity of the civilization of India and inaugurated the study of Indian protohistory. Sir John's work was considerable; besides conducting, with Ernest Mackay, the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, he explored Taxila, where he unearthed three buried cities, and Sanchi, to which he devoted an authoritative monograph (written in collaboration with Alfred Foucher; 1939). He also investigated the Tāj Mahal in Agra. Starting in 1902, the Survey issued *Annual Reports*, which comprise an inexhaustible fund of information and maintain the record of excavation and conservation. From 1919 on, a series of *Memoirs* was added. Sir John remained in India until 1938; during the course of his career he was responsible for the preservation of 2,662 monuments of all kinds, the inauguration of 10 museums and 6 regional storehouses, the establishment of a file of 40,000 photographs, and the endowment of a laboratory specializing in chemical analysis.

Under this impetus, the Archaeological Survey of India continued its work; its director at the time of partition was Sir Mortimer Wheeler. The federal union established, India took over the task so well launched by the British and currently conducts the outstanding archaeological service of eastern Asia, manned by a large number of Indian scholars disciplined in the relevant studies and applying modern methods with great efficacy. Under the direction of Śrī A. Ghosh, the Service pursues the course laid out many years ago and, in place of the *Annual Reports*, publishes two reviews: *Ancient India* and *Indian Archaeology*. This group of accomplished Indian archaeologists is gradually unearthing evidences of the past, concentrating especially, for the time being, on bridging the gap between the protohistoric and the historic period.

Archaeologists from other countries have also participated in the task. In the first rank can be cited the Frenchman Alfred Foucher, whose researches on early remains are recorded in basic publications such as his celebrated study on the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara (1905–51). Other French expeditions have been active, notably in southeast India, and there have been Italian expeditions in Pakistan and Swedish excavations in the Punjab, among others. Archaeology in India has thus amassed a considerable body of valuable information, but there are many lacunae.

PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC BACKGROUND OF INDIAN ART. As a result of numerous excavations in all parts of the country, there has been considerable progress in the study of Indian prehistory during the last two decades (see ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY). The chronology of the various stages of civilization begins to emerge with greater clarity, although a curious overlapping of stages can be observed in the stone implements, extending the chalcolithic and the microlithic up to the last centuries before the Christian Era and bringing the megalithic up to an astonishingly late period — from the 4th century B.C. to the 1st century of the Christian Era, that is, over a period coinciding with the Maurya, Śuṅga, and Kāṇva dynasties, all well into historic times. One difficulty still exists: despite the learned publications of Western and Indian archaeologists and despite the multiple parallels they have established with pre-

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historic remains in Mesopotamia, Iran, and China, two chronologies are current, one of which extends the pre- and protohistoric period to a later date than the other. This gives rise to some uncertainties and some hypothetical dates but does not preclude an interesting broad view.

The first traces of man appear in India in the Paleolithic period, which appears to have extended from the second Himalayan ice age, about 400,000 B.C., to about 3000 B.C. Typical sites occur mainly in the Sohan Valley, in the Punjab. This epoch was followed by the chalcolithic, which lasted until about the 4th century B.C., coinciding with the microlithic, which was chiefly localized in central and southern India. A Neolithic period is evidenced between 1000 and 400 B.C.; among the artifacts are stone-shouldered hoes, possibly coming originally from China; this period is followed by a megalithic lasting until the Christian Era. A clearly defined period, set between 1000 and 700 B.C., approximately, is characterized by painted gray (P.G.) ware, which is followed, from about 500 to 200 B.C., by northern black polished (N.B.P.) ware. Copper and brass appear in the era of the Indus civilization, which extends from about 2500 to about 1500 B.C.; iron appears in northern India in the 1st millennium B.C., then, at a later period, in central India — Bengal and Orissa — in the latter associated with black-and-red pottery and some megaliths. Thus present knowledge localizes the earliest civilization in the Punjab, in the valley of the Sohan. Next comes the civilization of Baluchistan, paleolithic in its deepest layers and disappearing only about 1000 B.C.; the Baluchistan was contemporaneous with the Indus civilization, even intermingling with it about 1500. In Sind and the Punjab the Indus civilization likewise extended from the paleolithic to roughly 1000 B.C. Then the focus of interest shifts to the east, with the Ganges civilization (the study of which is under way), characterized by an ocher pottery that antedates the P.G. ware.

Several sites, explored stratigraphically, give evidence of almost continuous habitation for two or three millenniums. Thus, in the south, the Nagarjunakonda site (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) ranges from the Paleolithic period to the 4th century of the Christian Era. The Rupar site, in Sind, begins before 2000 B.C. and continues up to the modern era, even having a Moslem phase. Hastinapura, in the Ganges Basin, is contemporaneous with the Indus civilization and does not end until about 1300 B.C. Ahichchhatra (mod. Ramnagar, Bareilly District, Uttar Pradesh), Maheshwar (Ganges), and Prakash (Bombay region) are comparable cases.

Art in the strictest sense of the term does not appear until rather late. It is not until the period of the Indus civilization that true sculpture is found: this period forms a sort of enclave both chronologically and geographically; before and after it, art is limited to ceramics with animal, plant, and geometric ornament and crude terra-cotta statuettes. Yet the care with which the microliths were executed is notable, and the choice of materials, often semiprecious stones, bears witness to a searching after beauty.

The Indus civilization occupies an area as extensive as western Europe. In addition to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, more than 50 sites have been discovered, from Sutkagen-dor (Baluchistan), on the Arabian Sea, in the west, to Alamgirpur (Meerut District, Uttar Pradesh) and Ukhlina, on the Jamuna, in the east; and from Rupar (Ambala District, Punjab) in the north to Bhagatrav (Broach District, Gujarat) in the south. The excavations conducted in 1955–57 at Kot Diji (near Khairpur) by Dr. F. A. Khan, director of Archaeology in Pakistan, establish a link between the culture of the Zhob Valley and the Harappa culture. The deepest level of the Kot Diji site can be considered to antedate the Indus civilization by about 500 years. Kot Diji was an extensive city with houses of dried brick; in it has been found a very light and thin pottery of pink or red clay, decorated with geometric motifs similar to those of the pottery of southwest Iran (ca. 2800–2700 B.C.); some tools and arms of cut stone, jewels, and a figurine of a bull in terra cotta were also unearthed. The city was built on the remains surviving after a great conflagration, and a thick layer of ashes covers the upper level. The excavations at Lothal (1955–60), not far from Ahmadabad (Gujarat) — the most extensive carried on successfully on Indian soil — make it possible to reach new conclusions based on the abundance of cultural manifestations found there: black-painted red pottery, bronze razors, pins, fishhooks, terra-cotta figurines, chess pieces, beads of semiprecious stone and enamel, gold jewelry, and steatite seals with inscriptions.

The principal sites in the Indus Valley — the sites that have yielded the most important discoveries (see ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY; INDUS VALLEY ART) — are Mohenjo-daro and Chanhudaro, in Sind, and Harappa, in the Punjab. To these can be added, besides a large number of secondary sites, the layer of Rana Ghundai III, in the Zhob Valley, the lower layer of Lothal, and the Ukhlina site, all of which show characteristics in common with Harappa, dating between about 2500 and 1800 B.C. In several of these centers definite analogies with Mesopotamia can be detected. Excavations carried out at Harappa in 1946 by Sir Mortimer Wheeler yielded complementary data.

The relations of the Indus civilization with neighboring countries and with Mesopotamia are well established: sea conchs were imported from Kathiawar and the Deccan; silver, turquoise, and lapis lazuli from Persia and Afghanistan; copper from Rajasthan or Persia; white jadeite from Tibet or central Asia. That products of the Indus civilization reached Mesopotamia is proved by steatite seals discovered at Sumer, at levels ranging from 2300 to 2000 B.C. in date.

Seals (q.v.) are a characteristic feature of the Indus civilization. They are very abundant, more than 2,000 specimens being known, and of great perfection of workmanship. They are for the most part square or rectangular in shape, and are decorated in intaglio with animals, plant forms, and even human figures. A few are in the shape of small rods, like the cylinder seals originating in Mesopotamia. The seals reveal a profound knowledge of animal forms (II, PL. 18; VIII, PL. 69), an artistic trait that continued to be prominent in India's historic period.

The most singular type of figure portrayed on seals has been termed a "proto-Śiva"; seated Indian style on an ornamented throne, wearing a headdress consisting of two buffalo horns, he is surrounded by animals — a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, and a buffalo — and a pair of gazelles is shown at his feet. Although the seals are difficult to interpret, it would seem that the face of this figure is flanked by two profiles.

The human figure, no longer represented solely in terra cotta, also has much more sculptural feeling than previously. Figures are very few in number, and the absence of reliefs on the walls and in the houses would seem to indicate that the people of the Indus civilization had few esthetic pretensions; but it is possible that they preferred perishable materials of which no traces survive.

The most famous work is a steatite bust of a bearded man wearing a cloak that leaves one shoulder bare and is adorned with trefoils (VIII, PL. 67). Over his hair the man wears a fillet to which is attached a medallion, and on his arm, a circlet in the same style. An attempt has been made to relate his physiognomy to the Semitic type of Mesopotamia; this face could also be taken to represent a Mongoloid type, were it not that the presence of the latter in the Indus Valley is attested by only one skeleton. More skillfully treated is the torso of a man (II, PL. 8); it is modeled naturalistically, and the execution is so masterly as to cast doubt on the correctness of the stratigraphic attribution. There are circular depressions in the shoulders, which seem to indicate the presence of inlay work. Finally, more popular but quite evocative, is the statuette of a nude young female with luxuriant hair thrown back over the nape of the neck, her left arm covered by a series of rings and her right arm akimbo, and with long thin legs (II, PL. 7).

Both the religion and the race of the population of the Indus cities remain purely hypothetical. The study of skeletons, of very varied types, has yielded no firm conclusions; a Mediterranean type seems to predominate. The still-undeciphered writing on the seals allows of no positive identification.

There is archaeological evidence that about 1800 B.C. the Indus civilization was entering its terminal phase. Unpainted

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ceramics are found in a layer overlying earlier ones. Two significant facts can be observed: the disappearance of the Kulli site and the founding of the village of Shahi Tump, not far from the westernmost Harappian settlement, Sutkagen-dor; there are similarities between Shahi Tump and southern Persia (necropolis of Khurab). While the strengthening of the Harappa fortifications was going on, an influx of refugees seems to have precipitated a housing crisis at Mohenjo-daro, necessitating the internal division of the huge buildings and the multiplication of craftsmen's workshops within the ramparts. Some treasures were buried, and there are signs of civil disorder which obliterated even the layout of the streets.

Between about 1500 and 1000 B.C., a post-Indus civilization emerges in southern Baluchistan (Shahi Tump), in the Punjab (Rajanpur), in Sind (Chanhu-daro II, Jhukar, Jhangar), in Kathiawar (Rangpur), on the banks of the Narbada (Navada Toli), in the region of the Ganges, where the site of Hastinapura was undergoing its own evolution, and in the Deccan (Brahmagiri, Chandravalli). In Sind the site of Jhukar preserves in cruder form some survivals of the motifs of Kulli, Amri, and Harappa, indicating a certain cultural continuation despite the upheavals that caused the fall of the Indus civilization. These upheavals have been attributed to new invaders, the Aryans; there is no proof, however, that a wave of other tribes, pushed eastward by them, was not responsible for the clearly recorded destruction and massacres. On the other hand, it is very plausible that the Aryans established themselves in India shortly after these disturbances, the evidences of which are subterranean. It was toward 1500 that Sanskrit — ultimately to endow India with one of the world's richest literatures — made its first appearance, in the Punjab.

The various archaeological strata of this period offer certain constants from which can be deduced an approximate sequence. First to appear is ocher ware (until ca. 1200 B.C.), possibly coupled with copper implements; then comes some P. G. ware, with which are found earthworks and walls of unbaked brick; copper is rare. No iron is found, but there are some terra-cotta figurines, a form of ceramics that persists until the historic period, and some glass. To the following era (ca. 500–ca. 200) belongs the N.B.P. ware, found in assocation with baked or unbaked brick, with copper, with iron (the technique very probably imported from Iran), with ring wells, with punch-marked silver coins, and with terra-cotta figurines; in certain sites, this N.B.P. ware persists alongside the later black-and-red pottery and even after its disappearance. From the 2d century B.C. to the 3d century of the Christian Era appear examples of red pottery with stamped or black-painted ornament and of rouletted ware, both found in association with polished stone and iron tools, glass-paste beads, megaliths, inscribed seals, coins, terra-cotta figurines, and gold and silver jewelry; at this level are found the earliest vestiges of large fortifications, occasionally in the form of laterite blocks, which seem not much earlier than the Maurya period.

Judging from the disposition of the various sites explored, this stage of civilization was not at any given time equally advanced everywhere; rudimentary tools coexist with the entire first phase of works of art of the historic period and with the evidence from the Maurya empire and its successors. It can be inferred that two stages of civilization were developing, one primitive and the other more and more advanced. At the same time, the great religious movements were being founded, the epic and sacred literatures were beginning to be put into written form, and trade relations with the Mediterranean basin were starting. This phenomenon of coexistence was of long duration; it could even be said that it never ceased, since tribes that have remained at the neolithic stage are still found living alongside a population in the process of modern industrialization.

The valley of the Ganges seems to have reached a somewhat higher level of civilization than central India, which remained longer at the primitive stage. Everywhere internal trade relations seem to have been limited; political activity was concentrated in the villages (each enclosed within its own walls), and there was no concerted action. Yet there is definite indication of a growing influence of the Ganges civilization over that of central India, then over that of the Deccan; in the latter region, however, metallurgy suddenly makes its appearance — alongside megaliths (dolmens, baskets, tombs, so-called stone "mushrooms," avenues of menhirs) — in a chalcolithic context (chiefly represented by microliths).

In this whole setting it is difficult to place the supposedly "prehistoric" mural paintings discovered in various places (Cargul, in Pakistan; Kabra Pahar and Singanpur, in Raigarh; Mahadeo; Pachmarhi, in Madhya Pradesh; and others). Several scholars have gone so far as to surmise that they may not be ancient, others that they may even be the products of a hoax. It was in this clearly still primitive milieu that the Vedic culture developed, and after it the Buddhist; although no remains properly called art have been found to antedate the 3d century B.C., literary sources do offer grounds for believing that they existed.

ANCIENT PERIOD (3d cent. B.C.–1st cent. of our era). The beginnings of historic art in India are still vague and uncertain. There are literary allusions and there is some numismatic evidence attesting to the existence of statues of gods long before the works of art that have been found in excavations. In the present state of research, the earliest attempts at an official, monumental art are placed no earlier than the Maurya period. These attempts seem to have been due to political conditions resulting from the impact of conquering Achaemenids, and then Greeks, upon Indian India. From the 6th century B.C., western India formed part of the Achaemenid Persian empire. The kingdom of Magadha, which was already established, had witnessed the birth of the great reformer Śākyamuni, founder of Buddhism (q.v.); concurrently, Jainism (q.v.) had been founded by Mahāvīra; the Vedic religion itself was transformed, its sacrifices replaced by a religious ceremony (puja) and its nature expounded in the Brāhmaṇas. The Vedic cults developed into Brahmanism, which supplanted them, introducing an increasingly anthropomorphous pantheon; they became enveloped in a metaphysical discipline from which were constructed all the Hindu philosophical systems. Aryan and Dravidian India was then reaching its full spiritual development. But there was as yet no esthetic parallel; some coarse cyclopean ramparts discovered at Rajagirha (mod. Rajgir) may go back to this period (6th cent. B.C.), which is also characterized by N.B.P. ware, baked and unbaked brick, and copper and iron, the last-mentioned probably imported from Iran by way of the Achaemenid occupation of Indian territory.

In the 4th century B.C. Alexander the Great, having defeated the Achaemenids, aspired to seize their Indian colonies. His venture on the Indus having ultimately failed (325 B.C.), one of his Oriental heirs, Seleucus I Nicator, in turn tried his fortune but ran afoul of a coalition of Indian princes and petty kings under the leadership of Candragupta (Sandrocottus) of Magadha, with whom he chose to make peace (305 B.C.). Founder of the Maurya dynasty, Candragupta organized his new possessions, retaining the old capital of Pataliputra (mod. Patna) as the seat of government, and solidified the autonomy of the new empire; at the same time he maintained contact with the Hellenized Iran of the Seleucids, as is established beyond question by the presence at Pataliputra of Seleucus' ambassador, Megasthenes. The Aramaic language and alphabet were used by the court of Candragupta and subsequently by his immediate followers, and his palace at Pataliputra was more or less an imitation of the throne hall of Darius at Persepolis. His son and successor, Bindusāra, extended the Maurya conquests to the south and established relations with Syria, Egypt, and Iran.

From this early period a few sparse evidences of art have survived. In 1896 the excavations of the palace of Pataliputra yielded a fine stone capital in the Iranian Doric style (Patna, Arch. Mus., no. 187); to the same style seems to belong the altar slab near the Bo tree at Bodhgaya, traditionally identified with the *vajrāsana* (diamond throne) on which Śākyamuni Buddha attained spiritual enlightenment. A polished steatite vase unearthed from the ruins of the stupa at Piprawa in Nepal has on its cover an inscription in pre-Aśoka Brahmi characters. According to tradition, several stupas probably date from this

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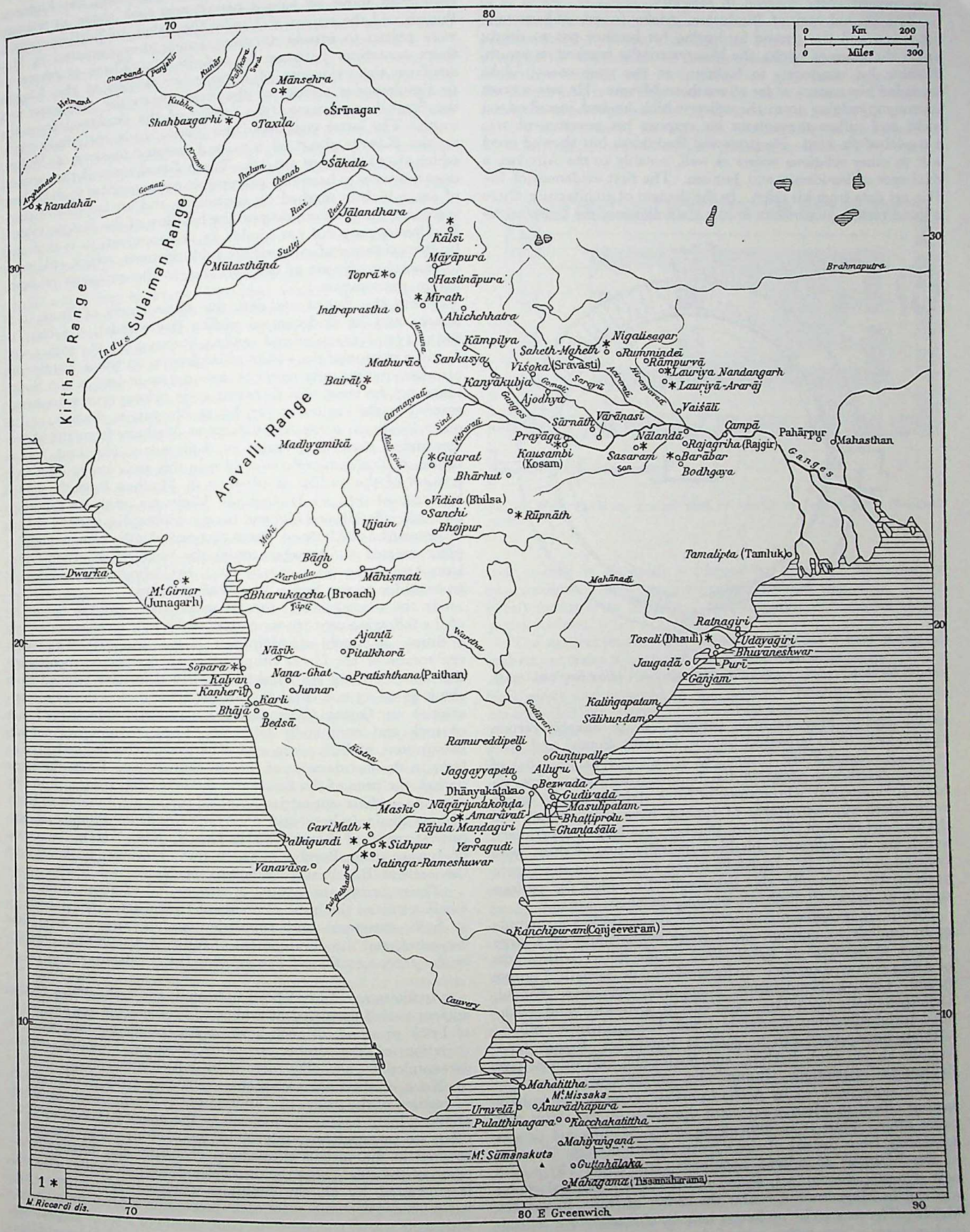


Early India from the Maurya period through the first centuries of the Christian Era. *Key*: (1) Aśoka's edicts.

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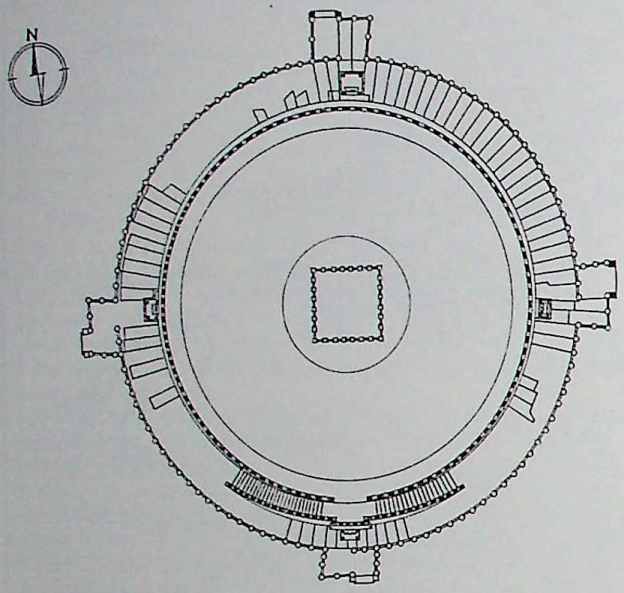
period; in line with the pious custom of the Buddhists, these were subsequently encased in masonry.

The second son of Bindusāra, Aśoka (r. ca. 268–ca. 233 B.C.), usurped the throne by having his brother put to death; under the reign of Aśoka, the Maurya empire reached its zenith. Pushing his conquests to Kalinga, on the west coast, Aśoka extended his empire as far as southern Mysore. He was a great sovereign; judging from the edicts which he had inscribed on rocks and pillars throughout his empire, his government was a model of its kind. He protected Buddhism but showed good will to other religious orders as well, notably to the Ājīvikas, a rival sect of Buddhism and Jainism. The first evidences of Indian art date from his reign. In the domain of architecture, there is good reason to attribute to him the following: the foundations




Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, ground plan of Stupa No. 1 (*after Rowland, 1956*).

of the apsidal brick temple, Temple XL, of Sanchi; certain chaitya halls (*caityagṛhas*) at Sanchi, Sarnath, Sonari, and elsewhere; the Great Stupa (Stupa No. 1; FIG. 939; II, PL. 404) of Sanchi, faced with stone in the following century; a few viharas (monasteries), whose stone or brick stylobates, over which were raised superstructures of timber, have been found; and the artificial caves of Sitamarhi, Barabar, and Nagarjuna (Bihar), which are the earliest of this kind in India (two of them were donated to the Ājīvikas by Aśoka in the twelfth and nineteenth years of his reign. To this list should be added the curious temple of Bairat (Rajasthan), possibly of about 250 B.C.

Sculpture is represented by commemorative pillars surmounted by capitals supporting one or more animals and by a large number of figurines in baked clay. Stone pillars with edicts of Aśoka engraved on their shafts are found at Sarnath, Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rampurva, Sankasya, Sanchi, Delhi [originally from Topra and Meerut (Mirath)], and Allahabad [originally from Kausambi (mod. Kosam)]; other pillars, without inscriptions, can be seen at Rampurva, Basarh (anc. Vaisali; II, PL. 399), Bakhira, and Kausambi; still others have dedicatory inscriptions (Rummindei, Nigalisagar).

The impetus given by Aśoka to artistic activity was to have lasting effect; in Maurya art were the seeds of the styles that came after. Thus it is difficult to study Maurya art proper separately from the art of the dynasty that followed. The last of the Mauryas foundered hopelessly, and about 187 B.C. a new dynasty, the Śuṅgas, seized power. Their political center was not in Magadha but nearer the center of India, in western Malwa. The monarchy no longer had the character of a centralized empire; it was rather a confederation of more or less rival kingdoms. The successors of the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, reigned under similar conditions from about 73 B.C. to about 28 B.C., while in the southeast a future power was rising, the Andhras. Beginning about 90 B.C., a new threat took shape in western Punjab and the region of Taxila: the Śakas, of Scythian origin, were poised to invade northern India; they appeared at Mathura sometime between 87 and 38 B.C. There is reason to attribute the evidences of progressive decline of the Kāṇvas to simultaneous attacks of the Śakas from the northwest and the Śātavāhana dynasty (the family of the Andhras) from the south. The latter conquered the Śakas, made their final attack on the Kāṇvas about 28 B.C., and became masters of Malwa, which they held until A.D. 78. The political turmoil that ensued does not seem to have had perceptible consequences in the sphere of art, which is marked by continuity and an impressive efflorescence. In addition, despite the hostility of the Śuṅgas toward Buddhism, they did not hinder its development, as is indicated by the existence of vast religious foundations, which still serve to exemplify the art of the period — to the exclusion of Brahmanic monuments.

From the Śuṅga era date the stone facing of Stupa 1 at Sanchi and its undecorated vedika (balustrade), the body of Stupa 2 (and its sculptured vedika), Stupas 3 (II, PL. 404), 4, and 6, and a portion of the vedika of Bodhgaya, on which inscriptions commemorating gifts made by two sisters-in-law of two Śuṅga kings can be seen. To the same style belong numerous stupas erected in the region of Sanchi, at Bhopur, at Andher, and at other locations; some foundations at Mathura from the above-mentioned donors; a stupa at Salihundam (Andhra); and a vedika at Kumrahar (Patna). Also in this style are an important portion of the vedika at Bharhut in Madhya Pradesh erected by order of the raja Dhanabhūti Vāciputra, with contributions from his wife Nāgarakhitā and his son Vādhapāla, and the chaitya of Ratnagṛha at Mathura. From this period is the commemorative pillar erected at Besnagar, under the reign of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas (ca. 125–100 B.C.), by Heliodorus, Antialcidas' ambassador to the Śuṅga king Bhāgabhadra.

In the second half of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the following century were erected the four toranas (gateways) of Stupa 1 at Sanchi and of Stupa 3 (II, PLS. 404, 405). The southern torana of the Great Stupa bears an inscription mentioning the name of King Śrī Śātakarṇi, believed to have reigned from about 27 to 17 B.C. Probably in the same period the Jain monasteries in Orissa (Khandagiri, Udayagiri) were carved out of rock and completely laid out. These monasteries contain inscriptions of Vakradeva and Khāravela, who reigned in Kalinga in the last decades of the 1st century B.C. From the same period, the time of the Śakas and the first Śātavāhanas, probably date the earliest rupestrian establishments attributable to Buddhism: Bhaja (vihara and chaitya); Kondane; Pitalkhora; the earliest caves of Ajanta (VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII); the caves of Junnar (near Bombay), which may, however, be later; and the earliest Buddhist foundations at Nasik and Karli.

Thus, during the course of this period of about three and a half centuries the basic elements of Indian art were established in both structural and rupestrian architecture, in narrative bas-relief, and the development of full-round sculpture, notably in the representation of the yakshas (local tutelary deities).

*Architecture.* As has been indicated, the architecture of the ancient period consisted of timber edifices erected on platforms of brick or stone, of rock-hewn caves (rarely natural ones) in imitation of the timber structure, and of masonry stupas surrounded by a vedika pierced by lofty toranas.

None of the civil architecture survives, with the exception of vestiges of the palace of Candragupta at Pataliputra mentioned above, which, having been razed to the ground (5th–7th cent.) offers no material for study. The foundations of dwellings discovered in the various excavations give little clue to the disposition of the city. That the use of wood was practically universal is suggested by all the buildings depicted in contemporary bas-reliefs. Dwellings were often erected on a brick foundation, with their stories and superstructures made of wood. Sometimes having such features as a hypostyle veranda, windows filled up with lattice or matting, and balconies bolted or mortised together, the houses were covered with arched roofs, usually

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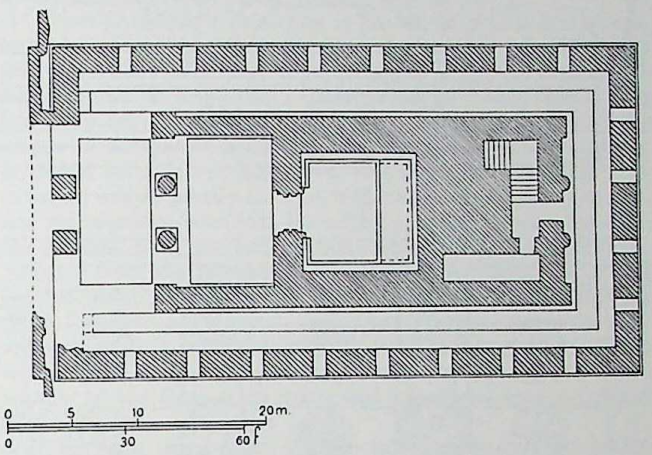
with barrel vaults, more rarely with cupolas, and were pierced with chaitya arches covered with horseshoe-shaped roofs. Other, simpler dwellings were probably made of masonry and covered with barrel vaulting and provided with small windows.

The military architecture was well designed. The towns and villages were surrounded by high walls disposed quadrilaterally and crenelated with merlons; built of brick, these bulwarks were reinforced with bastions placed at regular intervals on each of the four faces of the fortress. Monumental gateways oriented toward the four points of the compass gave access to the interior. This arrangement, described in detail in literary sources, has been verified by aerial reconnaissance at Sisupalgarh in Orissa (1st–2d cent.) and by excavations at Taxila. The depictions of city gates in ancient bas-reliefs confirm the accuracy of the literary descriptions: built high enough to permit an elephant bearing a palanquin to pass through, the gates allowed for wings, projecting at right angles, which accommodated granaries, customs offices, and living quarters. Provided with a high foundation of brick or stone, they were constructed of timberwork walled in with masonry and had a superstructure of wooden stories surrounded by columned balconies and verandas and roofed over with a dome or a barrel vault, the crest of which was accented by slender acroteria (probabably turned on a lathe). Circular huts, lit only by a door and capped by a dome of imbricated leaves or shingles, served as shelters for ascetics.

Although the means are lacking to study the technique and ground plans of these buildings as they are depicted in bas-reliefs, it is still possible to study them as they are reflected in the rock-cut caves which simulate them in stone, thus perpetuating the forms of wooden architecture, doubtless the earliest type. The cave at Sitamarhi and the caves dedicated to the Ājīvikas by Aśoka at Barabar are surely the earliest type of cave. They have no ornament; faithfully reproducing the art of timber construction, the most archaic ones (Maurya period) imitate the dome-roofed circular huts, placing them within a rectangular structure of bare walls without pillars, ornamented only with a very simple horseshoe-shaped, barrel-vaulted opening. However, no two caves are identical, either in arrangement or in proportions. All are of carefully polished rock.

A new stage was reached toward the close of the 1st century B.C. in a few rupestrian monasteries and sanctuaries, among them those of Bhaja, Pitalkhora, Kondane, Ajanta, and the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar hills. The plan of the sanctuaries changes; the circular hut tends to disappear, but the rectangular building retains a suggestion of it, being given a rounded apse. The apsidal plan thus established persisted for several centuries. This plan has vaulting with false ribs, which are sometimes even traced with wood (Bhaja). The door, which remains trapezoidal, is framed by two pillars sloping slightly toward the top; the pillars are separated by hooplike elements, themselves connected by barrel-shaped beams, and under the pent roof, by a convex lintel. This type of construction, the evolution of which continued during the following period, is exemplified at the Lomas Rishi cave, where the lintel is additionally ornamented with a file of elephants advancing toward the center. In the larger rock-cut sanctuaries (Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora) the greatly enlarged entrance opening was originally delimited by a wooden screen that has not survived. A row of pillars subdivides the interior into a nave and two narrow lateral aisles, following the form of the apse; in the apse is a small-scale stupa. These pillars are very simple, with square or octagonal shaft and without capital or base. On each side of the door the façade is decorated with cornices and blind chaitya arches closely imitating the wooden façades.

The rock-cut monasteries of this period are all marked by the same simplicity. The façade opens onto a hypostyle veranda; the cells (each containing a bed carved in the rock) are disposed on three sides of a square vestibule, the fourth side being open to the veranda. The most archaic are those of Barabar and Nagarjuni (3d cent. B.C.); their vestibules lack pillars. Similar are Viharas VIII, XII, and XIII at Ajanta, XII being clearly the oldest and VIII appearing to be contemporary with Chaitya IX at the same site. The interior walls of Vihara XII at Ajanta are decorated with a series of horseshoe-shaped niches in very low relief; occasionally figures are carved in bas-relief on the walls, as at Bhaja. Possibly of slightly later date, the monasteries of Pitalkhora and Kondane have a hall provided with pillars disposed around a square, recalling the interior court enclosed by a hypostyle colonnade of the freestanding monasteries. But while this formula was to be taken up again and simplified in the Gupta era, it was still rare in the ancient period. Ornament makes its appearance on the façade toward the end of the ancient period; at Kondane, for example, the veranda is protected by an overhanging cornice on an entablature; the wall of the fa-




Taxila, West Pakistan, ground plan of temple at Jandial (*after Rowland, 1956*).

çade, which is recessed, is pierced by a central door and by two windows placed symmetrically on either side of it. Other (Jain) monasteries consist of two superimposed stories (Udayagiri, Orissa).

The earliest stupas were erected during the course of the 2d and 1st centuries B.C.; their brick domes with revetments of stone slabs are perfectly hemispherical and rest on circular bases. Still squat and resembling the funerary tumuli, these stupas are encircled with stone railings jointed with tenons and mortises. The railings at Sanchi 1 and 3 are unornamented, but those at Sanchi 2, Bharhut (FIG. 943), Bodhgaya, Kumrahar, and other sites have bas-reliefs. Their toranas represent the final phase of the early type and are remarkable for the sculptures which cover them.

*Sculpture.* The earliest evidences of the art of sculpture in stone are unquestionably the well-known commemorative pillars on the shafts of which Aśoka's edicts were engraved. Sometimes reaching a height of almost 50 ft., the pillars are surmounted by campaniform capitals and by entablatures decorated all the way round with animals passant alternating with chariot wheels supporting one or more animals. The most famous of the groups are the three protomas of accollé lions on the capital at Sarnath (edict against the fomenters of the Buddhist schism) and the humped bull from Rampurva (II, PLS. 400, 401). Aside from the imperial and cosmological symbolism that can be read into them and their possible gnomonic function, their technical perfection and extraordinary finish are striking. The capitals, inspired by the lotus, are strongly reminiscent of those at Persepolis. The groups of animals are beautifully executed; while they (notably the one with the lions) reveal Iranian workmanship, this was clearly influenced by Greece, especially in the treatment of the manes. The Maurya sculptors, like those of the Indus civilization, excelled in the depiction of animals, a distinctive feature of Indian art throughout its history.

The earliest sculpture of human figures in the round has a heavy aspect, and the outlines, although well modeled, are massive. It is difficult to date the early statues. The most archaic are often of colossal proportions; they appear to represent yakshas (Parkham, Pataliputra, Mathura) and may be contemporaneous with the ancient phase of Bharhut (ca. 150 B.C.), if not

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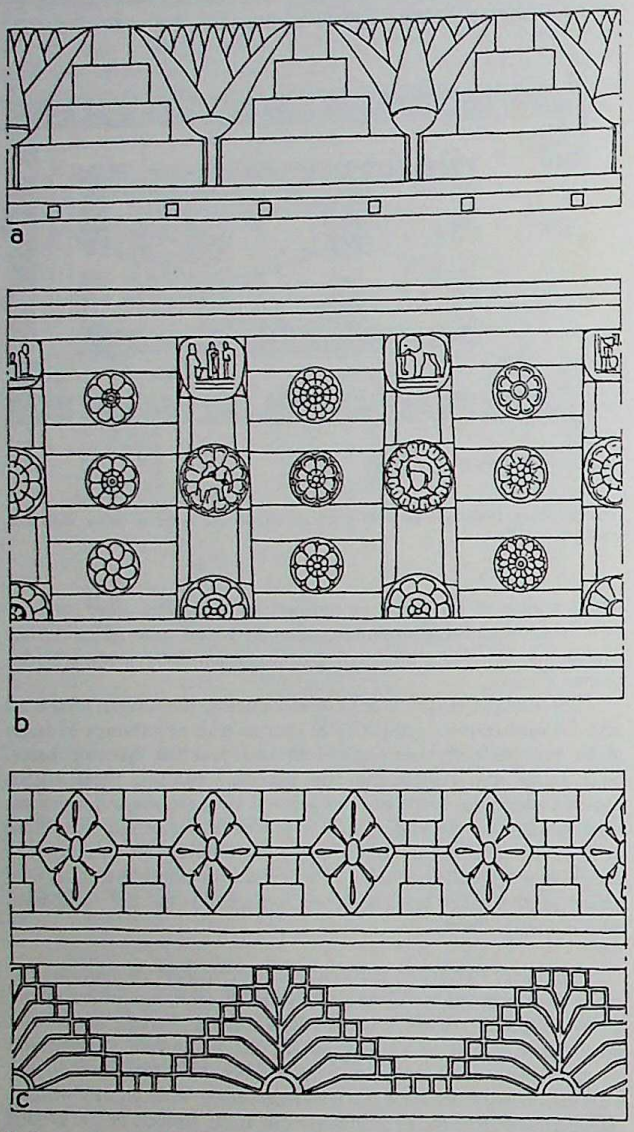
earlier. The male figures are heavily built; they stand in a frontal static attitude and wear long robes secured at the hips by a cloth girdle fastened in front in a four-sided knot (resembling a sailor's bowline) that seems to be characteristic of the earliest period (II, PL. 403). Their heavy jewelry is shown in great detail.

At Sanchi sculpture in the round made great progress; better proportioned, more delicately modeled, delineated so that




Indian architectural motifs: (*a*) From the stupa at Bharhut; (*b*) from the railing of the stupa at Bharhut; (*c*) from the Udayeśvara temple at Udaipur, 11th cent.

they appear to turn in space, the figures are humanized and assume more relaxed, sometimes even abandoned, postures. This is notably so in the case of the marvelous bracket figures of yakshis on the right and left sides of the east gate of Sanchi I (PL. 441; II, PLS. 405, 406). A few changes in costume and ornament can also be noted. In the male figures the voluminous turban with a little sphere placed between the principal folds of fabric gives way to a smaller turban adorned with a sort of large mushroom shape held in place by little crisscross fillets. Typical of this early period is a flat necklace that crosses over on itself and has two square plaques a third of the way down (Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura); associated with this type of necklace are large earrings in the shape of a sabot. The female figures often wear a large, flat, circular necklace, a necklace-girdle crossing in front, a wide girdle of strung beads around the hips, and, most notably, a headdress that is no longer seen by the beginning of the 2d century of the Christian Era: the hair is long, plaited down the back, and partly covered by the headdress, which hangs down over the shoulders (II, PL. 408). These are the principal types represented, both in relief and in the round.

Also worthy of mention are terra-cotta figurines of a more spontaneous and more popular type, which, owing to the medium's ease of expression, have a surprising charm. While in the Maurya period such statuettes are still rather crude and resemble the protohistoric examples, those of the Śuṅga period display an increased technical skill. In their diversity and spontaneity these terra cottas give a more intimate insight into Indian life than the monumental stone sculpture. Clay modeling was thereafter practiced in every period of Indian art and reflects each of the great styles with engaging verve.

Narrative bas-relief — represented, for example, at Bharhut, Sanchi 1, 2, and 3, Bhaja, Bodhgaya, and Kumrahar — is at first crude, although bearing the indisputable stamp of power; it shows the hierarchical scale, distinguishing personages of high rank and those of lower rank. While the historical panels of Bhaja clearly exemplify this crudeness, they already show great skill in composition; the bas-reliefs of the vedika of Sanchi 2 are in the same vein. At Bharhut, bas-relief attains for the first time its full stature. Still very simple in composition, the scenes are reduced to essential figures and a few architectural and landscape elements superimposed in vertical perspective (II, PLS. 376, 407–409). Animal art reveals here all the qualities it had already shown in the Indus civilization (PL. 442). The human figures are still ingenuous, but their attitudes are marked by pronounced naturalism. The lesser details are executed with great care and constitute valuable sources of information on dress, ornament, and daily life. Not to be overlooked is the Iranian influence indicated by decorative motifs such as the palmette and the rosette. Side by side with this marked realism is the archaistic look of other reliefs — for example, the medallions and semimedallions of the vedika at Bodhgaya, in which there is an extreme simplification of composition. Comparable are the few fragments from Kumrahar in Calcutta (Indian Mus.). To this period might also be assigned the reliefs of Jaggayyapeta (I, PL. 221).

Great advances are observable in the bas-reliefs covering the toranas of Sanchi 1 and 3, dating from the period of the Śātavāhanas. Not only the composition but also the feeling for space, the quality of the carving, and the sense of form demonstrate the surer mastery of the sculptors. In sharper relief and more integrated than the examples at Bharhut, the scenes are arranged here in a more elaborate perspective; still superimposed vertically, the planes overlap, creating an illusion of depth. Greater use of figures and of architectural elements and plant forms gives the scenes an effect of reality. The figures carved in the cave sanctuaries of Nasik, Bedsa, Kondane, and Junnar are similar to those of Sanchi 1 and 3.

As to subjects, the reliefs differ. At Bharhut most of the reliefs depict the earlier lives (Jātakas; II, PL. 409) of Buddha Śākyamuni, whereas at Sanchi the reliefs reveal a predilection for supposedly historical elements and for the episodes of the last human incarnation of the Buddha; the Buddha is here represented only by symbols (a tree for the Illumination, a wheel for the First Preaching, an empty throne, a stupa to indicate the scene of *Parinirvāṇa*, etc.). This aniconism obtained until the 2d century of the Christian Era in the southeastern regions (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM).

*Mural painting.* Only a few examples of mural painting have come down to us. Those uncovered in the early 1940s on the left wall of Chaitya X at Ajanta (q.v.) reflect the styles of Bharhut and Sanchi. The subjects are derived from the same cycle of Buddhist literature. The skillfulness of the composition and execution indicates that there must have existed, in the 1st century of the Christian Era, a school of painting already in full command of its means. However, these wall paintings, greatly deteriorated, are difficult to decipher, so that it is not possible to appraise their lines and their color adequately.

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THREE GREAT SCHOOLS OF THE KUSHAN AND ANDHRA PERIODS. *Historical background.* The advance of the Śakas into India from the northwest, their occupation of Malwa and clash with the Śātavāhanas, conquerors of the last of the Kāṇvas, and the period of political turmoil that followed have already been touched upon. This period can here be treated only in broad outline, the three great divisions — the northwest, the north and center, and the southeast — being viewed as the three panels of a single triptych. This is not to say that the other regions fell into anarchy, but merely that artistically they were not in the forefront.

In the northwest, in the former Indo-Greek territories, the Śakas held out until about the middle of the 1st century of the Christian Era. Another branch of the Śakas held the region of Ujjain, where it reigned until the Gupta era. The Śakas of the northwest, already weakened by internal dissension, yielded before new invaders, the Kushans, who were originally one of the Yüeh-chih clans. Established in Bactria (Balkh region, Afghanistan), they had supplanted the Scytho-Parthians (Śaka-Pallava) and in the course of the 1st century B.C. had penetrated the north of India.

This was the prelude to a great era which lasted a little less than a century but had prolonged repercussions outside India, notably in China. The Kushan dynasty (see KUSHAN ART) reigned during the end of the 1st century and the greater part of the 2d century, from the Oxus to the plain of the Ganges, over Kapisa (Kabul), Gandhara (Peshawar), the Punjab, part of northern India (particularly Mathura and Sarnath), and perhaps over a portion of the western Deccan. Their capitals were Kapisi (mod. Begram) and Peshawar. Under their rule, India flourished both culturally and commercially; in touch with both Rome and China, India seems likewise to have exercised influence on southeast Asia. The greatest of the Kushans, Kaniṣka, brought the empire to its apogee; the dates of his reign are still disputed (A.D. 144 is likely for the beginning). The Kushans were probably defeated by Shāpur I in 252. The eclecticism of the Kushans — Iranized as they were by their sojourn in the western marches of Iran, Hellenized by their contacts with the Greco-Parthian traditions persisting in the northwest, Indianized by their domination over a large part of India — is reflected in their coins. Under the impetus of the Kushans, Buddhism experienced prosperity; monasteries, stupas, and sanctuaries were founded; architects and sculptors were very active; the rich Sanskrit literature, in philosophy, poetry, and science, shows traces of Alexandrian and Iranian influence. Kaniṣka had the image of the Buddha stamped on his coins; the appearance of this image in the iconography may date from his reign.

Concurrent with this great cultural upsurge, the southeast witnessed the growing power of the Andhras, conquerors of the Śakas, whose possessions extended to the west, it is believed, as far as the region of Bombay, if some of their vassals are taken into account. Their political dominion extended, either directly or indirectly, over the major part of the Deccan. The dissolution of their empire occurred at the end of the 2d or beginning of the 3d century, when their possessions were limited solely to the country of Andhra (Kistna basin). Their dynasty remained in power there until the 4th century.

This is, in outline, the curve of the political evolution of India during the first centuries of the Christian Era. From the artistic point of view, there are three distinct divisions: the art known as Greco-Buddhist (Gandhara), the art of the north (Mathura), and the art of the Andhras in the southeast (on the Kistna and in a few western sites: Nasik, Karli, Pitalkhora, and Ajanta, these last being stylistically related to the Amaravati school without having necessarily been part of the Andhra empire). Mention should also be made of the direct influence of the Andhras on Ceylonese art (q.v.).

*Greco-Buddhist school.* On the periphery of purely Indian art, the Greco-Buddhist school is especially interesting because of its combination of Buddhist themes with Iranian-Greek (or Parthian) esthetic inspiration (see GANDHARA). The trade relations between India, Chinese Turkistan, and Rome, on the one hand, and the Parthian, Syrian, Iranian, and even Alexandrian East, on the other, made the northwest region a sort of turntable on which for several centuries the motifs and formulas proper to the Hellenistic tradition revolved. Alfred Foucher, whose basic studies in Greco-Buddhist art have been referred to above, held that this school began in the 1st century B.C., flowered in the 1st century of the Christian Era, and came to an end in the 2d or 3d century. The current tendency is to prolong the span into the 6th or even 7th century, particularly in Kashmir (see KASHMIR ART). In any case, there is no doubt that Greco-Buddhist art had considerable influence on Buddhist art, both in India itself and in the countries converted to Buddhism (southeast Asia, China, and Japan).

Greco-Buddhist architecture is known to us through stupas, in a very poor state of preservation; monasteries, of which only the foundations have been discovered; and numerous representations carved in bas-relief. Constructed of brick, the stupas present a more cylindrical and higher outline than that of the stupas of the Śuṅga period; the dome rests on a drum, which is placed on a rather high base, and there is no torana. The masonry was originally covered with carved and painted stucco, and the base was faced with bas-reliefs of schist, usually depicting the Jātakas and the last human incarnation of the Buddha. Judging from the representations in the bas-reliefs, the Indian chaitya arch, so common in the preceding period, alternated with "broken pediments" supported on two columns with splayed capitals. The Hellenistic influence is chiefly evident in the architectural elements, especially the capitals, which are usually of the Corinthian order and sometimes have a figurine of the Buddha among the leaves.

The great innovation of the school consists in having introduced (at the beginning of the Christian Era?) the figure of the Buddha, who until then had been represented only by symbols (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). He appears with youthful, Apollo-like features and Greek profile, the mouth firmly drawn; only the heavy lids half closed over the slightly bulging eyes, together with the full oval face and elongated ear lobes, stretched by the weight of ponderous jewels, mark his type as Oriental. The monastic robe he wears is perceptible under the cloak covering his shoulders. He is draped as if in a himation; the garment clings to his body, and its concentric folds are in strongly accented relief. He has the distinctive marks of his nature as the Buddha (VIII, PLS. 2, 3): between his eyebrows, the bump of flesh (*ūrṇā*); in the palm of his hands, the chakra (Wheel of the Law). The Buddha's wavy hair is gathered into a tight knot at the top of his head by a small cord; it was a misinterpretation of this hair arrangement that gave rise to the cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) subsequently — down to modern times — bestowed on all Buddhas in Asia.

Another achievement of this school was to have considerably enriched the repertory of Buddhist iconography; an eventual result of this was that India was supplied with an almost complete pictorial repertory of its indigenous legends and tales. But if the Greco-Buddhist school brought Indian legends to the fore, it nevertheless translated them into Hellenistic forms; whether the figures are dressed in Parthian or in Indian fashion, they wear costumes whose "wet" drapery derives from classical art (PL. 449; II, PLS. 377, 378).

The sculpture is on the whole rather academic, save for a few exceptional works, such as the female figure from Mathura (Arch. Mus.), which reveals a more naturalistic tendency, and the narrative bas-relief is often conventional. But a whole body of stucco work, both in relief and in the round, strikes a more spontaneous note, nearer to realism. Executed by means of molds (Taxila in the Punjab, Hadda in Afghanistan, Kunduz in Bactria) and retouched with the chisel, this sculpture, blocked out as it is in a tractable material, unquestionably depicts the extremely varied cosmopolitan population of the time and the region (II, PLS. 85, 88; VI, PLS. 14, 20).

*School of Mathura.* Mathura, at the crossroads of communication between Gandhara and the Indo-Ganges plain, was a very active religious center under the Kushans, and witnessed the flowering of a school of art famous throughout India (see MATHURA). Making use of the pink sandstone from neighboring quarries (Sikri), this school flourished in the 1st and 2d centuries

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Monuments of Indian art. *Key*: (1) Modern national boundaries; (2) archaeological sites; (3) Buddhist monuments; (4) Jain monuments; (5) Hindu monuments; (6) Zoroastrian monuments; (7) Islamic monuments; (8) Sikh monuments.

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of the Christian Era, lasting until the Gupta and even into the medieval period. Although included in the Kushan empire and in close contact with the Greco-Buddhist school (Gandhara, valley of the Swat), Mathura nonetheless continued the styles of Bharhut and Sanchi, borrowing some of their formulas but creating its own independent style (predominantly 1st–3d cent.). To the characteristic formulas of Indian art it added a few Hellenistic motifs, imbuing them with an Iranian flavor derived from the influence of the rulers. Commercial interchange brought about considerable diffusion of Mathura art, in Kashmir and Chinese Turkistan (Gilgit, Dandan-uilik, Ak-terek), Ceylon, Indo-China, and even China (Lung-mên, Yün-kang, T'ien-lung-shan). Of the architecture of this period (1st–3d cent.), nothing remains but depictions in bas-reliefs, though numerous edifices were erected, ranging from monumental stupas to temples and monasteries. Mathura was repeatedly ravaged, not the least of these troubles being the attack of the Ephthalites in the 5th century. There are no notable differences between the architectural elements of Mathura and those of earlier or contemporaneous schools: there are the same edifices the same fortifications, the same circular huts, and the same chaitya arches with pent roofs. The stupa is, as in the Greco-Buddhist style, higher than at Sanchi, and its vedika has a torana of ancient type; at the extremities of the lintels appear sea monsters (*makaras*), a favorite decorative motif of Indian art.

The school of Mathura is outstanding for the beauty of its sculpture in the round, to which the pink sandstone lends added attraction (PL. 447; VIII, PL. 412). There is a great variety of subjects: Buddhas and bodhisattvas, Kushan emperors and donors, women and yakshis, and even Brahmanic divinities. All these works are characterized by simple modeling and keenly executed, unhesitant carving. A few works are unquestionably attempts at portraiture, which is rather exceptional in Indian art; an example is the mustached man in New Delhi (IX, PL. 379). The art of portraiture was pressed into service at Mathura for the Kushan emperors, who are depicted in a stiffly frontal attitude, standing or seated in full majesty, attired in the costume of the steppes — heavily booted and wearing the conical Scythian cap (VIII, PLS. 1, 410). Certain inscriptions seem to indicate that such statues may have represented deified emperors and may have been placed on view in a chapel (*devakūla*) of the royal palace. Of the figures represented in the work of this school, the yakshis are among the most attractive: their feminine attributes — ample breasts, small waists, broad hips — are in accord with the esthetic canon of the time. The yakshi standing on the back of a grotesque crouching dwarf, against the post of a vedika (PL. 450; IX, PL. 382), exemplifies this ideal of feminine beauty. Headdresses vary; in one that is especially characteristic of this period, the hair, drawn back and plaited in a single braid, forms a sort of knot on the forehead, sometimes held in place by a medallion. Looking at themselves in a mirror or playing with a pet parrot, a charming smile on their lips, the yakshis are healthy, exuberant, graceful (IX, PL. 383); their seminudity, their provocative attitudes, make them seem to Western eyes more profane than sacred. The same concept of feminine beauty animates the bas-reliefs with tree-goddess motif (*sālābhañjikā*; IX, PL. 384) and the pillar statues in the Hindu University Museum in Benares. Related to these figures is the yakshi of Didarganj (PL. 444), a famous work often attributed to the Maurya period. While the polish of the sandstone could be taken to mark it as from that early epoch, the details of costume, headdress, and ornament appertain to the Mathura style. In the narrative bas-reliefs appears a rather rudimentary method of grouping: the figures are few, and the landscape and architectural elements are reduced to a minimum; also, the compositions on the whole are on a rather small scale. The theme of the feminine toilette, which, beginning with this school, was to have such a vogue, occurs frequently and is the occasion for alluring postures (*Legend of Nanda and Sundarī*, Lucknow, State Mus., J. 583; Mathura, Arch. Mus., no. 186).

In connection with the early representations of the Buddha by the school of Mathura and the school of Gandhara an interesting problem arises. While in the latter the iconographic type of the anthropomorphic Buddha is probably the creation of artists working in the Greek tradition but Buddhist in their beliefs, the Mathura type descends in a direct line from the yaksha and snake-king (*nāgarāja*) images that are characteristic of the sculpture of the ancient period. This truly Indian type differs from the Ghandharan in numerous details, though bearing the same signs of sanctity. The head is round, with soft and smiling features. The skull, shaved like that of the monks of his order, is covered with a cap which simulates — or rather conceals — the *uṣṇīṣa*; between the eyebrows the *ūrṇā* is indicated. Instead of the Gandharan himation, this Buddha, somewhat massive in aspect, wears a monastic cloak diagonally exposing the right side of the torso; the material, which seems to be thinner than in the Gandharan examples, clings to the body, and the drapery is indicated by parallel folds in very low relief. The language of gesture is simple, in contrast to that of the Gandharan Buddha, who has a wide repertory; typically, the right hand is raised toward the shoulder, symbolizing the "fear-not" gesture (*abhayamudrā*), and the left rests on the hip. Neither the type of body nor the clothing suggests foreign influence; the Mathuran Buddha unquestionably belongs to the Indian tradition and reflects earlier types.

It is an open question which of the two types is the earlier, the Buddha of Gandhara or the Buddha of Mathura. The Mathura type seems to have appeared in the reign of Kaniṣka, that is, about the middle of the 2d century of the Christian Era; this emperor, it will be recalled, was the first to have the effigy of Buddha stamped on his coins — as if to make the representation official. If Foucher's chronology for Gandharan art is accepted, the Gandharan Buddha is clearly earlier; it is not impossible that the idea of depicting the Perfect One originated in a Hellenized mind and not in an Indian one, inclined, in accordance with ancestral tradition, only to suggest him through symbols. In any case, the school of Mathura constitutes a link between the early, aniconic schools and those of the 2d century, which made use of the iconic type of Buddha while adhering for several decades to the ancient symbolism.

The small statuary in terra cotta that was being produced during these periods reflected in the course of its evolution the characteristics that marked the development of monumental sculpture.

Connected with the school of Mathura by a great many clues are a group of carved and incised ivory plaques (see IVORY AND BONE CARVING) discovered in Afghanistan in 1937 and 1939–40 by Joseph and Ria Hackin. The Indian origin of these plaques, brought to light in Begram (anc. Kapisi), the site of the ancient capital of the Kushan emperors, is unquestionable; some of them are related by certain details to the Amaravati school and others exhibit the Gupta style, but the majority seem to belong to the Kushan style as it is represented at Mathura. Before this discovery, it was known from literary sources that the art of ivory carving had reached a high level of perfection in India and was renowned abroad; the finding in the excavations of Pompeii of an Indian ivory in the style of Sanchi confirmed this but was not decisive. The group from Begram furnishes proof positive (VIII, PL. 241). The Indian ivory carvers have here combined with astonishing facility several different techniques: the ivory was in turn pierced, cut out, carved in high and low relief, engraved, and accented with color. The most beautiful of these processes is certainly that by which the subject was defined with an incised stroke and the modeling delicately expressed within this outline; the modeling is recessed in relation to the plane of the plaque. These plaques bear witness to the sure hand of the ivory carvers and to their knowledge of form. Also, they establish the existence of a secular art known hitherto only from written sources. The furniture to which the plaques were attached was probably intended for a royal gynaeceum.

*School of Amaravati.* A fief of the Śātavāhanas, the region of Andhra (q.v.), north of Pondicherry, was the center of a very active school of art, called for convenience after Andhra's chief city, Amaravati, whose name was also that of the capital of Indra, king of the gods. Situated near the lower Kistna,

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Amaravati was, from the 1st century B.C. to the end of the 3d century of the Christian Era, the center of the Andhra culture. The principal sites of this school are Jaggayyapeta (the style of which is related to the styles of Bharhut and Sanchi), Amaravati, Ghantasala, Nagarjunakonda, and Goli. The archaeological remains that these sites have yielded bear witness to the beauty of the monuments of the Andhra civilization and the opulence of its Buddhist sanctuaries.

It was at Amaravati that one of the largest stupas (some 160 ft. in diam.) of Buddhist India was erected; the Great Stupa had inscriptions dating from the first Śātavāhana rulers and appears to have been built during the first half of the 2d century. The successors to the Śātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus, are credited with the building of the Buddhist establishments of Nagarjunakonda (3d cent.), consisting not only of several stupas but also of chaityas and monasteries whose foundations were brought to light by excavations in 1926–30 and 1938–40. From these various monuments, particularly the stupas, have come an important series of bas-reliefs which make it possible to study the evolution of a single school of sculpture over a span of four centuries. These bas-reliefs are in the museums of the sites at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda and in the National Museum of India in New Delhi, the Goverment Museum in Madras, the British Museum in London, the Musée Guimet in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum in Kansas City, Mo.

Four periods can be distinguished: the earliest work, in evidence chiefly at Jaggayyapeta, may go back to the 1st century B.C.; then there is an early group with deeper relief, notably represented at Amaravati and Ghantasala, which seems to belong to the 1st century of the Christian Era; the third period (2d and perhaps beginning of 3d cent.) is chiefly exemplified by the inner face of the exterior vedika of the Great Stupa of Amaravati, in which can be discerned several contemporaneous styles. The fourth group, though generally well conceived, shows some signs of decadence; in evidence at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, and Goli, this group seems to date from the 3d and perhaps the beginning of the 4th century; in this group the Buddha is always depicted in human form, while in the 1st and 2d centuries he is represented by means of symbols; a few 2d-century bas-reliefs employ both modes.

The school of Amaravati is also represented in Ceylon, notably at Anuradhapura, where the style is so close to that of the original site that it is reasonable to conclude that the reliefs were imported from India and completed by a provincial school on the spot (see CEYLONESE ART). The Amaravati school likewise reached the countries of the South Seas, particularly the kingdom of Dvaravati (Thailand, q.v.; see also SIAMESE ART), where original bronzes and local replicas have been found. A celebrated bronze Buddha in Saigon (Nat. Mus.), which was found at Dông-düông, on the coast of Champa (northern Vietnam), seems also to have come from Ceylon or even Amaravati (see CHAM, SCHOOL OF; VIETNAM; VIETNAMESE ART).

Related to this very homogeneous and coherent school are the high reliefs of the chaityas of Karli, Kanheri, Nasik, and Pitalkhora, which, although situated in the Gujarat and Maharashtra districts, bear inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas. Because of their particular characteristics, these sites will be treated in the next section.

Although the freestanding architecture of the sites of the Andhra region has been destroyed, as at Mathura, important information regarding the stupas of the area (Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Gudivada, Ghantasala, Amaravati) is available. While some of them (Bhattiprolu, Gudivada) were constructed of solid masonry, others had a hollow dome supported on vertical walls dividing the interior space into quarters. The dome was generally rather high and rested on a high foundation which itself rose from one or more platforms. The base, constructed of brick, was faced with sculptured marble slabs. The upper sections were covered with molded and painted stucco. The stupa was surrounded by a vedika, which was flanked on each of the sides facing the four cardinal points of the compass by a projecting square pavilion; this gave access to stairs leading to the platforms. All this, far from being conjectural, is known from excavations and from the study of representations of stupas on numerous bas-reliefs of this school (PLS. 445, 448).

While the stupas that have been discovered do not seem to have had toranas like those in the styles of Bharhut and Sanchi, the representations carved on the bas-reliefs testify to their existence but indicate that they were more commonly used in civil architecture, for example, before the principal entrance to a city. The development of the toranas can be reconstructed as follows: At first they were very similar to the ones of the ancient school, with ridged lintels that were well separated; then the lintels were constructed without projecting extremities (often formerly replaced by *makaras*) and set closer together until they formed a sort of tympanum between the two pillars framing the passage; these two pillars were then surmounted by a ribbed cushion or an architectural element.

The evolution of another motif, the chaitya arch, is similarly documented by the bas-reliefs. Toward the final period of the school, these changes are apparent: the summit of the framework is sometimes adorned with a cusped motif; the beams under the pent roof disappear altogether; the opening tends to close up and is adorned with a checkerboard motif or, as at Goli, with a four-petaled flower similar to a bluet. Other types of edifices known from bas-relief representations are also further developed; city gates with barrel vaults are often used in long compositions to separate two distinct scenes; they constitute the prototype of the gopura (towered gateway) of the medieval period. Many columnar buildings are likewise represented.

Sculpture in the round is less common than bas-relief; it consists chiefly of statues of the Buddha. From their earliest occurrence, these present more highly developed characteristics than the Buddha of Mathura; they really form the transition between the Gandhara and Gupta types. The cranial protuberance is incorporated into the head and is covered with flat curls ritualistically twisting clockwise. The monastic garment, heavier than at Mathura, leaves the right shoulder bare; the drapery is in regular folds, in low relief. As for the ritual gestures of the hands, they consist chiefly of the *abhayamudrā*.

These statues are for the most part beautifully executed, but it is in the bas-reliefs that the art of Amaravati reached its apogee. The bas-relief sculpture is exclusively narrative, drawing its inspiration from the Jātakas, the Avadānas, and episodes from the life of the Buddha; thus it provides many valuable details regarding court life and the customs of the period (I, PLS. 221, 223; II, PL. 376). The decorative sense of the Amaravati sculptors is highly developed: the posts of the vedika are often adorned by beautiful vases containing bouquets of flowers, a motif evolved from the same theme in the ancient school. The bas-reliefs are often of great beauty, as much in their composition as in the elegance of the poses and the sureness of modeling. Often circular, following the curve of the medallions of the vedika, the composition of the groups shows real virtuosity: dynamic attitudes and gestures alternate with languorous poses (PL. 466). More delicate and more slender than at Mathura, the female form remains the preferred subject of artists. The general effect is of extreme refinement and unquestionably conveys the ideal of a cultivated society, much as it is reflected in the literature of the time. Toward the close of the school, this refinement was carried almost to the point of being decadent. The sculptors, however, avoided the hazard, and their art remains one of the purest styles of Indian art.

*Other centers in transitional period.* During the same era in which these three principal schools were flourishing, the cave sanctuaries of western India were evolving independently. The most representative are those at Karli, Kanheri, Nasik, and Pitalkhora. The frescoes executed on the right wall of Chaitya X at Ajanta are of this same period.

The rock-cut vihara and chaitya, while continuing the ground plans of the preceding period, present a few innovations. Their decoration is no longer limited to imitations of the architectural elements of timber construction; the pillars now

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have bases in the form of spherical vases and capitals surmounted by an abacus supporting a sculptured group (usually two recumbent animals facing in opposite directions and bearing small riders), as in the sanctuaries at Karli and Kanheri.

The sanctuary at Karli (between Bombay and Poona) is one of the finest and largest in India (PL. 451). Occupied by Buddhist priests as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, the site was developed in the 2d century by a few adherents of a sect originally of Andhran origin and by feudatories of the satraps (Kshatrapas). The chaitya hall, built through the munificence of a banker, is 124 ft. long, and its vault rises to 45 ft. The apsidal plan is like that of the preceding period. The façade of the vestibule has a large horseshoe-shaped opening with projecting beams, and its lower section rests on a high, thick portal. To the right and left of the portal are large figures in high relief; these reliefs belong to two distinct periods, the earliest dating from the Andhras and the others from the Guptas or their successors. The decoration of the lateral walls of the vestibule consists, as in the past, of architectural elements, among which are a few figures carved in the early style. Remarkable for its nobility is the nave, with its 37 pillars and vault sheathed with curving wooden beams; at the apsidal end rises a stupa, a typical example of the 1st to 2d century.

Very similar to the sanctuary just described is Chaitya III at Kanheri (Salsette Island, near Bombay); it too is of imposing dimensions (roughly 87×40×37 ft.). Commissioned by two merchants, it was carved during the reign of one of the Śātavāhanas (late 2d–early 3d cent.). Its façade is a replica of that at Karli and is decorated with a vedika; some large figures, probably of donors, carved on the portico belong to the style of Amaravati and date from the end of the 2d century. In the post-Gupta period some indifferently executed Buddhas were added. As at Karli, the nave is bounded by pillars with bulbous bases and capitals supporting groups of animals.

Contemporaneous with the caves at Karli and Kanheri are several caves at Nasik, with inscriptions dating from the Śātavāhana and Kshatrapa periods. Chaitya XVIII seems to be a little older than the one at Karli; it bears a fairly close resemblance to the one at Bedsa but has pillars with capitals adorned with animals. Vihara VIII, built by the satrap Nahapāna (A.D. 119–25), resumes the classic plan of cells radiating from a quadrangular vestibule; the façade opens onto a veranda. Vihara III bears an inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, a Śātavāhana king who reigned from 106 to 130; its plan is exactly like that of Vihara VIII, but its veranda has a vedika. The pillars of Vihara III are crowned with capitals in the form of elephants, buffaloes, and horses. The entrance door is adorned with a torana carved in bas-relief; it is comparable to those of Mathura, Begram, and Amaravati. Vihara XV was enlarged and completed under Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi (174–203?), another Śātavāhana ruler.

At Pitalkhora recent excavations have made it possible to clear some chaityas and viharas and to examine them in detail. The most important of the monuments here, Vihara IV, had been studied earlier by Fergusson and Burgess (1880). This vihara appears to take its place chronologically in the second half of the 1st century B.C., with additions made in the 1st and 2d centuries of the Christian Era. This dating deviates from the judgment of M. N. Deshpande, who suggests the 2d century B.C. on the basis of paleographic study (1959). He grants, however, that the ensemble of Pitalkhora stems in the main from the era of the Śātavāhanas and Kshatrapas, a second occupation of the site having occurred under the Vākāṭakas (5th cent.). In fact, in the decoration of Vihara IV there are connections with Jaggayyapeta (pillars with capitals surmounted by "crossed" animals) and with Sanchi (Stupas 1 and 3) but more notably with Amaravati: the curious doorkeepers (*dvārapālas*) armed with a pike and rectangular shield in a relief of the aniconic type depicting the Great Departure of Prince Siddhārtha. The Pitalkhora battle of elephants, also in Vihara IV, which is unfortunately in ruined condition, is probably the earliest example of this motif, later so nobly handled at Ellora.

The frescoes adorning the right wall of Chaitya X at Ajanta (q.v.), although much deteriorated, clearly reveal the characteristics of the Amaravati style: elegance of form, firmness of line, and facility of composition. The details of costume, furniture, and architectural elements are very close to those of the school of Andhra.

GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA PERIODS (ca. 4th–8th cent.). *Reestablishment of political unity.* Just as the Maurya empire was the result of India's awakening in the face of the Macedonian and Seleucid menace, so a reaction at the beginning of the 4th century, following a new Occidental intrusion in northwest India, brought the Guptas to power. And, as before, the impetus for national revival came from Magadha. Of this easily established parallel the Gupta rulers were entirely conscious, for they could claim several lineal relationships with the great Maurya dynasty. In the preceding period most of India was divided between the Kushans, Śakas, and Pallavas, despite the attacks of the Andhras. The fact that these foreigners had become Indianized made them no less usurpers, instinctively resisted by the traditionalist spirit of the Indians. This resistance had the most fortunate effects: it enabled the culture to remain specifically Indian despite nine centuries of foreign occupation.

The beginnings of the Gupta dynasty are obscure. In the second half of the 3d century this clan seems to have reigned at Pataliputra, the ancient capital, in which the palace of the emperor Aśoka was still standing. In 320, one of the Guptas was crowned under the name Candragupta. This name, identical with that of the founder of the Maurya empire, was no doubt purposely chosen to express a willingness to reestablish ties with the ancient tradition in the country that had been the cradle of the Mauryas. Candragupta I reigned almost fifteen years; one of the few details known about his reign is that he assumed the title of "great king of kings" (*mahārājādhirāja*) and that he extended the domains of his father and grandfather.

With his son and successor, Samudragupta (ca. 335–75), the power of the house was no less unquestioned than its imperialistic aims. To establish his omnipotence, the Emperor even caused the great sacrifice of the horse (*Aśvamedha*) to be celebrated, restoring a very ancient custom that conferred on the monarch the rank of "universal" sovereign (chakravartin). Comparing himself to a "god dwelling in this world," he had a panegyric of himself engraved on one of Aśoka's commemorative pillars (originally erected at Kausambi, this pillar was later set up at Allahabad, probably by Akbar). According to Samudragupta's declarations, his sway extended over a large part of Indian territory: from Bengal to Malwa and southward to Orissa and the vicinity of Madras, where, superseding the Andhra Ikṣvākus, the Pallavas were solidly entrenched. Samudragupta did not exercise his sovereignty everywhere in person but governed through the intermediary of local princes and kings who had accepted his suzerainty. This device appears frequently in the history of Indian government, having been adopted even by the British. The immensity of the country and its fragmentation into petty kingdoms, each ruled by a powerful potentate, made such a formula — diversity in unity — a wise choice. The alliance of the most prestigious princes with the imperial family, together with the submission of others and their loyalty to the central power, was the guarantee of genuine prosperity.

Samudragupta prided himself on his preeminence in the eyes of the Kushans, who still reigned in Kabul, of the Kshatrapas of Ujjain, and of the kings of Nepal, Assam, and Ceylon. Samudragupta gave the king of Ceylon permission to build a monastery for his subjects at Bodhgaya. A conqueror without question, Samudragupta was careful to emphasize this, giving himself such epithets as "irresistible conqueror," "unifier of the Indian land," and "exterminator of kings." He apparently favored the Vaishnava sects (devotees of Viṣṇu).

His son, Candragupta II (ca. 375–414), brought the empire to its apogee. After conquering Ujjain, he annihilated the Śaka satraps; he consolidated his alliances by marrying a princess of the family of the Nagas and giving his daughter in marriage to the king of the Vākāṭakas (central Deccan), some of whose inscriptions have been found at Ajanta. Thereafter, all northern and central India and a part of the Deccan came under his

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control. Probably, like his father, a follower of Viṣṇu, he showed himself tolerant of all religions; the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien, who visited India during his reign (399–414), found that Buddhism had spread everywhere. It was likewise a particularly brilliant time for Sanskrit literature, which experienced one of its greatest periods; it is likely that the great poet Kālidāsa was a protégé of this emperor.

The next ruler, Kumāragupta I (414–55), maintained the extent of the empire and, following the example of his father and grandfather, was a patron of culture and religion; to him can be credited one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries, Nalanda, visited by the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hsüan-tsang and Yi-ching (I-ching) in the 7th century. The end of his reign seems to have been clouded by a formidable menace: the Ephthalites, who were established in Bactria and were the conquerors of the Kidarite kingdom of Kabul, penetrated into the Punjab and about 455 clashed with the Indian army on the plains of the Doab (between the Ganges and the Jamuna). They were repulsed by the son of Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta (whether as prince or as king is not known).

Skandagupta (455–67) was the last great Gupta sovereign. After him a certain confusion emerges from the documents that have come down to us; there seem to have been at least two branches of the family reigning simultaneously over the empire; the attack of the Ephthalites was renewed (ca. 510) and again it was repulsed by a Gupta (inscription at Eran). Certain members of the dynasty continued in power in Magadha until the end of the 7th century, but without the imperial title.

In the span of some two hundred years that encompassed the splendor of the dynasty, the impetus given by the emperors yielded a twofold result. On the one hand, a certain cohesion was given to the whole of Indian culture; on the other, the great vassals felt impelled to imitate the sovereign, and to their initiative can be credited numerous religious establishments. One of the local dynasties was that of the Vākāṭakas, which disappeared at the end of the 5th century, probably under the attacks of the Chalukyas of Vatapi (mod. Badami); to this dynasty are attributed the finest sanctuaries and monasteries of the second period of occupation of the Ajanta site.

The territorial conquests of the Guptas were accompanied by unprecedented prosperity, owing to commercial activity. The relations of the empire by sea and by caravan with all the countries of eastern and far-eastern Asia being secure, the Gupta influence was widespread: in Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan, Nepal, Tibet, the various kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the East Indies as far as Borneo (see INDIA, FARTHER).

As for religion, international exchanges enabled the monks to intensify their activity. That the king of Ceylon built a Buddhist monastery at Bodhgaya has been noted; the ruler of Sumatra founded another at Nalanda. The philosophers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu produced the writings that for centuries constituted the very foundation of Buddhist beliefs both in India and in other Asiatic countries. The definitive versions of the epics and the Purānas were undertaken, and the principal philosophic texts of the Vedanta were elaborated. Esthetic treatises were written, and dramatic literature reached its zenith with the writing of the most celebrated works of the Indian repertory. Figural art flowered in a classic expression.

This age was to perpetuate itself, despite the disappearance of the Gupta empire, under the rule of another great sovereign, Harṣavardhana of Kanyakubja (mod. Kanauj), in the 7th century. Although the war against the Ephthalites was not the cause of the collapse of the Gupta empire, it contributed to its downfall. In the middle of the 6th century northern India was divided into a number of independent kingdoms. The strongest were the kingdom of Valabhi, governed by the Maitrakas, whose rule extended to western Malwa and on the south to Broach and Surat, where they were supplanted by the Gujars; the kingdom of Gauda in Bengal, Assam, and Kalinga, possibly also Magadha; the kingdom of Kamarupa (mod. Assam); and, most powerful of all, the kingdom of Kanyakubja, the ruling dynasty of which was allied by marriage to the family of the Guptas. In 605–06 the young prince Harṣavardhana, then sixteen years old, put an end to guerilla warfare with his neighbors and seized power. His territories extended as far as the Narbada and had common frontiers with Maharashtra, the Chalukyan empire, and Kalinga. Harṣavardhana's personality is better known to us than that of any other ruler, from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who sojourned for years at his court and in his dominions. Like his predecessors, this king constituted himself the protector of the various religions, contributing to the prosperity of Buddhism as well as of the Brahmanic sects. His personal piety seems to have been eclectic, directed as much to the Buddha and the bodhisattvas as to the sun-god (Skr., *Sūrya*), of which his family made a cult; officially, he was Saiva (follower of Śiva). In the domain of the arts, he appears as a talented dramatic author, if the three plays and two Buddhist hymns of great beauty attributed to him are correctly assigned.

Harṣavardhana died in 647, after a reign of 40 years. His empire disappeared with him, and India entered a long period of fragmentation of local dynasties. Some of these, however, acquired great power. In Maharashtra, the most active in the development of religious art, following the Vākāṭakas, were the Chalukyas, then the Rashtrakutas; the sites of Ajanta, Ellora, Aihole, Padami, Nasik, and Aurangabad were greatly enriched with sculptures and paintings under their rule. In the southeast, the Pallavas consolidated their hegemony, which had been established in the preceding era; to them is attributed the magnificent ensemble at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram; see DRAVIDIAN ART).

*Gupta art and purism.* The Gupta era is characterized by the advent of a new style, which, though related to previous styles, reveals different esthetic ideals (see GUPTA, SCHOOL OF). Perhaps never before in India had such emphasis been given to purity of form and line, the balance of masses and values, the harmony of proportions. As in the school of Amaravati, the human form was a principal theme; Gupta art, however, observed it in a less spontaneous manner and idealized it more, persevering in search of a certain perfection, a refinement and pleasing elegance, without falling into the affectation and mannerism that infected the periods of decline. The term "classic" has often been applied to the Gupta style; to consider it as a form of "purism" would surely be more to the point, for it retains — despite a somewhat cold elegance — a robustness and simplicity of stylization from which spring a creative vigor and a richness of invention (PLS. 452, 453, 458, 459) far removed from the academic classical.

The impetus given throughout India from the 4th to the 6th century by Gupta art was so strong and so integrated that the themes it established persisted for a long time after the fall of the dynasty, and its plastic qualities contributed to the flowering of later styles. However, the regional styles, while drawing inspiration from Gupta formulas, developed in a very different spirit. Only the Pala style of Bengal (8th–12th cent.) can be considered as continuing — though without renewing the creative power of — the Gupta style (see PALA-SENA SCHOOLS).

*Art and religious development.* The rivalry between Buddhism and Brahmanism reached an equilibrium at this time. The trend in all cultural domains was toward eclecticism; the emperors patronized religious establishments of all beliefs impartially, and the artists, adhering closely to the rules of esthetic treatises, brought their creations into harmony with the current taste.

The different characters of Buddhism and Brahminism are very faithfully reflected in art. The smiling calm of Buddhist art, its detachment from human contingencies, and the serene peace of a well-founded belief are reflected in the static poses of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and in the perfection of their measured attitudes (PLS. 134, 135, 138, 452, 453; II, 379, 380). In contrast, Brahmanic art is in the grip of divine grandeur and of the impassioned violence of its gods, their struggles and triumphs. To express this in all its intensity, it frequently makes use of diagonals, dynamic poses, and a hieratic scale

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of proportions (see HINDUISM). On the other hand, the development of mystical theories leads to the syncretism of Buddhist principle and Hindu practice, realized on a base of magic and witchcraft.

It was as a consequence of the confusion that resulted from this syncretism that Buddhism declined from about the 9th century. These tendencies and these facts had repercussions in both iconography and esthetic concepts. The pantheon is seen simultaneously to multiply and to amalgamate — the canonical attributes and poses often become interchangeably applicable, from Brahmanism to Buddhism and vice versa, and the divinities endowed with mystical qualities (Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, etc.) to predominate more and more. As for styles, these follow fundamental rules held in common but are differentiated according to the doctrine they attach to, often revealing a special predilection for the monumental (7th–8th cent. especially).

*Evolution and transformation of architecture.* Two categories of monuments known earlier — the stupa and the rock-cut sanctuary — persist, but henceforth freestanding architecture can be studied in survivals, so that it is no longer necessary, as in preceding eras, to depend entirely upon painted or sculptured representations.

The stupas of the Gupta period have in large part been destroyed. The earliest — especially those in the region of Gandhara (Taxila, Charsadda) and in Sind (Mirpur Khas) — continue the Greco-Buddhist architectural style with their brick construction and stucco revetments. In the latest ones (6th cent.?), for example, at Sarnath (IV, PL. 457), Rajagriha, and Nalanda, stone is used in conjunction with baked and unbaked brick, and the structure is sometimes held together by means of iron bars.

So far as one can judge, there was a great development in the shape of the stupas of this period, in the direction of an even more marked vertical elongation. The stupa is set on a high cubical base; the dome fuses with the traditional circular drum and ends in a campaniform or bulbous top. The stupa is decorated with stucco reliefs applied to the foundation, or formed of molded bricks, or else carved in the masonry itself. The decoration consists of moldings, pilasters, motifs from the Indian chaitya arch, narrative statuary and reliefs; often it retains the traces of a striking polychromy (red, gold, black). Reliefs usually adorn the base; statues of the Buddha and of bodhisattvas, sheltered in niches surmounted by the chaitya arch, punctuate the walls with marked regularity. Sometimes, as at Sarnath, relief friezes molded in the stucco and showing delicate floral motifs encircle the dome.

The Gupta and post-Gupta stupa influenced countries outside India; it is found, variously interpreted, in Java (Borobudur), in Thailand (Wat Kukut), and in Tibet.

Related to the early style is the commemorative pillar erected by Kumāragupta about 415 near Mathura and transported to Delhi, not far from the Quṭb Minār; although the Garuḍa (vehicle of Viṣṇu) that once surmounted it has been lost, this is a remarkable work, cast in iron and rising to a height of about 42 ft. Its campaniform capital reverts to the Aśokan formula.

One of the earliest architectural groups appears to be that of Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh), where there are nine cave sanctuaries. One of them, dated by an inscription of Candragupta II, is a combination of rock-hewn and freestanding architecture; the cella, hollowed out of the rock, is preceded by a pillared portico built of stone blocks, its four pillars divided, one pair on either side of the centered entrance. The frame of the doorway into the cave is carved in several decorative stringcourses and flanked by two *dvārapāla*s.

The same type occurs at Sanchi, Temple XVII (PL. 140) and at Tigowa in Madhya Pradesh, but in these cases the shrine, built of stone, is entirely freestanding. In both examples the small, flat-roofed porch presents the same arrangement of pillars. The pillars at Sanchi, probably earlier, consist of a rather high square base, an octagonal shaft in two sections, a campaniform capital recalling the Aśokan pillars, an abacus adorned with a vase containing pendent leaves, and finally a cornice supporting "crossed" animals. The pillars of the Kaṅkālī Devī temple at Tigowa are heavier-looking, the shaft being reduced in height between the base and the vase of flowers; the campaniform capital is lacking. At Tigowa the entrance door is richly framed; on the upper part of the jambs are the river goddesses Gaṅgā, standing on a *makara*, and Yamunā, on a tortoise (*kūrma*). They take the place of the yakshis that flanked the torana in the ancient period; these goddesses are seen in Gupta and post-Gupta architecture and even in medieval temples, but little by little they are relegated to the base of the doorpost.

Clearly dating from the period of Temple XVII and the Kaṅkālī Devī temple are two comparable sanctuaries situated outside the domain of the Guptas: the temples of Ter (Tagara), in Sholapur District, Maharashtra, and Chezarla, in Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh. Built of brick on an apsidal ground plan, they have the pillared porch (probably added to the original structure). The rather high roof is formed in steps decreasing in depth toward the top and has a corbeled construction crowned by a barrel vault. At Ter, the vault can be discerned under a layer of plaster, while at Chezarla it is concealed by a horizontal ceiling. The exterior walls are chiefly decorated with pilasters rhythmically spaced; at Chezarla there are in addition four windows surmounted by a motif stylistically evolved from the chaitya arch.

The same simplicity marks the tower-like sanctuaries of Bhitargaon (Kanpur District, Uttar Pradesh), Nachna (Madhya Pradesh), and Sirpur (Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh), the last mentioned being perhaps the latest. The brick temple of Bhitargaon is built on a square plan, to which a projection on each face gives a cruciform aspect; like the two others, it rises from a platform. Its tiered roof is crowned by a barrel vault. A portico opening toward the east is covered in the same fashion. The exterior walls are decorated with panels, pilasters, and the chaitya arch motif.

Two other sanctuaries (of stone) are assigned to the end of the Gupta period: the Pārvatī temple at Nachna and the temple at Bhumara (Madhya Pradesh). Basically similar, they each have an ambulatory (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*), roofed over at Nachna, open to the sky at Bhumara. They have a square ground plan and are on a terrace; the decoration comprises panels in high relief and blind chaitya openings in the middle of which are carved one or more divinities. The entrance door at Bhumara is flanked by river goddesses.

At Kathiawar there is a tower-like sanctuary that seems to be nearly contemporaneous with that of Bhumara. Its pyramidal, two-tiered roof is decorated with large blind chaitya openings in a style that can still be regarded as pure.

The Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, which some scholars assign to the 7th or 8th century, is of brick; in front is a mandapa (porch), which appears to be a later addition. The superstructure is much damaged, and its reconstruction is more or less conjectural; as it stands, the roof curves in toward the top and might be a prototype of the shikara (spire) of the medieval period. More or less cruciform, the temple rises from a low platform and is reinforced by ribs intersected by horizontal lines. The mural decoration was carved in the brickwork after the walls were built.

Chronologically, the Śiva temple at Deogarh (Jahnsi District, Uttar Pradesh), which is assigned to the beginning of the 6th century, comes next. It is constructed on a rather high rectangular platform punctuated by four stairways; four pillared porches give it a cruciform aspect. The four columns of each porch are arranged like those of Temple XVII at Sanchi and the temple at Tigowa; the capitals are decorated with vases filled with stylized foliage. The entrance door of the sanctuary is bordered with decorative bands and, below, river goddesses. Finally, some panels in high relief decorate the walls. The terraced roof of the shrine is thought to have supported a pyramidal tower, of which virtually nothing remains.

About 500, while the last Guptas were still ruling over central India, the Deccan witnessed the rise of the Chalukyas, who reigned over Maharashtra until about 753. The earliest

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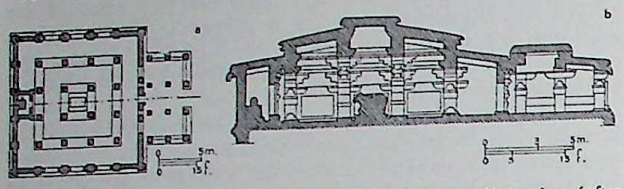
temples of Aihole appear to have been built in the 5th and 6th centuries (some scholars date them earlier). The Lād Khān temple is of a rather special type; it is a structure with flat roof, built on a square plan; the story that surmounts it is a later addition. Three of its walls are broken by windows blocked up with stone grills, and the fourth side has a vast hypostyle porch. The interior resembles a hall with pillars



Aihole, Mysore, Lād Khān temple: (*a*) Ground plan; (*b*) section (*after Brown, 1956*).

(FIG. 959). To a slightly later date is assigned the Durgā temple, which resumes the formula of the chaitya of the ancient period. A double row of pillars delimits the nave, and a veranda with pillars permits circumambulation under cover (FIG. 960; I, PL. 220). These pillars, square in section, are alternately without a capital and with an abacus, like those at Ajanta (I, II, XVI, etc.) and at Aurangabad. Of the same type, but rectangular in plan, the Hucchīmalligudi temple is probably almost contemporaneous.

These temples at Aihole exemplify the beginnings of the Chalukya style; in many details this follows the Gupta and Vākāṭaka styles, and, in a measure, it prefigures the Hoysala, which was to flower in Mysore in the medieval period. It is only toward the end of the 6th century that freestanding architecture truly exploits the experiences of the past to create new styles and orders.

Shortly before 600 there was established what was to become, under the Chalukyas, the Dravidian order; this is first seen in the Mahākuteśvara temple at Badami. (An authoritative study of the Dravidian order was published in 1914 by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.) In the course of the 7th and 8th centuries a series of temples was built — in the southeast among the Pallavas, in the western Deccan among the Chalukyas — which illustrate the new tendencies. The principal sites for the study of the new types of shrines are Badami and Pattadakal (the successive capitals of the Chalukyas) and Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram (mod. Conjeeveram) in the territory of the Pallavas. Mention should also be made of the celebrated Kailāsanātha at Ellora, built by the Rashtrakutas (ca. 750), successors of the Chalukyas in Maharashtra.

There is little difference between constructed buildings and monuments hewed and carved in rock; aside from details, the formulas are interchangeable. Simultaneously in Orissa there appear towers with curvilinear roofs (shikaras), of a type that was to be rendered in a masterly fashion in the medieval period; the earliest [Mukhaliṅgeśvara, Bhīmeśvara, and Someśvara temples at Kalinganagara (mod. Mukhalingam); Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneshwar] still have certain motifs belonging to the late Gupta style.

In fact, the experiments made in the 5th and 6th centuries led the architects of these various regions to conceive of vaster, better-designed temples and, on the basis of the early formulas, to create new and coherent "orders." The period of trials and tentative procedures was over; the Indian temple entered a more homogeneous phase. Definitive types were established, varying according to function but, generally speaking, divided into two principal styles: that of the Deccan, typified by the shrine with pyramidal stepped roof; and that of northern and central India (and as far south as the region of Madras), typified by the shrine with curvilinear roof. It should be emphasized that, concurrently, rock-cut architecture pursued its own course, paralleling freestanding temples, until the 8th century.

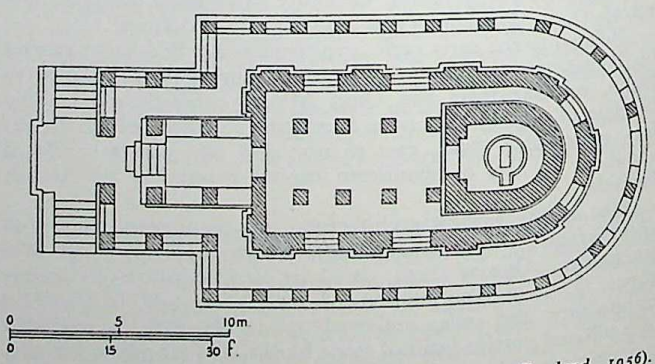
The typological method of classification of temples which has been followed up to this point seems to constitute the best guide for the study of this period, since the large number of edifices precludes exhaustive enumeration and permits mention of only the most interesting. A certain chronological concordance seems to exist between them; thus probably during the reign of the Chalukya king Pulakeśin II (609–42; a contemporary of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj) were built the temples of Meguti at Aihole and Malegitti Śivālaya at Badami (some scholars advance the date of the latter to ca. 700). At Mamallapuram the Pallava kings Mahendravarman I (600–30) and Narasimhavarman I (630–68) were commissioning the carving of the rathas (monolithic shrines) — including the Dharmarāja, which can serve as prototype for the Dravidian vimana of the medieval period (PL. 230; IV, PLS. 127, 254). Similarly, it is possible to compare, on the one hand, the Pāpanātha of Pattadakal (ca. 680?) — constructed by the son of Pulakeśin II, Vikramāditya I (655–81), who had established his capital in this city after Badami had been captured by Narasiṃhavarman I — and, on the other hand, several of the temples erected at Kanchipuram during the reign of this same Narasiṃhavarman.

Toward the beginning of the 8th century, the Shore Temple was erected at Mamallapuram, under the Pallava ruler Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha (680–720); shortly (some 60 years?) afterward the Kailāsanātha temple of Kanchipuram (IV, PL. 255) was built under Rājasiṃha and completed by his son Mahendravarman III; the celebrated Kailāsanātha of Ellora was erected under the Rashtrakuta king Kṛṣṇa I (ca. 757–ca. 773). About 740, according to Percy Brown (1956), three of the great temples of Kanchipuram were erected: the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl (FIG. 961), the Mallikārjuna, and the Galāganātha. In this period, too, appeared the first shikara temples in Orissa.

This survey would be incomplete without mentioning the appearance, in Sind and Multan (in the Punjab), of the first Moslems about 712–15; the invasions were of limited extent at first, but later spread and affected the greater part of India. It should also be borne in mind that about 750 the Pala dynasty was consolidating its power in Bengal, and that this was to have the effect of prolonging the Gupta style until the 12th century.

While the above-mentioned freestanding temples were being built, caves continued to be cut at Ajanta, Aurangabad, Badami (Cave III bears an inscription dated 578), Nasik, Elephanta, and Mamallapuram. These represent the terminal phase of this type of architecture, the latest examples of which were probably hollowed out in the 8th century. These are Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanic caves, both chaitya halls and monasteries.

According to Brown's chronology, the earliest caves are those of Ajanta during its second period of occupation: Viharas XV, VII, VI, and, most notably, XVI and XVII; the last two contain inscriptions connecting them with the Vākaṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (ca. 470–ca. 510) and are adorned with frescoes (PL. 457). Probably this was the period during which the temples of Aihole were built. Chaitya XIX and Vihara XX were exca-



Aihole, Mysore, ground plan of Durgā temple (*after Rowland, 1956*).

vated in the period 500–50. Chaitya XIX is one of the most beautiful caves at Ajanta; its nave is delimited by large pillars, and the sculptured façade, opening in a large horseshoe-shaped bay, is preceded by a portico supported on two pillars (PLS. 140, 141, 454).

Viharas XXI, XXII, and XXIII were probably excavated from 550 to 600. In the early 7th century, Chaitya XXVI and

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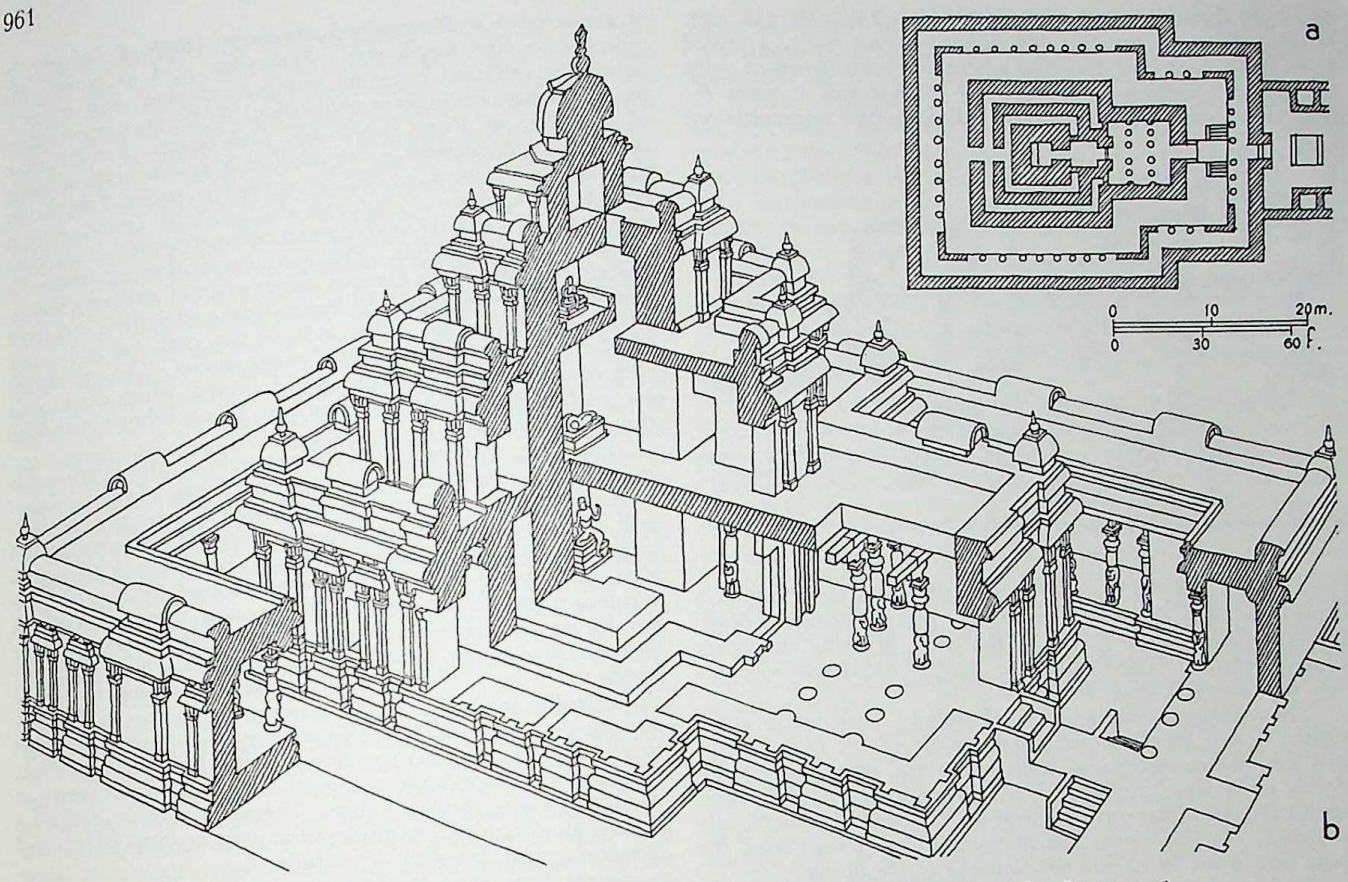


Kanchipuram, Madras, Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple: (*a*) Ground plan; (*b*) perspective section (*after Brown, 1956*).

Viharas II and I were cut; they are the most famous caves of Ajanta. Chaitya XXVI repeats the usual apsidal sanctuary plan; its nave is bordered by handsome pillars whose abaci are delicately ornamented with representations of the Buddha; a high frieze runs between the abutments of the vault ribs and the abaci. The small-scale stupa at the end of the nave shows especially fine carving (II, PL. 381). Closely resembling the stupa of Chaitya XIX, it shows, within a portico, a Buddha seated European-style (*pralambhapādāsana*) and making the gesture of turning the Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakramudrā*). On the left wall of the sanctuary is a colossal recumbent Buddha, illustrating the "death of the Buddha" (*Parinirvāṇa*). Viharas II and I are outstanding for the beauty of their pillars with abaci, both on the façade and in the hall, and of the frescoes covering the walls and ceilings (PLS. 455–457).

Vihara XXIV was begun about 635; Viharas III, IV, V, XIV, XXV, XXVII, and XXIX and Chaitya XXVIII were started about 640; all of these are unfinished, undoubtedly because the site was ultimately abandoned.

The century 550–650 was a period of intensive building activity. Some of the caves of Aurangabad, comparable in many details with those of Ajanta, were hollowed out during this time, the latest appearing to date from the early 8th century. Cave III at Badami contains an inscription dated 578 and is thus contemporaneous with the Chalukya ruler Kīrtivarman I (ca. 566–97). At Mamallapuram the principal caves probably date from the first half of the 7th century. At Ellora during this period a whole series of Buddhist and Hindu monasteries and sanctuaries was established: Buddhist Viharas I and V and Hall II and Hindu Cave XXIX (Dumar Lenā; PLS. 468, 469; IV, 130) in the first half of the 7th century; and Hindu caves XXI (Rāmeśvaram), XXV, and XXVII in the second half. It may be that the rathas at Mamallapuram are contemporaneous.

Rock-cut architecture continued into the 8th century with the construction of the Ellora caves. These (still following the chronology of Percy Brown) date from about 700 to 750: Buddhist Viharas VI, VII, and VIII, Buddhist Cave IX, Chaitya X (Viśvakarmā), Buddhist Viharas XI (Do-Tjal) and XII (Tīn-Thal), Hindu Hall XIII, and Hindu caves XIV (Rāvaṇa-ka-Khai) and XV (Daśavatāra; some large high reliefs adorn this cave). They constitute a remarkable ensemble. Probably contemporaneous is the celebrated sanctuary of Elephanta, hollowed out in an island in Bombay harbor (FIG. 963). This was also the time when the principal temples of Pattadakal must have been constructed: Pāpanātha (ca. 680), Saṅgameśvara (ca. 725), and the three temples of Virūpākṣa (FIG. 964; IV, PLS. 128, 129), Mallikārjuna, and Galāgnātha (ca. 740). Lastly, the monumental Kailāsanātha at Ellora, attributed to Kṛṣṇa I, and the Kailāsanātha at Kanchipuram, dating from the reign of Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha, were erected.

The latest caves of Ellora, XXXII and XXXIII (Indra Sabhā and Jagannātha Sabhā), both two-storied and belonging to the Jain sect (VIII, PL. 251), mark the chronological end of the site. Rock-cut architecture then disappeared definitively, and a new phase began which can be regarded as medieval.

*Diverse aspects of sculpture.* Brahmanic sculpture, of which only a few examples are known up to the Gupta period, becomes abundant from the 5th–6th century on, little by little supplanting Buddhist sculpture. But whether Buddhist or Brahmanic, the sculpture of this period is divided into two categories: cult images and narrative reliefs.

The personages represented by the statues are of two kinds: on the one hand, Buddhas perpetuating earlier traditions; on the other, bodhisattvas and Brahmanic divinities whose princely apparel and jewelry contrast with the monastic simplicity of the Buddhas.

The stone Buddhas are often of great size; adorned with a large circular nimbus, they lean against the stele that provides their background — as if the Gupta artist, despite his virtuosity, had not dared to disengage the figure completely from the block of stone. Two leading schools, Sarnath and Mathura, pro-



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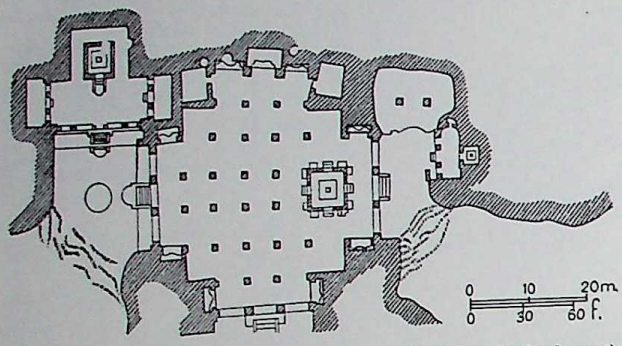
duced the finest examples of this style (PLS. 134, 138, 452, 453; II, 380); there are but few differences between them. Derived from the Gandharan Buddha, whose monastic garment with low rounded neckline and concentric folds it still at times retains, the Gupta Buddha brings to the type a new interpretation:




Elephanta, Maharashtra, ground plan of Śiva temple (*after Rowland, 1956*).

the idealized features lend the face a mysterious and meditative expression. The garments, soon to lose any semblance of draping (5th cent.?), cling closely to the body, allowing the figure to show through. The modeling is very rounded and accentuates the calm and static attitude.

The restrained bearing, full of dignity, that marks these figures is also the dominant characteristic of the bodhisattvas and Brahmanic personages depicted in the same period: the tunics, of varying length, in which they are clad cling to their forms; the few ornaments they wear are delicate and meticulously depicted. No elaboration and no mannerisms detract from the pure line of the limbs and the elegance of the profile.

In the course of the 6th and 7th centuries, the qualities of the Gupta style became debased, and the types — even while settling into more precise iconographic conventions — became more impersonal. In general, the figures are heavier and thicker, their gestures more mechanical. Like his prototype, the post-Gupta Buddha wears a garment that is almost invisible, clinging closely to the body and either curving round the neck or leaving the right shoulder bare. Similarly, the *dharmacakramudrā* is common, as it is, in fact, from the outset of this style. Often the Buddhas are in the *pralambhapādāsana* pose. The representations, multiplied to infinity on the walls of the sanctuaries, untiringly repeat the same types (which influenced all the countries of southeast Asia). The bodhisattvas and Brahmanic divinities follow the same esthetic canons. They are still relatively lightly attired, and their gestures are not yet well defined. Their headdresses and jewels are heavier and more elaborate. They have lost the serene elegance of their Gupta counterparts and have begun to fall into the banal.

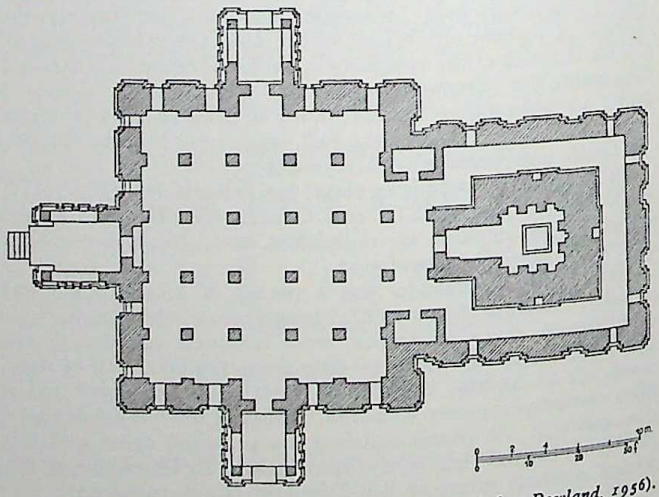
It is chiefly in the narrative reliefs that the two periods diverge and that post-Gupta art (Chalukya, Pallava, etc.) attains scope and beauty. There is no denying that the Buddhist Gupta reliefs present, on the whole, a systematized aspect that soon renders them monotonous. The scenes are often arranged one above another in several tiers; the compositions are conventional; there is little feeling for the picturesque. However, new vigor was to be breathed into this type of sculpture by Brahmanism, which, from the very earliest works (large compositions of Viṣṇu-Varāha, at Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh; 5th cent.), gives evidence of a remarkable sense of the monumental. The island of Elephanta (PL. 467), Mamallapuram, on the western coast of the Deccan, and Ellora in Maharashtra show the finest examples. Each of these sites has its particular idiom. At Elephanta (end of 6th–beginning of 7th cent.) two panels framing the colossal bust of Maheśamūrti present their figures in hierarchic fashion, incisively carved; they are distinguished more for purity of form and line than for originality of composition.

At Mamallapuram (first half of 7th cent.), the Pallava school produced works of the first rank (IV, PLS. 127, 171, 258). The principal caves contain large panels carved in high relief revealing in some cases well-organized symmetry (*Bath of Lakṣmī*), in others complete asymmetry. Somewhat cold in aspect, the figures nevertheless have the stamp of elegance and majesty; one of the best examples is unquestionably the great composition of the *Sleep of Viṣṇu* (Cave XV, Daśāvatāra). But the most marvelous achievement is the relief at Mamallapuram covering the whole of an enormous cliff, known as the *Descent of the Ganges* (or "Arjuna's Penance"; PLS. 231, 464; IV, 256). In the center is a natural cleft, and above this was a cistern from which the water cascaded down the cleft. The vast composition represents the descent to earth of the Ganges, sacred river of purifying waters. The river is represented by nagas (snake divinities) and their wives; converging on either side of the cleft are gods, men of all conditions, and animals of every species. The expressiveness of attitudes and details, the skill with which the animals are portrayed, the beauty of form — all contribute to making this a majestic work.

The calm nobility of the Pallava style of Mamallapuram is in marked contrast to the fire and dynamism of the Chalukya style as seen at Ellora (7th–8th cent.), with its accenting diagonals and symmetrically opposed masses. One of the most typical of the panels represents the avatar of Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha, struggling against the impious king who refused to recognize the supremacy of his divinity. The opposing movements of the two facing combatants are balanced with great mastery. The theme of the cosmic dance of Śiva (*tāṇḍava*) is also felicitously handled by the Chalukya sculptors, who were able to convey the mingled exuberance and triumphant frenzy of the god. Among the many reliefs at this site, attention should be drawn to the one adorning the sanctuary of the Kailāsanātha, which, appropriately, represents the giant demon Rāvaṇa's attack on Mount Kailasa, abode of Śiva. Executed with the skill of a master, this composition displays the same qualities of balanced movement and diversity of attitude.

Never again were the Indian artists to produce comparable works. They were still able, recalling the lessons of the past, to animate temple walls and roofs with countless figures; but they no longer concerned themselves, as had artists up to the 8th century, with the organizing of vast compositions.

*Culmination of mural painting*. The Gupta and post-Gupta period constitute the apogee of Indian painting. Ajanta has the largest number of examples, and also the finest — a continuation of the frescoes of Chaityas IX and X of the preceding period. Paintings have also been found at Bagh (Madhya Pradesh),



Pattadakal, Mysore, ground plan of Virūpākṣa temple (*after Rowland, 1956*).

Sigiriya (Ceylon), Sitannavasal (eastern Deccan), and Badami (Maharashtra). Chronologically their range is, roughly, from the 5th to the 8th century.

The chemical analysis and purely technical study of the paintings is still incomplete and fragmentary. According to

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a well-documented study by S. Gunasinghe (1957) on the technique of painting described in the Śilpaśāstras, the process involved is a sort of tempera painting, approximating fresco secco. The compositions in these periods vary in quality, those of Ajanta being the most masterly, subtly combining, as they do, the so-called "rotating" perspective with the blending of scenes by the device of introducing secondary personages. In the interpretation of subjects there is a close correlation with literary themes, especially of the theater and the dance. A reliable guide to the interpretation of the principal subjects treated at Ajanta is an early study by A. Foucher (1921). The subjects examined in the four caves with the finest decoration (XVI, XVII, II, I) were, like the narrative reliefs of the previous period, mostly taken from Jātakas, Avadānas, and episodes of the last human incarnation of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Although several frescoes are still to be interpreted, we have a fairly complete picture of the iconography followed by the Ajanta painters. There emerges the interest they took, on the one hand, in illustrating the most popular Jātakas and, on the other hand, in illustrating the life of Śākyamuni (stopping, however, before the *Parinirvāṇa*).

Twenty-six different Jātakas have been identified by A. Foucher and G. Yazdani as figuring in the paintings at Ajanta. The *Sutasoma Jātaka* is depicted in Viharas XVI (veranda frieze) and XVII (rear wall of vestibule). The *Ṣaḍḍanta* appears in Vihara XVII (veranda walls; it is also seen in Chaitya X, ca. 2d cent.). The *Mahākapi* is depicted twice in Vihara XVII (veranda façade and vestibule wall). The *Hasti* is shown in Viharas XVII (façade wall of veranda) and XVI. The *Viśvantara* is depicted in Vihara XVII (façade wall of hall; I, PLS. 43, 44). In addition, in Vihara XVII the following Jātakas are also illustrated: the *Śarabha*, the *Mātṛpoṣaka*, and the *Matsya* (all on the rear wall of the hall); the *Śyāma* (also seen in Vihara XVI) the *Siṃha(kuñjara)* and the *Yajña* (and *Brahmā*; left and right walls of veranda respectively); the *Mahā-Ummagga* and the *Nigrodhamṛga* (façade wall of hall); the *Mṛga* and the Jātaka named for the Bear (on the same wall, the first being divided into two separate scenes in a version that does not follow the known tex of the Jātaka); the *Śibi* (right wall of hall); and the episode of the furious elephant (façade wall).

Vihara II, which follows chronologically after Viharas XVI and XVII, depicts seven Jātakas: the *Mahākapi*, the *Mṛga*, the *Kṣāntivādi*, the *Mahāhṃsa*, the *Ruru*, the *Vidhurapaṇḍita*, the *Maghadeva*, and the Jātaka called "Lesson of the Cock."

In Vihara I, the paintings of which seem to be the latest (6th cent.), are depicted the *Śibi* (façade wall of hall), the *Sankhapāla* (left wall of hall), the *Cāmpeya* (rear wall), and the *Mahājanaka* (I, PLS. 42, 46).

As for episodes in the life of the Buddha, a whole series is depicted in these four monasteries. Thus his life can be followed, beginning with the prophecy of Dīpaṃkara to the future Śākyamuni, which is represented twice (XVII, XIX). Next can be seen the Bodhisattva, before his birth, seated amid the gods in the Tushita heaven (II, left wall of hall), then preaching in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven before "descending" into the womb of Queen Māyā (façade wall of hall of XVI; left vestibule wall of XVII). Next comes the narrative of Queen Māyā's dream at the moment of conception and its interpretation (II, left wall; XVII, right wall). Succeeding them are the trip to the garden of Lumbini, the Birth, the Seven First Steps (II, left wall), and the horoscope of Aṣita during the presentation in the temple of the child Bodhisattva (XVI, left and rear walls). There follow two scenes depicting the Bodhisattva at school and engaging in physical exercise with his school fellows (XIII, right wall). The cycle of his youth terminates with the (four) departures of the Bodhisattva from his father's palace (XVI, right wall of hall).

The cycle of the Illumination is represented by the First Meditation (XVI, right wall), the first visit to Rajagriha (XVI), the offering of Sujātā (XVI), the temptation of Buddha by Māra (I, left wall of vestibule giving access to sanctuary), the offering of the merchants Trapuṣa, and Bhallika (XVI, right wall), the return to Kapilavastu (XVI), the conversion of Nanda (XVI, left wall), the alms of the handful of dust (XVII, rear wall), the great miracle of Śrāvastī (I, right wall; II, rear wall; XVII, right wall), the interrogation of Śāriputra (XVII, left wall), two scenes of preaching (XVI, left and rear walls), and the episode of the furious elephant (XVII, façade wall of veranda).

A few Adavānas are also depicted: the *Pūrṇā Avadāna* (II, left wall), the *Candraprabha Avadāna* (XVII, left wall of veranda), the *Prabhāsa Avadāna* (XVII, right wall of hall), and the *Siṃhāla Avadāna* (XVII); the last-mentioned is the only composition at Ajanta containing an attempt at landscape. Finally, there is an illustration of the *Mahāsamāya Sūtra* (XVII, right wall of veranda).

From the same epoch as the paintings at Ajanta, perhaps contemporaneous with the earliest (5th cent.?), are the paintings of Sigiriya in Ceylon, which resemble them only in the details of attire. These depict only female figures half emerging from stylized clouds (III, PL. 178).

The frescoes of Bagh are Buddhist. Less subtle and less delicate than the Ajanta frescoes, they are more powerful; the masses of the elephants and horses are manipulated with a remarkable sense of plastic values. Both here and at Ajanta there is the same predilection for circular and oval compositions.

The frescoes of Sittanavasal are Jain and are assigned to the 6th and 7th centuries. They depict the "first heaven" of Indra. Here again are notable differences from Ajanta and Bagh: a preponderant role is given to elements of plant life, and the human figure is reduced in scale. Purity of line and a simplicity of effect nonetheless give these frescoes an air of kinship with the paintings of Ajanta, despite the differences in subject and in composition.

Finally, the paintings of Badami, undoubtedly of a much later period, appear to be Brahmanic, probably Vaishnava, like the ensemble of the sculptured iconography of Cave III, in which they were executed. This cave was constructed in 578, as is indicated by the dated inscription mentioned above in connection with its architecture, but the style of the paintings is clearly more advanced.

The art of mural paintings, as evidenced in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and the preceding period as well, was not exclusively narrative. Pillars and ceilings are often adorned with scrolls, decorative motifs, and floral designs of great delicacy of execution (PL. 456). The custom of depicting Buddhas, and sometimes other personages, on the shafts of interior pillars is invariable at Ajanta; it obtains also at Pitalkhora, apparently in the same period.

Thus one of the richest periods in the art of India comes to a close. Extremely varied, ranging from the purism of Gupta to the dynamism of post-Gupta, it offers a gamut of experiments and discoveries representing the evolution of an art that had already attained maturity in the early schools.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD (9th–16th cent.). *Breakup of political unity.* After the downfall of the imperial dynasty of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj in the 7th century, the unity of India was broken. Thereafter the exercise of leadership shifted freely, and the political map was modified at random in accordance with the conquests of the boldest houses. In the 8th century the Palas of Bengal and the Pratīhāras of Kanauj divided northern and central India between them, while Bundelkhand (in central India) witnessed the rise to power of the Candella family (ca. 830), which was to become illustrious in later times. During this period Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa reigned in the west; then the Utpālas came to power in Kashmir, where, in 855, they had succeeded the Kārkoṭas. In Kathiawar and Gujarat the Cāpotkatas, superseding the Valabhi rulers eliminated by the Moslems about 730–40, held sway until about 974.

In the Deccan, the Rashtrakutas extended their domain, in Malwa and Gujarat even becoming formidable adversaries of the Pratīhāras (815); in addition, they defeated the Pallavas of the Carnatic, reducing them to serfdom (844). Another dynasty, the Cholas, reigned at Tanjore; it brought about the fall of the Pallavas about 888–90.

The 10th century witnessed the consolidation of some states and the decline of others. Renewed Moslem incursions under the Ghaznevids penetrated the Punjab, where the invaders clashed with the Śāhis. Kashmir came under the leadership of the

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Lohāras, who supplanted the Utpālas about 958. Simultaneously, the Pratīhāra empire was being attacked by the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyani; their former vassals in Bundelkhand, the Candellas, proclaimed their independence and sovereignty (prior to 954). On their flank, the Paramāras, originally natives of Rajputana, were carving out a kingdom in southwest Malwa. The Palas of Bihar and Bengal engaged in violent territorial disputes with their turbulent neighbors but maintained their authority. During this time, the Rashtrakutas of Maharashtra were displaced, not without a struggle, by their former adversaries, the Chalukyas (973). Led by Maḥmūd of Ghazni, the Moslem armies advanced into Indian territory, annihilating, at the beginning of the 11th century, the Śāhīs, who constituted the last serious barrier to Hindu India.

Moslem raids increased in the course of the 11th century, bringing about the downfall of the last of the Pratīhāras. In addition, a perpetual state of tension was rousing the Hindu princes, unaware of the threat to their future that the Islamic hold on Indian soil represented, against one another. Struggles continued, frontiers kept shifting, alliances were precarious. In the north the most stable and powerful sovereigns were the Palas; in central India, the Candellas; in the Deccan, the Chalukyas and the Cholas reached the peak of their influence.

The 12th century opened with a political upheaval, in the course of which a number of houses rose to power, among others the Gāhaḍavālas in Doab, the Solankis (Chaulukyas) in Gujarat and Malwa, and the Cāhamānas in the region of Delhi. Once again, the holy war carried the Islamic invaders [the Ghorids (Ghuris)] into the heart of central India and as far as Magadha, causing the fall of once flourishing kingdoms.

At the start of the 13th century only four Hindu houses of ancient lineage were still reigning in northern and central India over territories large enough to warrant their being called kingdoms: the Candellas, until 1288; the Paramāras (ca. 1310), although very much reduced; the Solankis (1297); and, in Kashmir, the successors of the Lohāras (ca. 1339). In Bengal, the Senas, who had succeeded the Palas (ca. 1160), were conquered in their turn (1202). All the other dynasties succumbed under the blows of Muḥammad of Ghor, of Iltutmish, and of the succeeding invaders.

The Moslems, now firmly installed in the north, advanced toward the south. The Chalukyas disappeared from the scene, as did, in turn, the Yādavas, who had succeeded them in Maharashtra (1317–18), the Hoysalas of Mysore (1292), the Pandyas of the Carnatic (1310), and the Kākatīyas of Warangal (1323). Only the kingdom of Vijayanagar remained intact — the last Hindu bastion. It maintained its independence until 1565, when it was defeated in the battle of Talikota. Indian political life now entered upon a new phase, which was to see the formation of a great Moslem empire, that of the Moghuls.

Despite the incessant struggles of the Hindu dynasties among themselves, which paved the way for the invaders, art flourished. Each dynasty boasted its power by encouraging the erection of temples, one more vast and sumptuous than another; and each king established a new capital when his had been contaminated by the presence, even if only temporary, of the enemy. Thus this became a period of great building activity, in which architects had full play for their talents. But the political fragmentation was reflected in art, accentuating the regional character of the various styles. From this time on, the architects of the north followed a different inspiration from those of the south.

*Different regional styles of north and center: a. Pala style.* Toward the close of the 8th century the Palas firmly established their hold on the throne of Bengal and Magadha, the region that had been the cradle of Buddhist civilization. Faithful to this religion, the Pala rulers encouraged it enormously, giving renewed impetus to the university city of Nalanda, whose reputation was already established outside India. The Palas resumed the territorial conquests of earlier dynasties — holding sway principally in the basin of the Ganges and in Bihar, successfully repulsing the assaults of the Pratīhāras, Kāmboyas, Cholas, and Kalacūrīs — until the Moslem conqueror Muḥammad Bakhtiyār put an end to the dynasty, massacring Buddhist monks and finally stamping out Buddhism in the only regions of India where it had survived. The Brahmanic dynasty of the Senas succeeded the Palas about 1160 but was in turn annihilated by the Moslems in 1202.

It is, then, in the region of the Ganges that examples of the Pala style are most numerous. Saturated with post-Gupta tradition, this style is remarkable not for originality but rather for a conscientious conservatism, which gives it a certain interest for the art historian.

Not much survives of the architecture, the monasteries and sanctuaries having suffered serious damage at the hands of the Moslems. Through remains discovered at Nalanda, Sarnath, and Paharpur it is possible, however, to establish the fact that brick was used in the construction of stupas and monasteries. A few of the less-damaged stupas indicate little change from the preceding period, except for the more bulbous dome; this feature, spreading to Burma and Nepal, characterized the stupa that was the prototype of those of southeast Asia.

The Pala style can be studied chiefly in the sculpture of the period; a large number of works exist, executed in stone and bronze. The stone icons take the form of a large figure framed by small-scale attendants, the whole group standing out against the stele background. The iconographic types are varied: the Buddha, bodhisattvas, divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon — all are represented. There is a feeling of heaviness, owing to the excessive richness of attire, abundance of detail, and mannered gestures. The art takes on a somewhat mechanical aspect; the execution becomes conventional. Despite the great care taken to achieve purity in the forms, the art has lost its spontaneity.

During the centuries of its development, Pala art underwent a definite evolution that can be followed chronologically in the dated inscriptions often engraved on statue bases. From the end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 10th century, the stone icons remain close to post-Gupta types. Following a period of distinct preference for the Buddha, the iconography was transformed, under the influence of Mahayana Buddhism, and the representation of bodhisattvas, particularly Lokeśvara and Lokanātha, became increasingly frequent. The steles have rounded tops, and the background is largely visible (PL. 462). In the course of the 10th century, the iconography was strongly colored by Tantrism; the figures are elongated and refined, and the modeling becomes looser. In the 11th century and the first decade of the 12th, the style grows heavier, drier, and more mannered. The steles terminate in a pointed, leaf-shaped summit, and the background is crowded with details that leave less and less empty space. To the accouterment of preceding centuries is now added a heavy garland falling from the neck to the calf of the leg, rounded in a U shape. The Brahmanic divinities are more frequently seen than the Buddhist; a distinct iconographic type is the so-called "Buddha paré" ("Buddha adorned"), which was to be transmitted to the Buddhist countries of southeast Asia, its unorthodoxy notwithstanding.

Pala-Sena statuary had a direct influence in Nepal. Its imprint can be discerned in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Java. Its manner recurs likewise in dried-earth and polychrome statues brought to light at Fondukistan (Afghanistan) and Tumshuk (Sinkiang).

The bronze icons date in the main from the 9th century, and most of them come from Nalanda (II, PL. 384). The metal (an alloy of eight components), cast by the lost-wax process, was often covered with a thin coat of kaolin or clay, in lieu of patina. The majority of these bronzes are small in scale; a few are life-sized or over (standing Buddha from Sultanganj; Birmingham, Eng., City Mus. and Art Gall.). Usually the figures are detached from a pierced background, more or less richly ornamented — the flaming orb of the nimbi and the animals adorning the thrones and their backs create a rather animated design, contrasting with the static attitude of the principal figure. In the reign of Devapāla (ca. 815–45) there seems to have been an exchange of influence between the monasteries of Nalanda, where more than two hundred examples have been

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discovered, and those of Sumatra and Java, where numerous bronzes of the same type were executed in this period.

Pala-Sena art thus appears on the whole as rather formal and lacking in creative impulse. Without quite falling into the category of the mediocre, it nevertheless ranks as only an extension of the great art that reached its culmination under the Guptas (see PALA-SENA SCHOOLS).

*b. Styles of Orissa and Bundelkhand.* The beauty of the temples erected in central India from about the end of the 8th through the 13th century puts this region in a place of first importance in the evolution of architectural types and ground plans. The holy city of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa and the religious capital of the Candellas, Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, sum up the styles of these regions; between them, they represent nearly fifty temples. Besides these there are the celebrated Temple of the Sun (Sūrya temple) at Konarak (PL. 486) and the sanctuary of Jagannātha at Puri.

In all the sanctuaries of northern and central India only one type of shikara is used, more or less high and more or less complex, whereas in the south, during the first part of the medieval period, this type of shikara appears along with one with a pyramidal roof. The adjoining buildings are different: they may be topped by a pyramid formed by a succession of cornices arranged in several superimposed sections or crowned with a tower lower than that of the sanctuary.

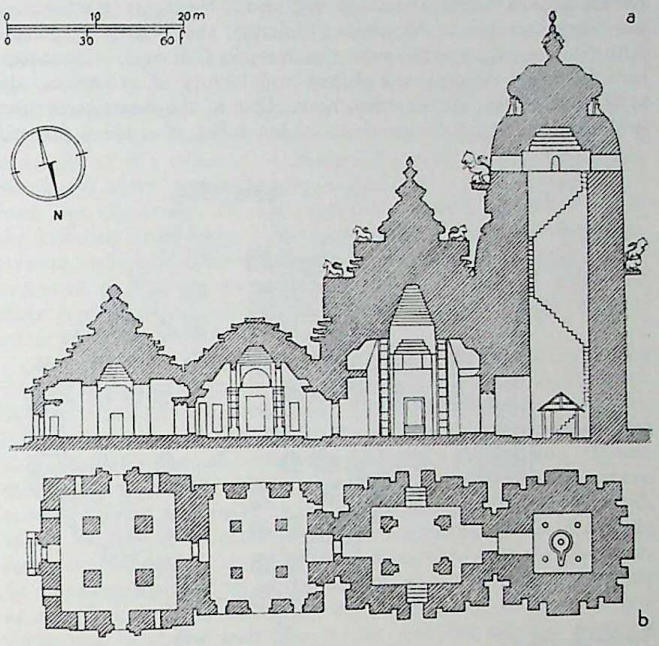
Chronologically the sanctuaries can be classified as falling into three periods: (1) from the end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 10th, the *mis en place* of the various elements constituting the style; (2) from the 10th to the 12th century, the apogee of the style; (3) the 12th and 13th centuries, the more or less successful turning to account of earlier experience.

To the first, formative period are assigned the earliest temples of Bhuvaneshwar: Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaital Deul, Uttareśvara, Sutru Gaṇeśvara, Bhārateśvara, and Lakṣmaṇeśvara, which appear to be earlier than 900. Among these (some of which are in ruins) the Vaital Deul is one of the most interesting, for rather than a shikara it has a double-vaulted roof similar to that crowning the gopuras of southeast Asia; thus it resumes, in the sturdy materials characteristic of post-Gupta architecture, the ancient formula of the Buddhist chaitya, the existence of which has been noted in the Durgā temple at Aihole. The tower of the Vaital Deul is decorated with large pediments in which it is not difficult to recognize the theme of the chaitya arch; it is preceded by a hall flanked at each corner by a little chapel, thus foreshadowing the quincunxial sanctuary (*pañcāyātana*), a formula that was to be frequent in succeeding periods.

To the 9th century also are assigned three of the earliest temples at Khajuraho, probably dating from before 900, and thus erected before the Candellas had proclaimed their sovereignty. These are the temples of Caunsat Yogīnī, of Lālguān Mahādeva, and of Brahmā. The first is very remarkable. It consists of 64 identical chapels (the traditional number of the *yogīnī*), all set against a rectangular enclosure and facing an interior courtyard; this is an unusual arrangement, the temples of the *yogīnī* being generally circular. The central temple has disappeared and only about 30 chapels remain. This is one of the few sanctuaries at Khajuraho built entirely of granite, the temples of Lālguān Mahādeva and of Brahmā being of yellow sandstone and granite, and all those of the following period entirely of sandstone.

In the period from the 10th to the 12th century were erected the most beautiful temples of Khajuraho as well as of Bhuvaneshwar. In the latter city, these were the Mukteśvara (ca. 975), the Liṅgarāja (ca. 1000), and, somewhat later, the Brahmeśvara and the Rāmeśvara. At Khajuraho, in the reign of Dhaṅga (950–1008) and probably under his successor's successor, Vidyādhara (1017–28), were built the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva, the Viśvanātha and the Caturbhuja (both *pañcāyātana* type), the Pārśvanātha (PL. 472), the Devī Jagadambī, and the Sūrya temple. The two most remarkable among all these are the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneshwar (FIG. 970; PL. 482) and the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho (PL. 230). They represent the high point of medieval architecture north of the Vindhya Mountains. Their respective architects interpreted the theme of the shikara differently: in the former it assumed an ogival shape; in the latter it is very slender. Related to this group is the sanctuary of Jagannātha at Puri (ca. 1100). Built on a hill, it is a rather spiritless replica of the Liṅgarāja of Bhuvaneshwar.

This period, in which sculpture reaches the height of its perfection and maintains a level of exceptional esthetic quality (PLS. 479–481), displays a marked predilection for the theme




Bhuvaneshwar, Orissa, Liṅgarāja temple: (*a*) Section; (*b*) ground plan (*after Brown, 1956*).

of the amorous couple (*mithuna*; PL. 473). Erotic groups appear in Indian iconography as early as the 1st or 2d century and are common to the three principal religions of India. The theme assumes considerable importance in the medieval period, probably under the influence of the Tantric sects in their search for mystical union through the performance of the sexual act by initiates.

The last phase (13th cent.) is represented by temples on a less grandiose scale but of great richness of decoration. To this period belong the Temple of Rājrānī at Bhuvaneshwar, a few of the later sanctuaries at Khajuraho, and, most notable of all, the celebrated Temple of the Sun (Sūrya temple) at Konarak (PL. 486), which imitates a ratha (processional wagon). The last-named, erected in the reign of Narasiṃhadeva (1238–64), is unquestionably one of the most original structures, despite certain technical weaknesses.

*c. Styles of Rajputana, Kathiawar, and Gujarat.* The architectural past of these regions is one of great richness, and its course can be followed uninterruptedly from the 8th to the 11th century. Unfortunately the incessant wars between the Hindu princes and the devastating attacks of the Moslems ruined many sanctuaries and transformed others into mosques.

From the 10th to the 13th century, Gujarat, Kathiawar, and a part of Rajputana were reunited under the Solankis. The target of continuous attacks from their neighbors, they were displaced by usurpers (1232), who in turn were overwhelmed by the Islamic invaders (1297). The Solanki rulers were nevertheless great builders, as were their vassals. They were protectors of Brahmanism and Jainism.

In Rajputana (mod. Rajasthan) the most important architectural group is at Osia, not far from Jodhpur — which, in a measure, was inspired by Osia's style. Several of the temples of Osia (Harihara, Sūrya; both beautifully proportioned) are

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of *pañcāyātana* type. The best-preserved structure of this site is the Jain temple of Mahāvīra (end of 8th–9th cent.). To the end of the 10th century is assigned the Pipala Devī, notable for the treatment of its pillars.

The temples at Sunak, Kanoda, Dilmal, and Kasava (end of 10th cent.) are typical of the Gujarat style and follow the traditional plan, uniting in one structure the principal buildings of the temple. One of the most complete is the Temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at Sunak.

Next chronologically, belonging to the 11th century, are the temples of Navalakha at Ghumli and at Sejakpur (Kathiawar), the Sūrya temple at Modhera (Gujarat), the Vimala at Mount Abu (Rajasthan), and the group at Karadu (Mewar). Characterized by great decorative richness and beauty of execution, the styles reach their culmination here. One of the finest structures is the temple at Modhera; the roof has fallen, but there are still some magnificent pillars connected to cusped arches of a type that was to be exploited by Indo-Moslem architects (FIG. 971; PL. 483). The Vimala temple at Mount Abu (1031), built of white marble and in a much better state of preservation, is of a similar type but overornamented. The finest ceilings of India, with radiating corbels and a central pendent element, were conceived and realized in this era. The Jain temples are highly decorated on the interior.

The 12th century witnessed the continuance of this evolution; unfortunately, the examples of this period are greatly damaged. The most famous is the Somnātha of Somnathpur, a national sanctuary, so to speak; its eminently sacred character made it, more than any other, the target of Islamic iconoclasm, and it was several times gutted by fire and destroyed, several times rebuilt and restored. It included a three-story mandapa.

The 13th century saw the defeat of the Hindu princes of this region. In its early years only a few temples were erected, notable among them Tejapāla's temple at Mount Abu (PL. 484; VIII, PL. 254). Very similar to the Vimala, the Tejapāla attests to the survival, two centuries later, of a Jain style; however, its decoration lacks the elegance of the earlier period.

In addition to these religious structures a special type of edifice should be mentioned: the so-called "tower of fame" (*kīrttistambha*), a freestanding column in front of a temple (VIII, PL. 255). Deriving from the torana of the most ancient period, this structure, now a high portico whose massive pillars are connected by cusped arches, often served for the rite in which the statue of a god was balanced on a swing hanging from the architrave.

Western India has also preserved civil and military buildings of the medieval period, some of which go back to the 12th and 13th centuries (Dabhoi in Gujarat), as well as some sacred pools and wells surmounted by pavilions.

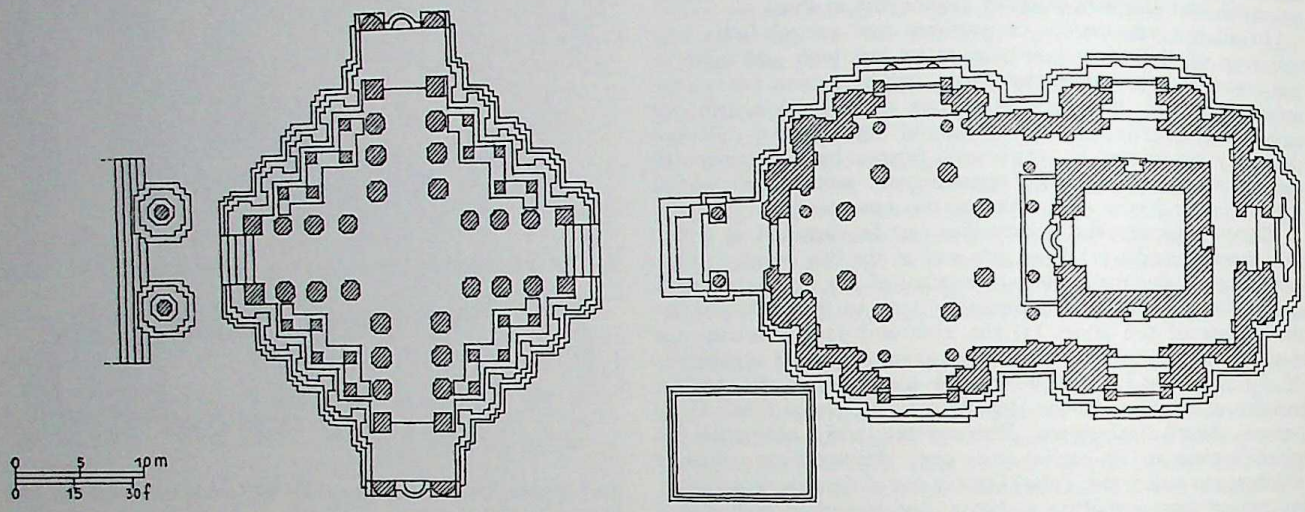
*d. Styles of Kashmir, Nepal, and Brahmanic Bengal.* A few regional styles differing from those discussed above should be touched on here: those of Kashmir (9th–14th cent.), of Nepal (13th–18th cent.), and of certain Brahmanic temples of Bengal (9th–18th cent.). Each offers unusual characteristics that distinguish it from the majority of the great northern styles.

In Kashmir the sanctuary is generally small in scale and supports a roof composed of several superimposed truncated pyramids; each of its façades is decorated with a door surmounted by a triangular pediment, within which is inscribed a cusped arch — a form probably derived from the Gandharan tradition. Most typical are the Śiva temple of Avantiśvara and the Viṣṇu temple of Avantisvāmi, erected at Avantipur by the famous king Avantivarman (856–83). The Avantisvāmi temple, better preserved, is of *pañcāyātana* type. The sculpture from Avantipur is noteworthy (PLS. 228, 463; VIII, 362, 363). Avantivarman's successor, Śaṅkaravarman (883–902), commissioned the temples of Patan, all unfortunately almost ruins (VIII, PL. 364). A sanctuary especially typical of the Kashmir style is the Śiva Rilhaneśvara temple at Pandrethan (12th cent.), which incorporates the features just described and which is simply an outgrowth of earlier temples, such as those at Martand (8th cent.; FIG. 973; VIII, PLS. 360, 361) and at Srinagar (9th cent.). During the last period, several sanctuaries of very small dimensions are monolithic. In the neighboring provinces, the Kashmir style is represented in northern Punjab and at Bilot, a site on the Indus near the northwest frontier.

A hybrid style developed in Nepal, deriving from the northern shikara and the Chinese pagoda. Wood, elaborately wrought, played an important role. A number of elements of the Pala-Sena style of Bengal and Orissa are encountered here. The finest artistic period is that of the seventh Malla king, Jayastithi (r. 1382–95; cf. L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, p. 131 ff.). Nepalese architecture forms a connecting link between that of India and Tibet, and partakes as much of one as of the other.

In Bengal, along with sanctuaries built in the tradition of Orissa (Begunia, 9th–10th cent.; Barakar, 17th cent.), there occurs a late but original style apparently expressing altogether local forms (*jor-baṅgla* at Vishnupur, 18th cent.): the sanctuary, with a square ground plan, is covered with heavy convex roofs, rising in triangular pediments and crowned by a tower whose roof repeats the main roof; terra-cotta reliefs in a popular vein cover the walls.

*Southern styles.* The conquest of the Pallava kingdom, begun by the Chola king Āditya (871–907), was completed about 900, when his successor, Parāntaka I (ca. 907–55), captured Madura, capital of the Pandyas. Parāntaka was




Modhera, Gujarat, Sūrya temple, ground plan of the complex (*after Rowland, 1956*).

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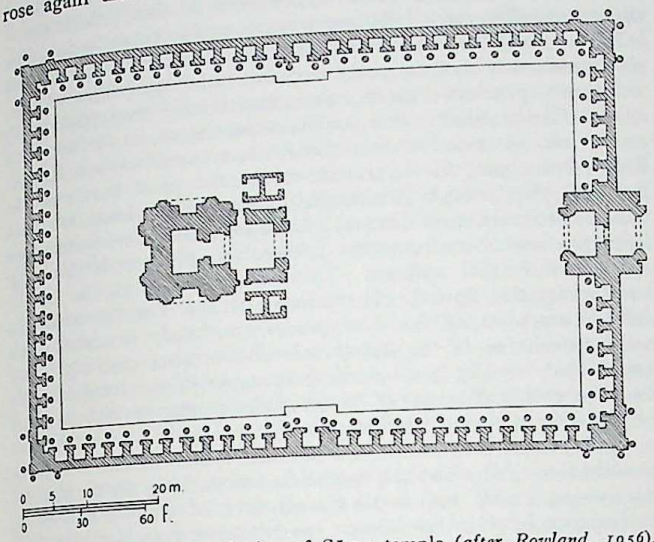
responsible for the construction of the Temple of Kuraṅganātheśvara at Srinivasanallur [Trichinopoly (Tiruchirapalli) District], in a style still close to that of the Pallavas.

Vanquished by the Rashtrakutas of Maharashtra and by the Gangas of Mysore (949), the Chola empire nevertheless rose again under Rājarāja I (ca. 985–1014), who seized some




Martand, Kashmir, ground plan of Sūrya temple (*after Rowland, 1956*).

of the territory of the Chalukyas of Kalyani; he destroyed their Jain temples in Annigeri (ca. 1005) and subdued the kingdom of the Chalukyas of Vengi; between 1001 and 1005 he invaded Ceylon, where, having sacked the Buddhist town of Anuradhapura, he built the new town of Polonnaruva; there he erected the Temple of Śiva Devāle. A great builder, he is credited with the Temple of Rājarājeśvara at Tanjore, his capital; the celebrated vimana of this temple is the most perfect example of a southern sanctuary with pyramidal roof; the vimana's 13 stories are crowned with a monolithic block in the form of a dome rising about 200 ft. above the ground.

Rājarāja's son and successor, Rājendra I (ca. 1014–44), enlarged the empire still further by a victorious expedition through Orissa up to the Ganges, in recognition of which feat he was surnamed "Gangidian" (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa). He had a new capital, Gangaikondacholapuram, built not far from Trichinopoly; its main temple, a replica of the temple at Tanjore, is one of the most beautiful in the Chola style (IV, PL. 257). This great king pressed his conquests as far as Sumatra.

The succeeding emperors, Rājādhirāja (ca. 1044–52), Rājendra II (ca. 1052–63), and Vīrarājendra (1063–70), maintained the prosperity of their territories, but after the male line died out, the throne reverted to a branch of the Cholas allied to the Chalukyas, and between the years 1169 and 1177, it passed into the hands of the Pandyas. Hegemony moved from Tanjore to Madura. Tanjore was pillaged (ca. 1220), and the domination of the Pandyas took in the whole of the extreme south. The Pandya emperors were also great builders. From 1250 to 1260 the Pandya king Jatāvarman Sundara had numerous edifices erected in the temples of Jambukeśvara and of Srirangam at Trichinopoly, as well as the eastern gopura of Chidambaram. The Pandya style grew logically out of the Chola style, which it prolonged, developing its various motifs by elaborating them. The best examples are the gopura just mentioned and the Sundara Pandya gopura of Jambukeśvara.

In a parallel development, the Hoysalas were building a great number of temples at Mysore; they built at such a pace that the majority of their edifices remained unfinished and without roofs. Their temples are scattered over the entire extent of the ancient kingdom of the Hoysala Ballālas; the sites include Dodda Gaddavali (Lakṣmīdevī temple, 1113), a group of temples at Belur (1117), Halebid (Hoyśaleśvara, second half of 12th cent.; IV, PL. 131), Nagamangala (Keśava, 1170), Koramangala (Bucheśvara, 1173), Arsikere (Iśvara, 1220), Harihara (Harihara, 1224), Harnhalli (Keśava, 1234), Nuggihalli (Lakṣmī Narasiṃha, 1249), Somnathpur (Keśava, 1268; PL. 484).

The ground plan is usually star-shaped; many have two, or even three, sanctuaries, united on a raised platform. The unfinished portions are covered horizontally with large flagstones. The temples are striking for the decoration spread in profusion all over the walls, with gods of the Brahmanic pantheon represented thousands of times. One peculiarity deserves to be pointed out because of its rarity in Indian art: the various parts of the temples are signed with the names of the artists who worked on them. Thus it is known that the Cennakeśava temple, at Belur, erected under the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, about 1133, is primarily the work of the architect Jakanācārya. The Hoyśaleśvara, commissioned by the Hoysala Narasiṃha (1141–82), was built by the architect Kedarāja under the authority of the minister in charge of public works, Ketamalla. Similarly, most of the statues — and they are innumerable — bear the signatures of their authors, notably at Belur. Like the building complexes, the statues were executed in dark gray steatite, which is soft when first quarried and hardens under exposure to the air and sun. Their very personal style and their highly elaborate aspect distinguish them from all the other southern styles.

In 1310 the Moslem general Malik Kāfūr won a brutal victory over the Hoysalas and destroyed their capital, Halebid; he also attacked and vanquished the already greatly weakened Pandya dynasty. In 1323 Muḥammad ibn-Tughlaq annexed the kingdom of Warangal, where the Kākatīyas were ruling. It was then that a Hindu prince, Harihara I, organized resistance around several fortresses, including Vijayanagar (mod. Hampi), which became the capital of the last Hindu kingdom. Reigning from about 1342 to 1353, he united Mysore and the Carnatic. In the meantime, north of this kingdom, the Bahmanī sultanate of the Deccan was being set up; established at Bijapur and Gulbarga, it comprised the major portion of the state of Hyderabad. The kingdom of Warangal rose again and became a valuable ally of Vijayanagar. Internal strife among the Hindus worked to the advantage of the Moslems, however, and between 1362 and 1365 Golconda was ceded to them. A truce followed, and the opposing armies were equally balanced under the contemporaneous reigns of the kings of Vijayanagar, Bukka II (1353–79) and Harihara II (1379–1406), and of the Bahmanī sultans, Muḥammad I (1358–75) and Muḥammad II (1376–97). But in 1424 Warangal, in turn, was annexed. The disastrous defeat of Vijayanagar in 1565 in the battle of Talikota delivered the power into the hands of the Hindu Nāyyak princes of Madura. Visited two years later by the Venetian traveler Cesare Federici, the city of Vijayanagar was still able to arouse his admiration. Several important temples can be seen there: the Rāmacandrasvāmi and the Kṛṣṇasvāmi (1513), the great Temple of Śiva, and especially the Viṭṭhala. Probably begun about 1513 by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, it was continued by Acyuta Rāya (1529–42); it was left unfinished, its construction probably interrupted in 1565, the year of the fall of Vijayanagar.

To the 15th and 16th centuries belong numerous monuments: at Kumbakonam the Temple of Rāma; at Kanchipuram the temples of Ekambaranātha and Viṣṇu; at Vellore the *kalyāṇa* mandapa in the temple of the fort and the principal gopura of this temple, both probably dating from the same period; and the mandapa of the temple at Srirangam, celebrated for its pillars adorned with rearing horses.

Under the Nāyyaks of Madura, whose most illustrious representative was King Tirumala (1623–59), were built some of the largest temples of the Dravidian region, notably at Madura, which gave its name to this late style. Rightly considered the most characteristic of the immense temples of southern India, the Mīnākṣī temple at Madura is as alive today with activity as it was in the past (FIG. 975; PLS. 493–495; IV, 260). In front of the principal entrance to the temple stands the Vasanta, or Pudū, mandapa, erected in 1630; its innumerable statues include likenesses of King Tirumala and his wives, among the rare historical portraits to be found in India. Another mandapa (Rāya), credited to the same ruler, was never completed.

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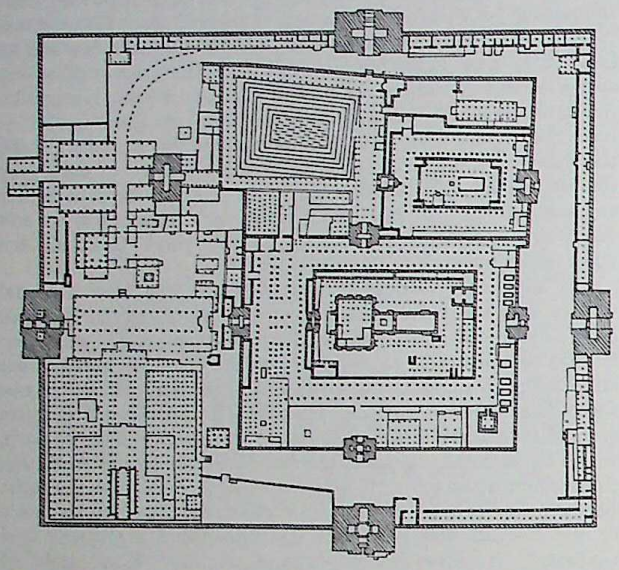
In the 18th century several other temples were built (PL. 487), notably the sanctuary of Skanda, or Subrahmaniar, at Tanjore. Since then, the art of building has continued in accordance with the ancestral methods; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil was able to carry out a profound study of the construction in the 20th century of modern temples.

The Dravidian style, then, presents an exceptionally homogeneous aspect. In studying, as Jouveau-Dubreuil did, all the components of the temple (the pillars and their capitals of abaci, the moldings of the basements, the mural and pilaster decoration, the roofs, etc.), one becomes convinced of this. Each of its phases gives a special importance to one part of the



Madura, Madras, ground plan of the Mīnākṣī temple (*after Rowland, 1956*).

temple. Under the Cholas it is the vimana (towered sanctuary) that stars, both by its great height and by the beauty of its sculptures. Under the Pandyas the gopura (entrance tower of the temple enclosure) was particularly well developed, while the vimana became a rather insignificant structure. At Vijayanagar, on the contrary, the emphasis was on the mandapa, the pillars of which, richly ornamented with animals and figures, constitute one of the triumphs of Indian art. In the Madura style the temple attains gigantic proportions, the gopuras are very high, the mandapas immense, and the pools sumptuous; there are countless statues. So original and sturdy was this tradition that it betrays — despite the presence of foreigners on Indian soil — not a trace of Islamic or Occidental influence.

Jeannine AUBOYER

*Bronzes.* In the medieval period bronze sculpture was the most lucid and in a sense the most exalted expression of Indian art. The preeminence of the bronzes is not to be ascribed solely to the creation of the Śiva Naṭarāja of the southern school, though the image, harmoniously turning and vibrating in an ineffable rhythm, does indeed embody in an extraordinary manner one of the oldest and most characteristic concepts of the Indian spirit. The myriad of bronze representations, used by Buddhists in even greater profusion than by the other sects (VIII, PL. 364), actually transformed the iconographic and figural schemes realized in stone sculpture through the possibilities offered by the medium itself: bronze lends itself not only to greater clarity of form, the ample use of openwork, and contrasts of solids and hollows but also to the most consistent attention to details. This is indeed a new world, one of dreams given material form, balanced in masterly fashion between realism and abstraction — a world that the Indian metalworkers of both north and south succeeded in creating in the ages of their splendor as the supreme fulfillment through figural creation of their strivings to translate and make visual the most abstruse concepts of Indian thought.

The bulk of northern bronzes, product of an industrialized art but still as intellectual, were made in the 9th century; production was localized in Nalanda, where it was subject to influences from the Asiatic islands, particularly Java and Sumatra (see INDIA, FARTHER). The antecedents of this production — characterized by use of the lost-wax process (accurately described in the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*) and by the composition of the alloy itself, which frequently contains small quantities of lead, antimony, precious metals, zinc, and iron — must be sought in the Gupta epoch, just as the antecedents of the southern output can be traced back to the Andhra and Chalukya periods. From Sultanganj in the north comes the great figure of the Buddha, $7^1/_2$ ft. high (Birmingham, Eng., City Mus. and Art Gall.). Bronze statues discovered in Farther India were imported from the south and provide irrefutable evidence of the early spread of Indian culture. The Pala bronzes of the north, combining the figural experiments of the Guptas with the refined elegance of the new period, not only influenced the artistic evolution of the Asiatic islands but also, reaching Tibet and Nepal, readily became the prototypes of the local schools; iconographic influence of these Pala works is also evident outside the field of sculpture.

The bronze output of the south, stimulated by the consistent predilection of the Tamil population for working metal, reached its apogee under the seafaring dynasty of the Cholas. The ascendancy of the Śiva images (particularly Śiva Naṭarāja; PLS. 227, 233, 488; III, 300; IV, 259), of Pārvatī (PL. 489), and of Skanda is absolute. The art of the Chola bronzeworkers shows also a delight in a characteristic subject, the figures (male or, more frequently, female) bearing lamps (*dīpas*), which through usage finally became an independent type, a masterly expression of the gesture of offering. Oil lamps in the shape of a female holding a lamp (*dīpalakṣmī*) were used in special ceremonies or as votive lamps. Whole chapters were devoted to them in later technical treatises. Their structure, as in the rest of the best southern work, is very graceful and has great simplicity. Nevertheless, in all the southern bronze sculpture the artists show an absolute submission to the iconometric and proportional canons codified in the texts, and the images, simplified and idealized, reflect fully the traditional concepts of true Indian art. All this does not obviate, in the work of the Tamil artists, an astonishing capacity to create works of the highest quality and of incontrovertible originality. To the Chola current was joined the slightly different one of the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas; together they overflowed into the baroque art of Vijayanagar (1336–1646) and into a subsequent phase of complete impoverishment and total decline. The southern output had a notable influence on the Singhalese, whose art had already attained, as early as the 6th or 7th century, lofty technical and esthetic levels, as is attested by the life-sized bronze image of a goddess (perhaps Tārā or Pārvatī) in the British Museum.

In its totality the great output of bronze in India, although divided into the two nearly diametrically opposed schools of the north and the south, is united in the community of purpose which utterly surmounts the religious diversity by the search for a transcendent beauty through clear, rational purity of form. Moreover, as affirmed by B. Rowland (*The Art and Architecture of India*, 2d ed., Baltimore, 1956, pp. 187–88), "although cast in human shape, the abstraction of modelling and iconographic explicitness give [the images] . . . the power of a diagram." This is true for all the works of major importance, whether Saiva or Buddhist, of this period or that, of this region or that; it is precisely in the art of bronze that the Indian genius created one of its most lucid forms of expression.

Mario BUSSAGLI

*Mural painting.* The great tradition of mural painting of the preceding era was not lost. However, because the works are more scattered and are often concealed under later overlays of plaster, the study of mural painting is subject to many more lacunae. The principal known examples are concentrated in Maharashtra and the Tamil region; according to the approximate

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chronology that has been established, their order is as follows: from the 8th century, the paintings of the Kailāsanātha of Ellora (lower layer) and the Kailāsanātha of Kanchipuram (lower layer), perhaps, also those of Tiruvannamalai (Tirumalaipuram; lower layer); from the 9th century, the frescoes of Narthamalai; from the 11th and 12th centuries, the frescoes of the vimanas of Tanjore, of Ellora, of Kanchipuram (second layer), of Tiruvanjikulam, and of Trichur; from the 14th century, the paintings of Tiruparuttikunram (lower layer), of Anegundi, and of Tiruvannamalai (upper layer); from the 17th and 18th centuries, the paintings of Tiruparuttikunram (upper layer).

At Ellora two superimposed layers are visible; one of these is attributed to the second half of the 8th century, the other, which covers the preceding, to the 11th–12th century. In both cases the palette is simple: black, white, yellow, red, an earth green similar to that of Ajanta, and an ultramarine; these have been affixed to a very thin coat of plaster applied directly on the rock without the intermediary of a mortar. Little can be said of the lower layer because of lack of good reproductions, but the style seems related to the best period of Ajanta. On the other hand, the upper layer offers well-defined characteristics; depicting some great Brahmanic divinities (e.g., Viṣṇu on Garuḍa) the artist has set them among stylized clouds with rather conventional festoons. Their iconography is highly developed: multiple arms, numerous attributes, and symbolic flesh tones. There is no attempt at any notion of ensemble; there are simply rows of deities, without any well-defined order. The figures lack the grace that constitutes the charm of those in the Ajanta paintings; they are drawn with a uniform, unaccented outline, and there is practically no modeling. The faces are curiously indicated, in three-quarter view with a pointed nose in profile and bulging eyes; these are characteristics that were to be taken up again and exaggerated in Gujarat miniature painting.

The frescoes of the vimana of Tanjore, dating from the same period as those of the later layer at Ellora, are of higher quality. A cortège is shown, with an elephant preceded by a horse, dancers, and celestial musicians whose rhythm and agility are well rendered by a sure, flowing line (III, PL. 300). Śiva on Mount Kailasa and some Saiva saints are also represented. Their physical type is characteristically Dravidian: elongated face, wide-open eyes, and long, slightly curved nose. The details of ornament and costume are carefully indicated. The technique is similar to that of Ellora; a few departures from the still visible initial drawing can be distinguished in the final execution. Despite the heavier and more conventional style as compared with Ajanta, the frescoes of Tanjore bear witness to the continuance of the pictorial tradition of the earlier period. But these are the last examples of work of this quality.

Indeed, it is hardly possible to compare the Tanjore frescoes with the Jain paintings of Tiruvannamalai, which are of a later and more decadent style; these are compartmented in rectilinear bands. Here also are found two successive layers, the older one perhaps dating from the 11th century, the other obviously later. In the first, probably contemporaneous with Ellora's upper layer and with Tanjore, the figures are in three-quarter or fullface, while in the second the figures are shown with bodies in fullface and the faces and feet in profile. In both layers the composition is conventional, lacking in refinement and ingenuity, the figures aligned, one next to another; the background is filled with stylized flowers and decorative motifs, so that the frescoes have a tapestry-like aspect.

In the temple of Anegundi the frescoes were executed on the ceiling. They are framed by rectilinear bands, and the subjects are depicted top to bottom, sometimes running over the borders; this arrangement makes for a certain dynamic quality. The figures are comparable with those at Tiruvannamalai; the two eyes are indicated, even though the face is in profile. These paintings are of the second half of the 17th century.

At Tiruparuttikunram the lower layer would appear to date back to the 17th century and the upper layer to the second half of the 18th. (Some scholars believe these frescoes to be earlier and assign the lower layer to the 14th and the upper layer to the 16th centuries.) Executed in black, white, red, yellow, ocher, blue, and gray, the frescoes depict Jain subjects and are treated much more like pages in an album than like mural decoration. Their rectangular format, elongated like a page of manuscript, accentuates the resemblance. Everything is much simplified: distance is indicated by a rather clumsy superimposition of planes; landscape is only suggested by a few stylized trees and by imbrications symbolizing mountains and rocks. The scale of the human figures is larger than that of the animals. On the whole, this is a naïve art, more picturesque than it is significant from the esthetic point of view. It signalizes the decadence of a great tradition which had endowed India with a school of painting on a par with the world's greatest.

MOSLEM INDIA. *The Moslem conquest.* It has already been indicated how, over the centuries, India was gradually taken over by the Moslems, who seized one Hindu kingdom after another, from north to south. Their advance was slow, however: their first appearance was in Sind (711) and the Punjab (775), but actually it was not before the 11th–12th century that the armies penetrated farther into Indian territory. The sultanate of Delhi, founded at the beginning of the 13th century by Muḥammad of Ghor, extended its rule a century later, gaining dominion over several southern states. But its authority splintered (14th cent.) into a dozen local dynasties. Anarchy prevailed more or less until Delhi was conquered (1527) by the Turk Bābur (Bāber; 1526–30). A descendant of the conqueror Tīmūr Lenk (Tamerlane), he subdued the Punjab, Doab, and Oudh (anc. Kosala), and founded the Moghul Empire. His successor, Humāyūn (1530–56), extended the empire but suffered reverses. Humāyūn's son Akbar (1556–1605) brought incomparable renown to the empire. He established an authoritarian and personal rule that his successors were to make great efforts to maintain. A remarkable warrior, an excellent administrator, and, although illiterate, profoundly interested in the problems of religion and the arts, he managed to organize his empire and to provide incentives for architects and painters. His successors, Shah Jahāngīr (1605–27) and Shah Jahān (1628–58), were ardent patrons of the arts. The Tāj Mahal (PL. 498), one of the most beautiful mausoleums in the world, was built by Shah Jahān for his beloved wife, known as Mumtaz Mahal ("the ornament of the palace"). Shah Jahān's reign ended in sadness; his four sons quarreled over the succession to the throne even before his death and fought one another mercilessly. The victor of this fratricidal struggle was Aurangzēb (1658–1707), who had one of his brothers assassinated and his father and one of his sisters imprisoned. He then resumed the conquests of his predecessors. A fanatical Moslem, he hindered the development of art by persecuting painters and their families and having numerous Hindu and Jain temples destroyed. The artists sought refuge among the native princes, notably in Rajputana (Rajasthan), and placed themselves at their service. Toward the end of Aurangzēb's reign the empire disintegrated and the emperor died defeated and abandoned. An attempt at restoration was undertaken by his great-grandson, Muḥammad Shah, in 1719. But the continuous uprisings of the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Marathas in the end overthrew Moghul rule.

The European penetration of India was initiated in the late 15th century by the Portuguese, and it became more and more firmly rooted as they strove to establish a setup embracing the whole of the subcontinent, from which international trade would benefit. Indian art from this time on was infused with more or less perceptible foreign influences, chiefly apparent in miniature painting. Even the religions were not exempt; the tendency toward syncretism manifested throughout the history of India was turned to account by certain sects. In addition, some points held in common brought together the mystics of two religions: the Sufis of Persia and the yogis of India discovered definite affinities. In the 15th century the poet Kābir (ca. 1440–1518), who lived at Benares, went so far as to proclaim himself "child of Allah and Rāma." Akbar himself attempted to found a new religion based on the worship of the sun, of which he claimed he was the incarnation, but he did not meet with the anticipated success. Nevertheless, the search for unity was not abandoned, and it has had some ardent proponents in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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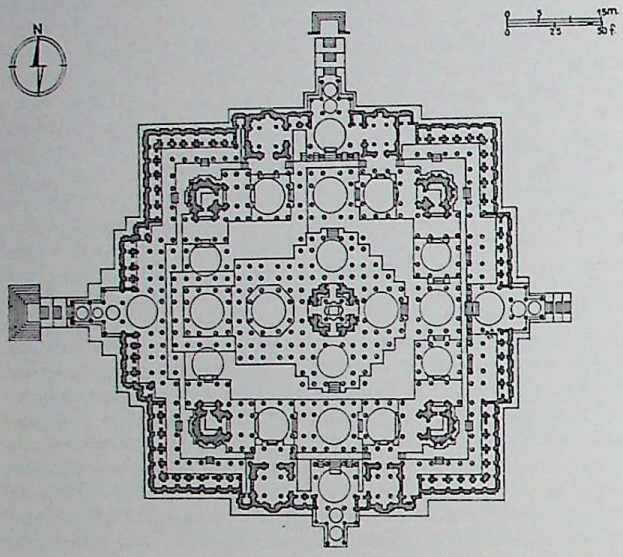
*First Indo-Moslem styles.* As the Moslems became established in India, they devoted themselves to erecting mosques, minarets, fountains, city gates, and palaces. It is the mosques that most clearly reflect the process by which the amalgam of Moslem and Indian styles was effected (see INDO-MOSLEM SCHOOLS). During the time when, in western India, a veritable synthesis of Moslem and Indian art was coming into being, monuments of Iranian inspiration were being erected in Delhi: the Quṭb Minār (VIII, PLS. 15, 164), the Quwwat-ul-Islām Masjid, and the Jāmi' al-Khāna Masjid (13th–14th cent.). In Sing, Gujarat, and Kathiawar the case was not the same, at least in the beginning: the Moslems hesitated neither to transform the Jain and Hindu




Ranpur, Rajasthan, ground plan of Ādinātha temple (*after Brown, 1956*).

temples into mosques nor to make use of their principal elements by incorporating them into new edifices. Thus they appropriated pillars, ceilings, and doors of sanctuaries (sometimes neglecting to obliterate the human subjects carved in the stone). To give greater height to new vaults they often superimposed two pillars, without cutting off the capital of the lower pillar, which gives an unusual line to the colonnades. Making use of the ceilings, whose beauty could not escape the notice of connoisseurs, posed a problem. Accustomed as they were to vaulting their edifices in the shape of a dome, the Moslem architects were constrained to adapt these corbeled ceilings, built in keeping with the Indian technique and mode, to a dome-shaped form. They overcame the difficulty by surmounting the reused ceiling with a hemispheric structure in masonry that, on the outside, retained the profile familiar to the faithful of Islam. The doors were often made use of to form the mihrab.

Along these lines were erected, in Gujarat, the Jāmi' Masjid of Broach (beginning of 14th cent.), the Jāmi' Masjid of Cambay (1325), the Mosque of Hilāl Khān Gāzi (1333), and the Taṅkā Masjid at Dholka (1361). Two buildings at Ahmadabad (capital of the Aḥmadshāhs) should also be cited: the Aḥmadshāhī Masjid (completed in 1414; on one pillar is a Sanskrit inscription dated 1250) and the Haibat Khan Masjid, which, despite its typically Islamic façade, contains mostly reused materials. What has been said about methods of building also applies to Kathiawar, as is demonstrated by the Jāmi' Masjid at Mangrol (1364), contemporaneous with the Taṅkā Masjid at Dholka, the Rahimat Masjid (1381), and the Ravali Masjid (1401).

Once established in the various regions, the Moslems did not remain satisfied with reusing materials taken from local temples; they proceeded to build new edifices on new plans. However, they hired Indian laborers and craftsmen, whose hands can be discerned in the decoration, despite its aniconism (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). In this second phase it is possible to distinguish three styles, those of Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, and Sind; each can be classified on the basis of its principal characteristics. In the Ahmadabad style some façades are of the hypostyle type; others employ arcades. The former type of façade is seen in the Mosque of Quṭb-ud-Dīn (ca. 1540) at Sarkhej; the Sayyid 'Usmān Masjid (1460) at Usmanpur; and, at Ahmadabad, the Rauza of Rani Siparī (1514) and the mosques of Malik Sha'bān (1425/26) and of Shah Khūb Sayyid (1538). The latter type of façade decorates the following buildings at Ahmadabad: Jami' Masjid (1423), the mosques of Malik 'Ālam (ca. 1450–60), of Miyan Khān Chistī (1465), and of Bībī Achyut Kūkī (1472), and the mosque in the Rajpur quarter (1454). The windows and latticework screens represent a perfect adapatation of Indian decorative motifs to Moslem architectural forms. Their minarets, provided with interior spiraling stairs, are particularly rich in ornament; perhaps most characteristic in this respect is the Mosque of Muhāfiz Khan (ca. 1465) at Ahmadabad; that of Sīdī Sayyid (beginning of 16th cent.) is remarkable for the beauty of its latticework screens (PL. 496). The façade employing arcades has continued in use until the modern era (mosques of Nawab Sardar Khan, 1664–83, and Nawab Shuja' at Khan, end of 16th–beginning of 17th cent.).

Indian influence is clearly revealed in two mosques at Dholka, the Jāmi' Masjid and the Mosque of 'Alif Khān (15th cent.); the minarets of the latter, in the form of polyhedral towers, are ornamented with horizontal moldings and ribs inspired by contemporary Indian architecture. The most nearly perfect, however, are those of Champaner. Between 1484 and 1536 this city, under the name of Mahmudabad, was the short-lived capital of the Aḥmadshāhs; it retains traces of the splendor of its founders. The Jāmi' Masjid is indeed the finest in Gujarat, with a dome supported on three stories of arcades; its principal mihrab was erected in 1508.

The same procedures as obtained in western India were followed by the Islamic architects of the Deccan. Here also are found Hindu, Jain, and even Buddhist temples converted into mosques: the Deval Masjid at Bodhan (Nizamabad), of about the 10th century, was so transformed in the second quarter of the 14th century; the Jāmi' Masjid of the Daulatabad fortress was a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in 1313. However, the Bahmanī dynasty at Gulbarga, about the middle of the 14th century, and, after the fall of this dynasty in 1527, the four rival sultanates of Bidar, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur, all undertook new constructions.

The style of Gulbarga is characterized by a square ground plan, arcades (generally three on a side), minarets with bulbous pinnacles at each corner, an entablature with projecting brackets, and a central dome girdled with stylized lotus petals. Examples of this style are the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbarga (1370), that of Karachur, that of the sultana Fāṭima at Gogi (end of 15th–beginning of 16th cent.), and that of Hīrāpur at Gulbarga (1585).

At Golconda, the famous diamond center, a very beautiful architectural complex was erected during the course of the 16th century, at the time when the city became the capital of the Quṭbshāhs (1512–1687). The complex consists chiefly of great tombs showing a close resemblance to those of Gulbarga and Bijapur in all features except the domes, which are ribbed.

The Islamic building activity at Bijapur extends from the second half of the 16th century to the end of the 17th. Here the domes, which are massive and heavy (among the largest in the world), render the interiors oppressive and dark, in contrast to the pillar-supported domes at Gujarat. One of the earliest Islamic structures in this city was the Jāmī' Masjid, begun about 1565, under 'Alī 'Ādilshāh I (1558–80), and left unfinished. Little Indian influence is apparent — no more than in the Gōl Gumbaz (X, PL. 156).

*The Moghul style.* While, along the periphery of the empire, there were developed architectural styles whose hybrid aspect especially justifies the use of the designation "Indo-Moslem," in the north of India the Moghuls erected monuments more splendid and nearer to the Iranian traditions (see MOGHUL SCHOOL). The most important were built at Agra, Delhi, and Lahore. As a group, they are startling for their imposing scale and the richness of the materials employed (white marble and red sandstone, with decoration on inlays of colored marbles).

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Akbar built, among other monuments, the tomb of Shēr Shah at Sasaram, the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi, the mosque of Agra, and the city of Fatehpur Sikri (1569) and its mosque. Entirely built of the red sandstone of the region, this extraordinary city had only a short-lived existence (abandoned ca. 1585) but has remained architecturally intact since its creation. The Moghul style is here revealed in all its purity, with its bell-turreted palaces, arcades, pavilions, pools, immense stables, and magnificent mosque. Echoes of Hindu decoration break the severity of the architectural lines — for instance, the motif of the Indian chaitya arch, which adorns the bases of some of the pillars, and the arch with lobate segments issuing from the jaws of a highly stylized *makara*.

This partial Indianization of the Moghul style waned in succeeding reigns. Shah Jahāngīr continued the work of his father, to whom he erected a mausoleum at Sikandra (VIII, PL. 166). Shah Jahān distinguished himself by edifices no less magnificent, the most celebrated of which is the Tāj Mahal of Agra, perhaps the greatest triumph of the style (PL. 498).

The evolution of Moghul architecture follows the same line as its political evolution: at first very Iranian, it came under the influence of the Indian tradition during the reign of Akbar, who was an eclectic in religion and favored the Hindus over the Moslems. After his reign there can be noted a revival of the Turko-Iranian elements, whose inspiration, renewed at irregular intervals, served to maintain in Moghul architecture an elegance and a simplicity foreign to Indian taste.

ALBUM PAINTING. Album painting was in existence in India long before the presence of the Moghul court raised it to prominence. Europeans at an early date began collecting examples; copies were made by Rembrandt and his school; the well-established trade relations between Europe and India through the East India Company undoubtedly facilitated the importation of miniatures. In the 18th and 19th centuries some important collections were formed; in general, they contained mostly Moghul works, the Iranian character of which was more in keeping with the taste of the period and its knowledge of the East. Little by little, however — especially in the mid-20th century — interest has turned to the Hindu schools, and studies presenting attempts at classification are in progress.

In this considerable quantity of examples two principal groups emerge: works of the Moghul school, on the one hand, and of all the Indian schools, on the other. In the latter group, the earliest examples are found among the paintings from Bengal and Gujarat.

The school of Bengal divides into two parts, from both the chronological and the religious point of view. Until the 12th century it was Buddhist. A Hindu school, probably contemporaneous, formulated a different style, which can be traced from the 15th century to the present. Buddhist illuminations are rare; before the Moslem persecutions and the disappearance of the Senas, in 1202, this school shifted its workshops to Nepal, where it merely vegetated, but at least survived. However, the new Indo-Nepalese school influenced Tibetan painting, in which its imprint can frequently be found, notably in the oldest banner paintings.

With regard to the Hindu school of Bengal, the popular art on which it is based found expression in painting on cloth, called "patas," dating from the 15th century but undoubtedly having a much earlier origin. Other paintings, depicting all the Hindu divinities, are executed on long rolls of paper wound on two sticks of bamboo. Illustrating the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇn*, they have a very archaic look; their red ground relates them to a whole class of paintings, the distribution of which spreads from India to the Near East. One series of patas, also with red grounds, is assigned to the beginning of the 17th century; less archaic, these are not any the less popular in inspiration. The freedom of treatment of the subjects, the picturesque groupings, and the dynamic attitudes all reveal an art full of vigor. This narrative facility is again reflected in the *kālighāṭs*, drawings (generally anonymous) executed in a single stroke of the brush on a more or less rough sheet of paper. Some curious examples are known as early as the 18th century. Finally, mention should be made of a group influenced by the Rajput school (q.v.).

Although under Moslem political domination from the 13th century, Gujarat preserved its religious autonomy. The Gujarat school was free of Moghul influence. Treating mostly Jain subjects, it played an important role in the pictorial tradition of India. In addition, the pictorial and stylistic characteristics of the Gujarat school relate it to the mural painting of medieval India: its influence affected the schools of western and central India, whose "primitives" were clearly inspired by its style. Finally, situated at the crossroads of the first Moslem settlements in India, it received foreign influences that can be designated as Iranian-Chinese. The earliest Gujarat miniatures were excuted on palm leaves (1127–end of 14th cent.); when paper made its appearance, about 1350, the sheets retained the elongation of the palm leaf, and the locations of the perforations by means of which the palm leaves were strung together for binding appeared on the paper as dots of color. Probably the use of palms and of paper overlapped for half a century (ca. 1350–1400). On the sheets of paper, little more than a third was reserved for the illustration, the rest being covered by handwritten text. Remarkably unified in style, the Gujarat school was productive until the end of the 16th century or beginning of the 17th, and it lived on in the earliest examples of the Rajput school. The Gujarat style is very individual. Characteristic are figures with the body in fullface and the head in profile; the nose is pointed and — despite the fact that it is in profile — surmounted by two protuberant eyes. The same physical type recurs in the 11th–12th-century frescoes of the Kailāsanātha of Ellora and in the sculptures of central India, for example, at Konarak. The stylization of the figures and indeed of all the elements of the composition is much more marked than in the work of any of the other schools. The ground was red in the earliest period, blue grounds appearing only toward the 16th century; similarly, gold was employed with increasing profusion as the style evolved. Along with these developments can be noted a more and more pronounced abundance of details, tending to decrease the visible portion of the background.

Since the Moghul school influenced the remaining, truly Hindu production more or less profoundly, it must be dealt with at this point. In its development the Moghul school reflects the evolution of the Moslem political power established by Bābur in northern India in 1527. At first completely Iranian, the style became Indianized as early as the reign of Akbar (1556–1605); during this time Indians and Iranians collaborated in the imperial workshops, jointly illustrating important manuscripts such as the *Akbar-nāma* (II, PLS. 223, 224; VI, 78) and the *Khamsa-nāma*. Before long, assimilation set in: this is at first noticeable in the suggestions of landscape painting, to which the Indians brought their sensitive feeling for nature (X, PL. 117).

Under Jahāngīr (1605–27) and Shah Jahān (1628–58) Indianization intensified. From the Akbar period onward, a European influence was added, becoming more and more marked in the 17th century, because of the importation of engravings and paintings, many copies of which have been found. This influence is seen chiefly in the use of perspective, with the horizon placed lower than in Iranian compositions; it is also seen in the manner of treating the foliage of forests and groves, the attempts at day and night lighting, and the manner of blending the sky and filling it with clouds.

Some of the subjects are drawn from the Islamic religious realm; others are official depictions of the imperial court; they include state portraits, ceremonies, and receptions, hunting with hounds and with falcons, battles and victories, love scenes, sacred conversations between holy personages, nocturnal gatherings, and concerts (PLS. 490, 499, 500; X, PLS. 118, 121). A special category was devoted to flowers and birds, of which some very fine studies have come down to us, usually inspired by the emperor Jahāngīr himself. Often the compositions contain a large number of figures grouped around the emperor, in rather formal attitudes. The emperor is represented as taller than the others. The men are beardless, the faces in three-quarter, the feet in profile. As time goes on, faces become more individualized, especially in the category of portraits, in which resemblance

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to the model is visibly sought after. The Moghul school was annihilated by the iconoclasm of the last great Moghul, Aurangzēb (1658–1707), who persecuted artists and their families.

The Rajput school is the closest to the Moghul style undoubtedly because of the political relations of the gallant Rajput princes with the Moslem rulers, either in alliance or in opposition. Faithful to their Hindu origins, these princes protected the painters who worked in their domains. However, the princes were able to do this only beginning in the 15th century, at the time of the Rajput renascence, after a period of eclipse attributable to the disorders that were the aftermath of the Moslem invasion and the establishment of the Moghul dynasty. Modeled on that dynasty, the Rajput courts experienced a revival and developed a pageantry productive of art.

Despite the reciprocal influences between the two schools, the Rajput differs from the Moghul in several respects. First of all, the subject matter is taken not, as it is in the case of the Moghul school, from official or Moslem life but from the repertory of the great epic or mystic poems of India: the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Gīta Govinda*, and others. In addition to such compositions a special genre appears, the *Rāgmālā* miniatures or "garlands of melodic modes" (*rāgas*), which is found in paintings from Rajputana (Rajasthan) and Bundelkhand (16th cent.), Jammu/Basohli (but not Kangra), and the Deccan. Taking as themes the poetic translations of *rāgas*, the *Rāgmālā* is an essentially Indian form — if somewhat artificial — of the "painting of music." A sort of repercussion of the Rajput upon the Moghul miniature can be observed, the Moghul painters having also exploited this genre, without, however, lending it any interest other than its picturesqueness. To these special themes the Rajput school added, at the beginning of the 18th century, the art of the portrait, in which Moghul influence (after 1725) can be recognized (IV, PL. 24).

From the point of view of style, the Rajput school, in its earlier period (end of 16th–beginning of 17th cent.), is related to the school of Gujarat; the Rajput originated in a very similar stylization, while taking on a different emphasis, well cadenced, more narrative, much less static. The Rajput figures seem liberated, henceforth capable of movement (III, PL. 299); there is also a greater use of landscape. Modern studies suggest that there was in the 15th and 16th centuries a great "Occidental style," fed by Gujarat tradition and leading to the Rajput school.

The Rajput school falls into two great divisions: that of the hills, or Pahari, and that of the plains, or Rajasthani. The first corresponds more or less to the Punjab, the second to Rajputana. Within each, a large number of localities produced regional variations.

The principal centers in which the Rajasthani styles are represented are the following: Mewar, where the Vaishnava cult of Nāthadvāra gave rise to a very special kind of representation (17th–18th cent.) and where the Udaipur school reached its high point in the same period; Malwa, whose style, coupled with that of Gujarat, generated the early styles of the Pahari group; the state of Jodhpur, characterized especially by graphic portraits in which the Moghul influence is readily recognizable; the state of Bikaner, in which the Moghul influence predominates in the 17th century; the state of Jaipur, where Amber was the principal center of the Rajput school in the 16th and 17th centuries and the city of Jaipur was the center of Rajput activity in the 17th and 18th centuries; and the state of Bundelkhand, where there was still production at the beginning of the 20th century, characterized by a hybrid style, half Moghul and half Rajput. Among other schools, Marwar, Bundi, and Kisengarh should be listed.

The Pahari styles are represented by some forty localities. All went through the same evolution, although not synchronously; they experienced first a "primitive" phase, then a more or less pronounced Moghul phase; lastly, at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century, Sikh domination submerged the Punjab and Kashmir styles almost totally. Only the main groups can be cited here. First, the Basohli (formerly called Jammu), whose production extended from the 16th to the 18th century (PL. 234), dominating the centers of Nurpur and Haripur: the crude, almost coarse style began by being "primitive," then changed into a true Pahari style in the 18th century. Showing a predilection for the *rāgmālā* in the 17th century, for the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, this school yielded to the influence of Kangra in the 18th century. The Basohli was followed by the output of Chamba, in the first half of the 18th century.

In the second half of the 18th century two important groups stand out: on the one hand, the Jammu and Kashmir, on the other, the Guler/Kangra; closely related to the latter is that of the state of Tehri Garhwal. About 1600, Jammu was the largest state of the northern "hills"; its output has connections, on the one hand, with that of the Basohli (although showing less violence and greater refinement) and, on the other hand, with the Guler/Kangra school, which it seems even to have influenced in certain respects. In the 18th century Jammu was renowned for its aristocratic portraits; toward the middle of that century romantic themes were added to its repertory; its final period was dominated by the Sikh influence.

There is no question that the Guler/Kangra group represents by far the most important of the Pahari styles, as well as the best-known. According to W. G. Archer (1960), Guler in its beginnings (ca. 1720) tends to be confused with Basohli and seems to have first begotten and then developed the Kangra. The more elegant, idealistic, and poetic Kangra style was perfected in a phase marked by contact with the Moghul school, and it became the academic, slightly mannered expression of the art of a feudal court faithful to its religious traditions, dedicated chiefly to Kṛṣṇa. Although the bloom of its inspiration began to fade at the start of the 19th century this school continued to produce until 1929, the year when an earthquake annihilated the studios of — and killed, with their families — the four painters who were carrying on the Pahari traditions. It appears that a few Kangra painters had moved in the 19th century to Tehri Garhwal, where they continued the Kangra style in a mode, at times attaining to great beauty, that displays a strong feeling for the luxury of nature, as well as a measure of European influence, received by way of the Moghul school.

Similarly, in southern India the Deccan school (VIII, PLS. 21, 22) played an important role, with principal centers at Bijapur and Ahmadnagar (3d quarter of 16th cent. and after) and Golconda and Hyderabad (18th cent.). These centers at first were directly influenced by Iran and Turkey, for the Moslem governors imported writers and painters from these regions. From the time of Jahāngīr (17th cent.) the Moghul influence made itself felt; and the Deccan school in turn seems to have influenced the Moghul school to a degree.

MODERN PERIOD. (19th–20th cent.). *European infiltration.* The story of how Europeans gained a foothold on the soil of India and of the rivalries among them is well known. There is no need to dwell upon the outcome of this European rivalry in India. The crumbling of Moghul power, the uprisings, guerrilla wars, alliances made and broken, and the rivalries between European and autochthonous powers kept India in a state of turmoil hardly favorable to artistic development. The art of India, already obstructed by the coexistence of Islamic art (so different from it in concept), handicapped by political troubles, and misunderstood if not scorned by the European settlers, withered; it fell to the level of mere craftsmanship, becoming no more than the virtuosity of artisans faithful to rules but incapable of transcending them as had the artists of the past.

Contacts between Europeans and Indians had no cultural content but were essentially commercial or, when necessary, religious. As a deterrent to the newcomers, the Indians at first assumed the attitude they had shown toward their Moslem invaders; Europeans were rejected by the orthodox hierarchy as an inferior caste. The British made little effort to establish social relations. Then gradually a social class grew up that desired to fashion itself on the European model. This had only episodic effects in the domain of art. Nevertheless, it is observable that there was both a European influence on Indian art and a European infatuation with Indian exoticism. (Aside from this, a few colonial styles, especially in furniture, were created.)

The former trend resulted principally in the introduction of Christian or, more generally, of Western subjects into the pseudo-popular repertory of India. As early as the reign of

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Akbar, Jesuit missions — three between 1580 and 1594 — were called to the court; the missionaries presented to the emperor an illustrated Bible, and Akbar had the engravings copied by artists of his choice. Thus representations of Christ and the Virgin came to be executed by Indian artists. Western perspective and chiaroscuro, the imitation of the burin stroke of engravings, and the forceful and allegorical character of the Louis XIV style all made an impression on Indian painters, without, however, inspiring true works of art. Still, some of these elements were assimilated by the Rajput school, particularly nocturnal scenes, which made their appearance about the beginning of the 18th century.

Indian influence in Europe was notable chiefly in the Netherlands. During the reign of Shah Jahān, the Dutch masters showed an interest in Indian miniatures; as was mentioned earlier, Rembrandt copied them (at least 23 are to be seen in major European museums), and his younger contemporary Willem Schellinks copied some Indian miniatures in a strange oil painting owned by the Musée Guimet, Paris. Stimulated by orders from European settlers, some colonial styles emerged: Portuguese (Goa baroque architecture), Dutch (furniture and caskets), and French (under the impetus of Dupleix). Conversely: Indians executed some portraits, rather inferior in quality, of their rulers: British admirals, Dupleix himself in nawab dress, and so on. But none of this renewed the art of India; it merely constituted a more or less entertaining and picturesque sideline, without providing any real inspiration.

*Art and nationalism.* In the 19th century the new privileged class who patterned themselves upon the Europeans did not hesitate to imitate them, forsaking their own traditions, conscious as they were of the latter's decline. At the end of the 19th century, however, a new sentiment arose among the intellectuals: a return to sources seemed to offer a sheet anchor. The National Congress, founded in 1885, became the pillar of Indian nationalism; through their efforts the subcontinent of India was granted political independence in 1949. In restoring the Hindu traditions, Indian leaders were taking cognizance of the strength these had communicated to the Indian civilization. A few Europeans, convinced of the value of this movement, supported it. Outside India, the old ideal of religious syncretism, or the universal church, was preached by Vivekānanda (1863–1902) — a disciple of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa (1836–86) — who traveled all over Europe and America. In Gandhi (1869–1948) were united the Indian tradition and typically Western ideas.

The ferment, the great striving toward territorial liberation, and the recognition of cultural values naturally had repercussions in art. It was not a simple matter. Given the spread of British influence in the domain of thought and education, the revaluation of Indian themes did not come without difficulties. It was necessary to resist the pernicious influence both of the foreigner and of the new social class subservient to it, who had become aliens on their own soil. The academicism of the Western schools of art, which sought to raise the level of artists, only further undermined their taste by proposing subjects and means quite unrelated to their national background. Prominent in the movement to correct this state of affairs were E. B. Havell, whose Oriental studies (e.g., *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1928) are well known, and Abanindranath Tagore (q.v.), nephew of the poet. Dedicated to this endeavor, they preached the return to tradition; unfortunately their theories were too intellectual and took account neither of the sensibility nor of the spontaneity necessary for a renascence of art. Thus the school of Calcutta only substituted one academicism for another.

But the seed had been sown; the growth was to follow. After efforts as varied as they were personal — among which Rabindranath Tagore's (q.v.) remain unique — a number of artists at last emerged. Amrita Sher-Gil (1912–41), Jamini Roy (q.v.), and George Keyt (b. 1901) contributed to an adaptation of modern art to pure Indian traditions.

It is still too early to judge the products and their potential consequences. But modern artists in India work in full awareness and with the will to end their impasse and bring to world art that share of original talent which is the outgrowth of a tradition reaching back 5,000 years.

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Jeannine AUBOYER

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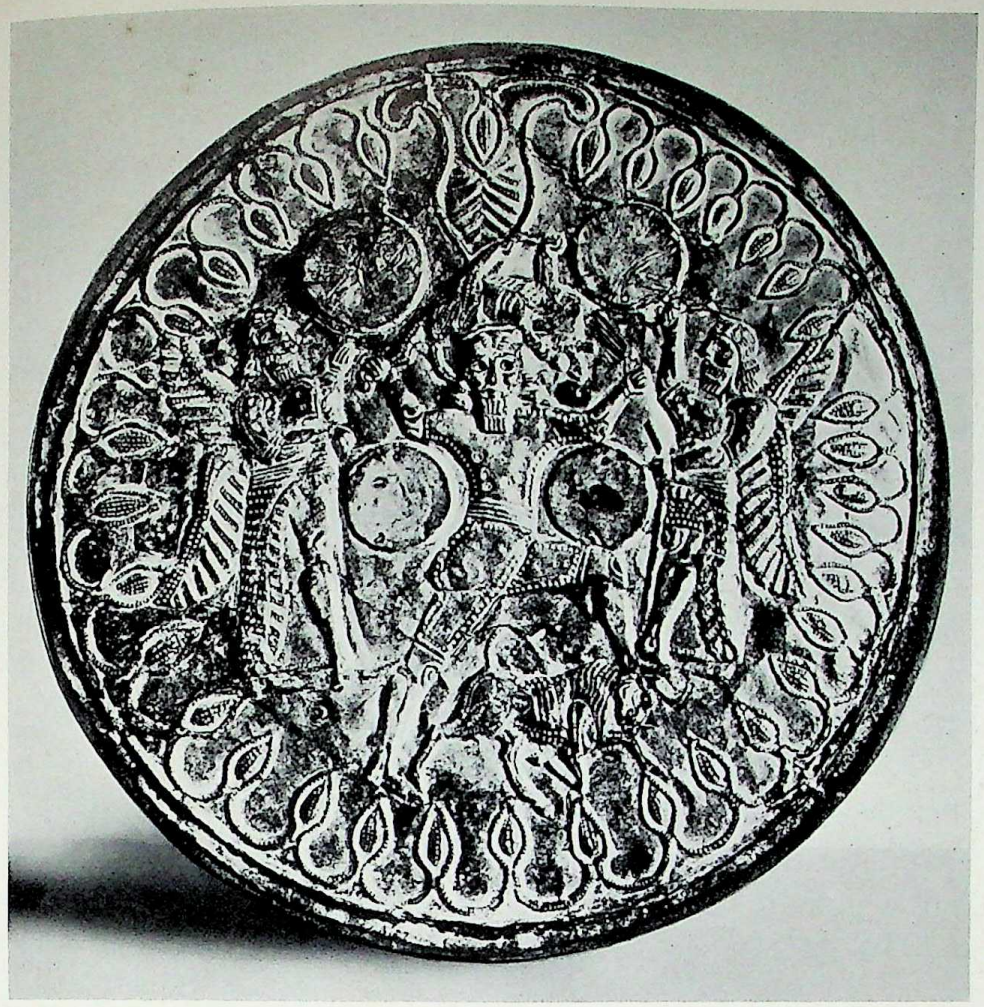

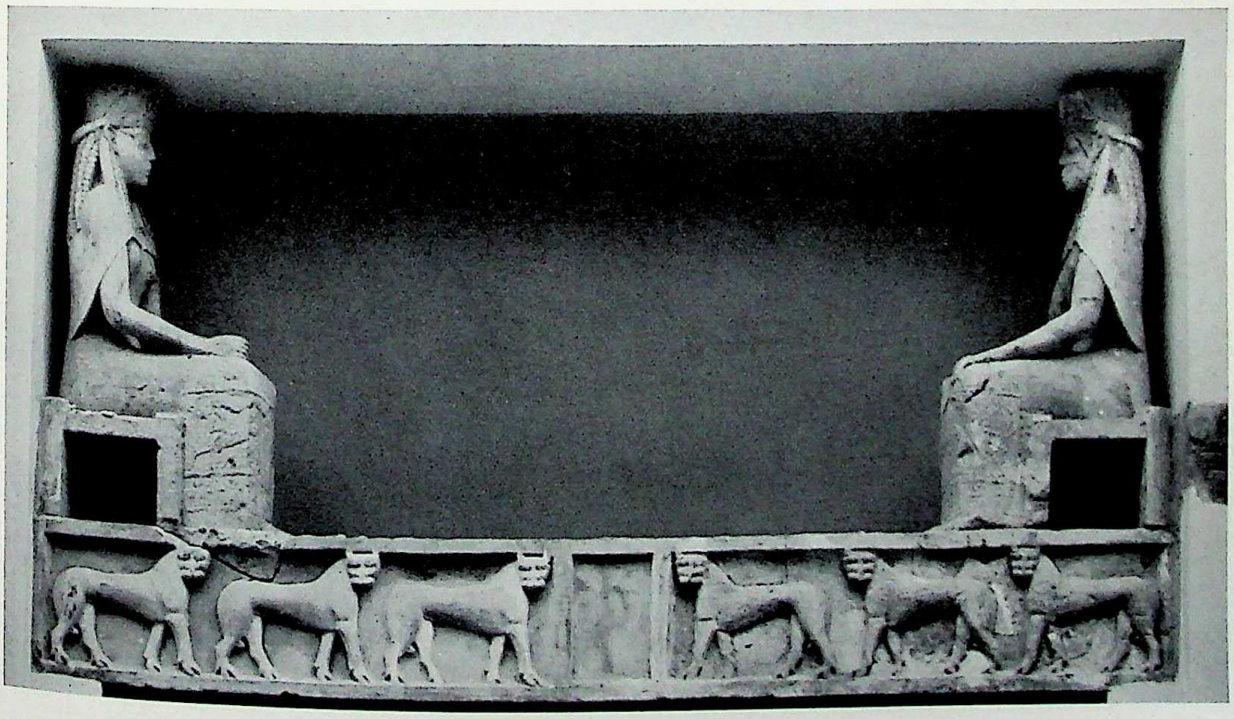

Pl. 1. Crete. *Above*: Shield with a deity between two winged demons, from the Cave of Mount Ida, 8th cent. B.C. Bronze, diam., 21 5/8 in. *Below*: Lintel surmounted by seated goddesses (restoration), from a temple at Prinias, last quarter of 7th cent. B.C. Limestone; ht. of frieze, 9 7/8 in. Both, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

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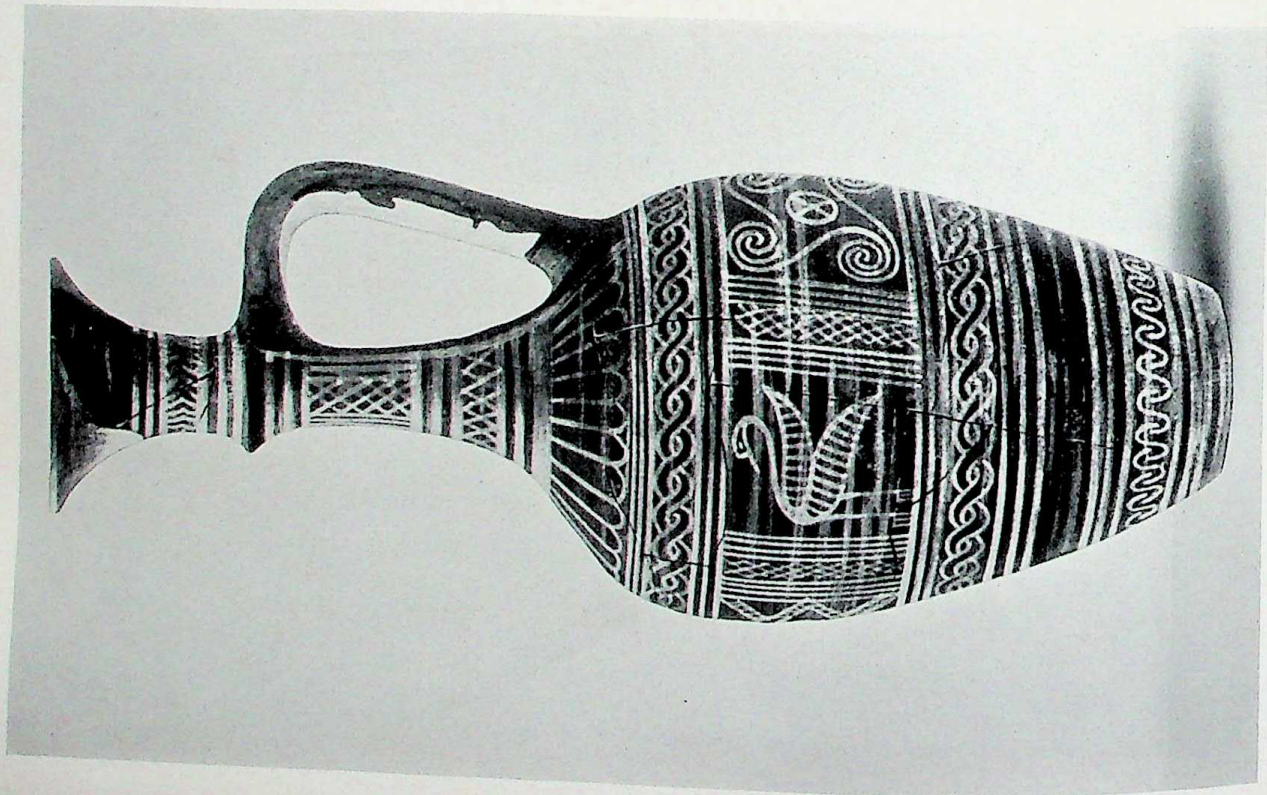

Pl. 2. Crete. *Left*: Oinochoe in early Orientalizing style, from Fortetsa, late 8th–early 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 11 1/8 in. *Right*: Ovoid pithos with decoration in relief, from Lithines, 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 27 1/2 in. Both, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

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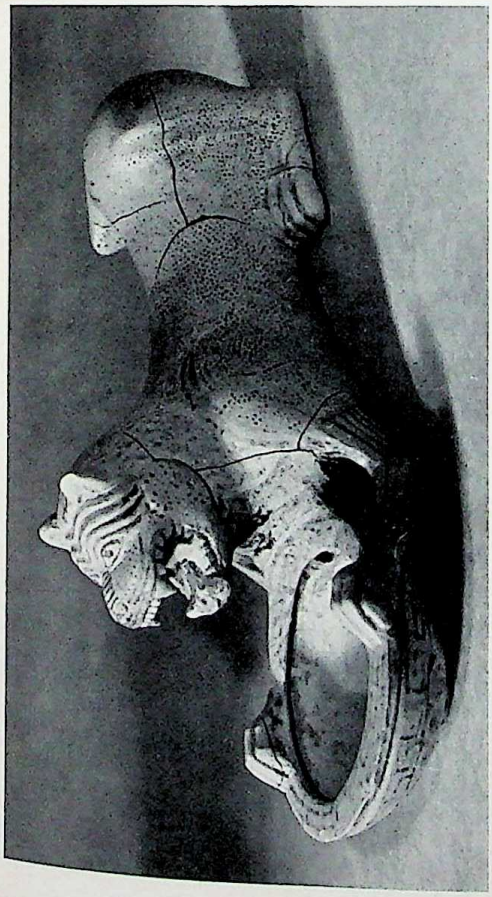

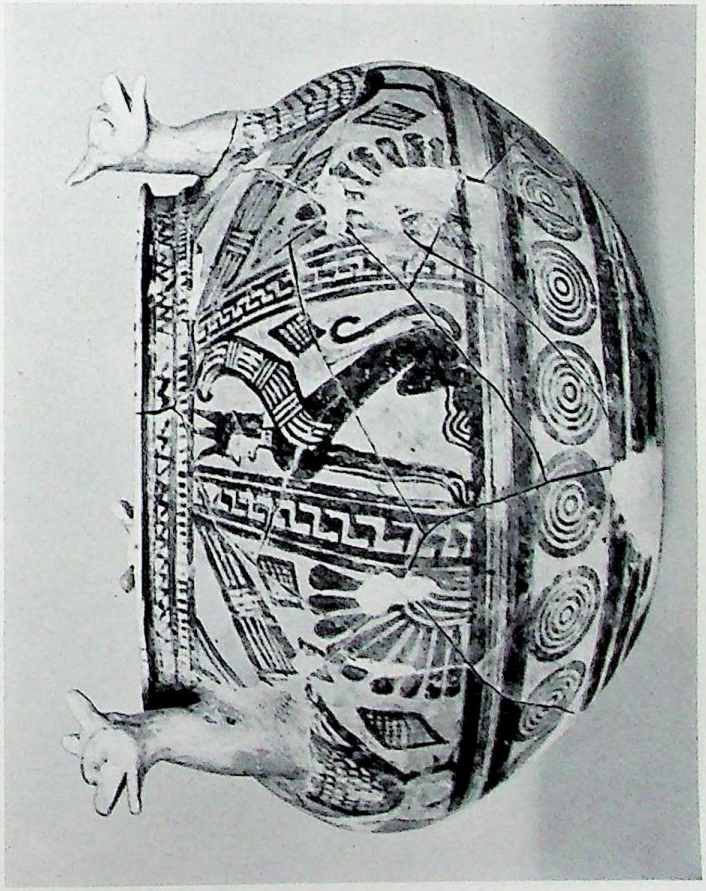

Pl. 3. Crete. *Left, above:* Vase in the shape of a lion with a basin, from Arkades, first half of 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, L., 12 7/8 in. *Below:* Deinos with animal protomes, from Arkades, early 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 8 1/4 in. Both, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum. *Right:* Globular lekythos with female head in relief, 540–530 B.C. Ht., 4 1/8 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 4. Crete. *Above, left*: Palladion, from the acropolis at Gortyna, early 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 14 3/8 in. Heraklion, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Cretan head, from Olympia, ca. 650 B.C. Bronze, ht., 3 3/8 in. Karlsruhe, Germany, Landesmuseum. *Below, left*: Female bust, from Gortyna, second quarter of 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 6 7/8 in. *Right*: Bust, from Eleutherna, 630–620 B.C. Poros, ht., 22 7/8 in. Last two, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

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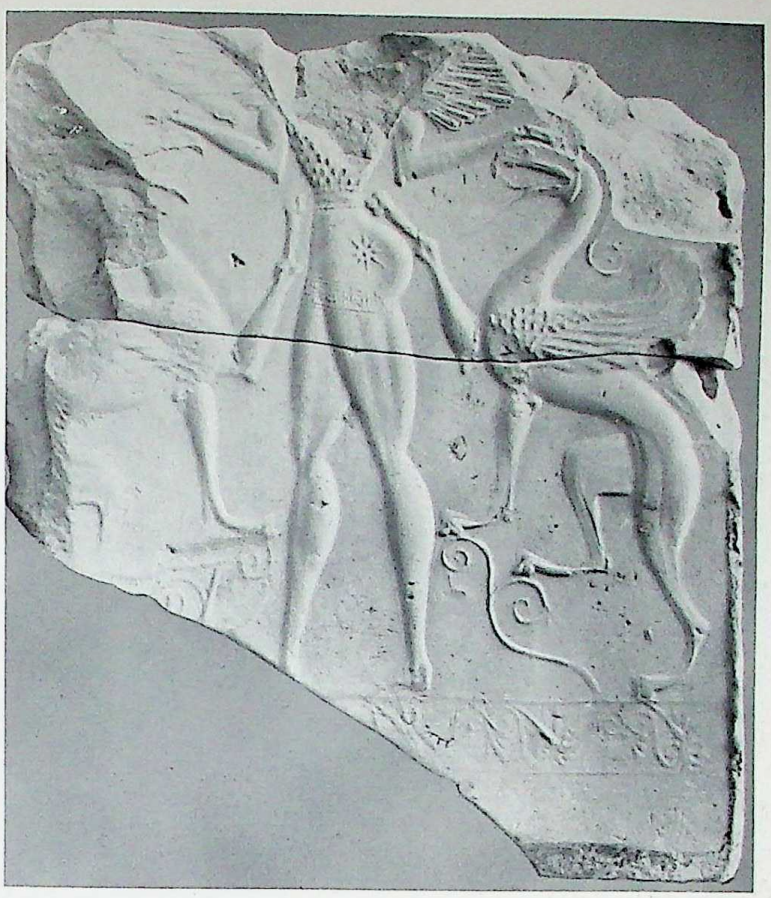

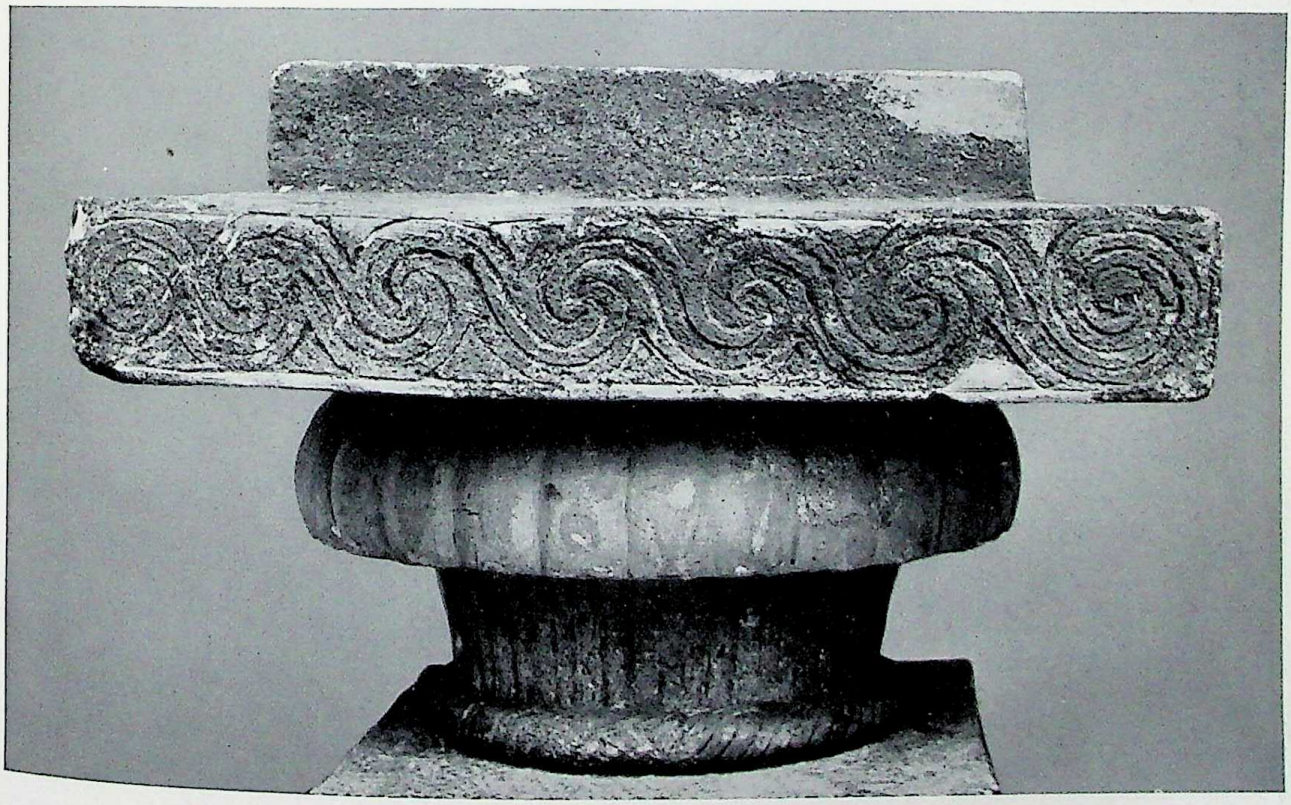

Pl. 5. Crete. *Above, left*: Plaque with hunters, 7th cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 7¼ in. Paris, Louvre. *Right*: Pinax with winged deity between griffins, from Gortyna, 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 4¾ in. *Below*: Palm-leaf capital joined to an abacus with spiral decoration, from Arkades, 7th–6th cent. B.C. Stone; upper diam. of capital, 14⅝ in. Last two, Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

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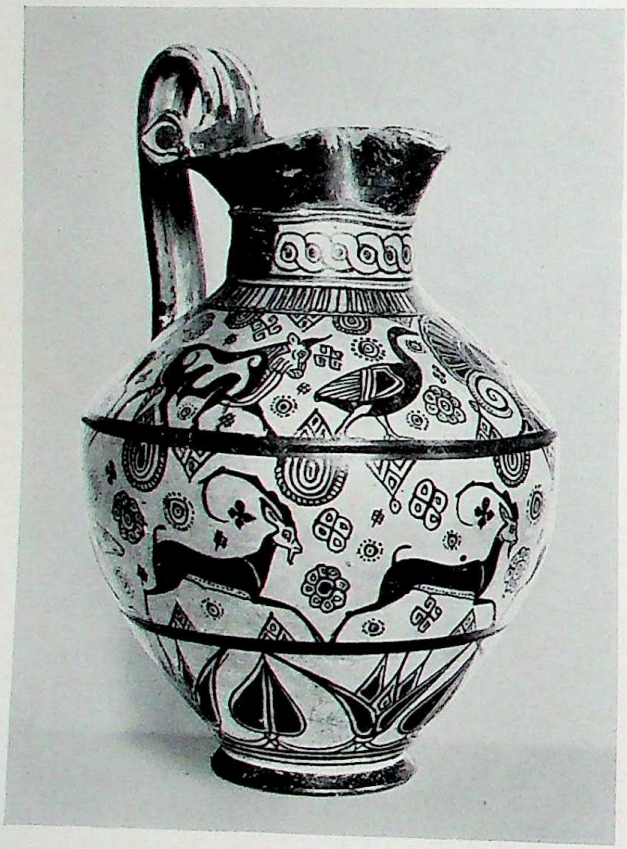

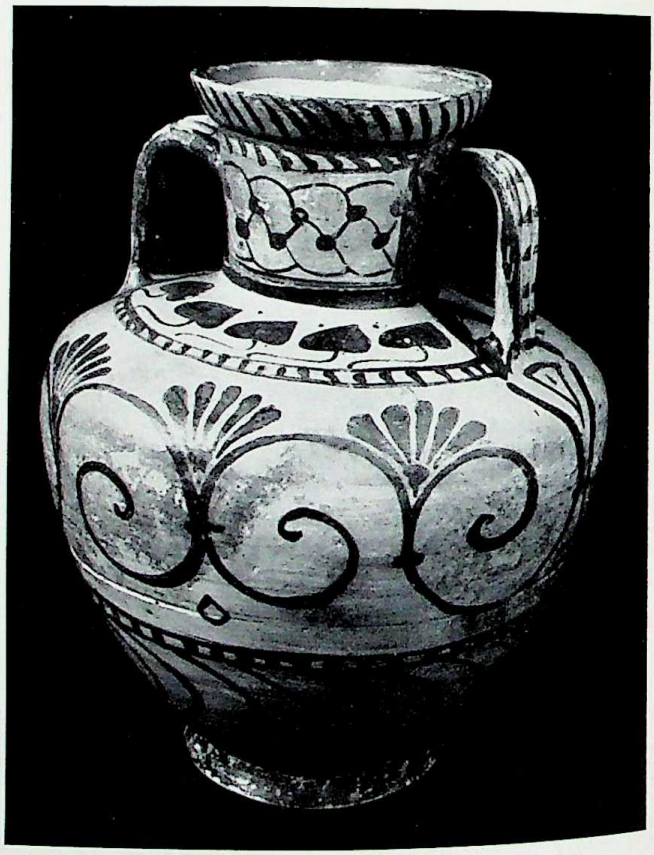

Pl. 6. Rhodes. *Above, left*: Bowl with incised decoration, from Vroulia, 7th cent. B.C. Diam., 11 3/8 in. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Sub-Geometric oinochoe, first half of 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 8 1/4 in. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum. *Below, left*: Orientalizing oinochoe, from Vroulia, 650-625 B.C. Ht., 11 1/8 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Right*: Amphora of Fikellura type, second half of 6th cent. B.C. Ht., 13 1/4 in. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum.

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Pl. 7. Plate with incised decoration, probably Rhodian, from Tarquinia, Italy, last quarter of 7th cent. B.C. Bronze, diam., 19 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 8. *Left*: Funerary stele of Krito and Timarista, from Kameiros, Rhodes, last third of 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 6 1/4 in. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: The Giustiniani funerary stele, attributed to a sculptor from Paros, ca. 450 B.C. Marble, ht., 4 ft., 8 1/4 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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logical Museum. *Right*: The Giustiniani funerary stele, attributed to a sculptor from Paros, ca. 450 B.C. Marble, ht., 4 ft., 8 1/4 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 9. *Left*: Geometric amphora, from Thera, 8th cent. B.C. Ht., 29 in. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet. *Center*: Oinochoe, attributed to a Rhodian or Cycladic workshop, from Aegina, first half of 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 15 3/4 in. London, British Museum. *Right*: Amphora, possibly Parian, first half of 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 23 1/4 in. Stockholm, Nationalmuseet.

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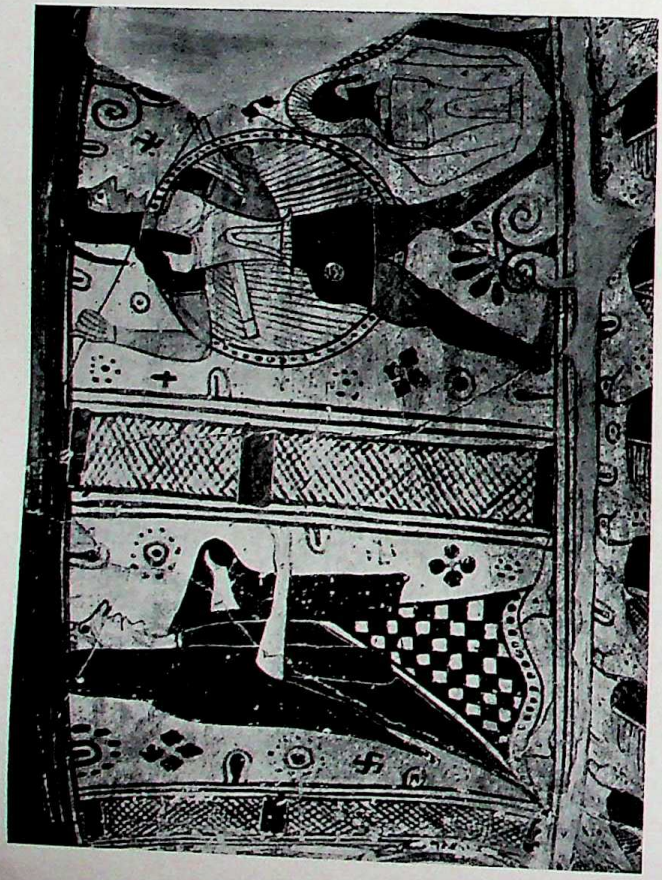

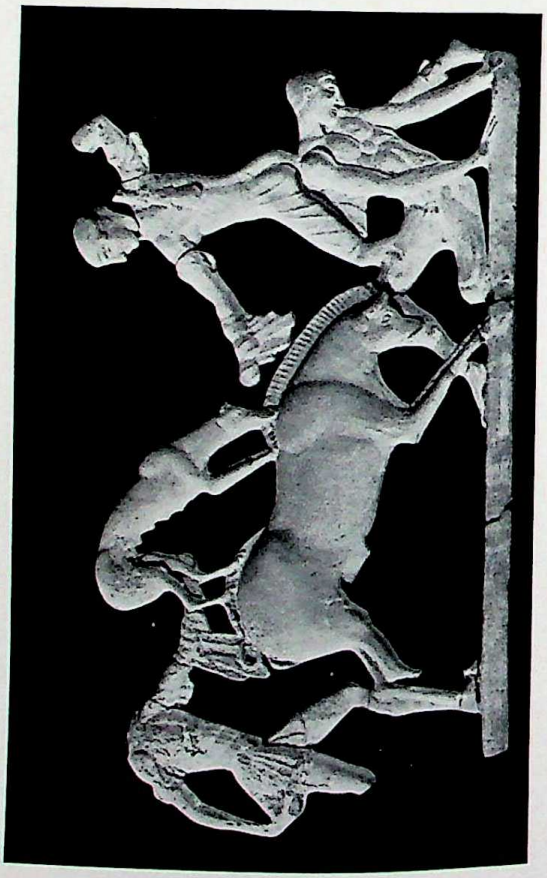

Pl. 10. Cyclades. *Left, above, and right:* Two details of an amphora, from Melos, ca. 650 B.C. Full ht., 37 1/8 in. Athens, National Museum. *Left, below: The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar*, from Melos, ca. mid-5th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, l., 9 1/8 in. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum.

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Pl. 11. Lion attacking a warrior, detail of the north frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, ca. 530–525 B.C. Marble; full ht., 25¼ in. Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

Boar, from Melos, ca. mid-5th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, L., 9⅛ in. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum.

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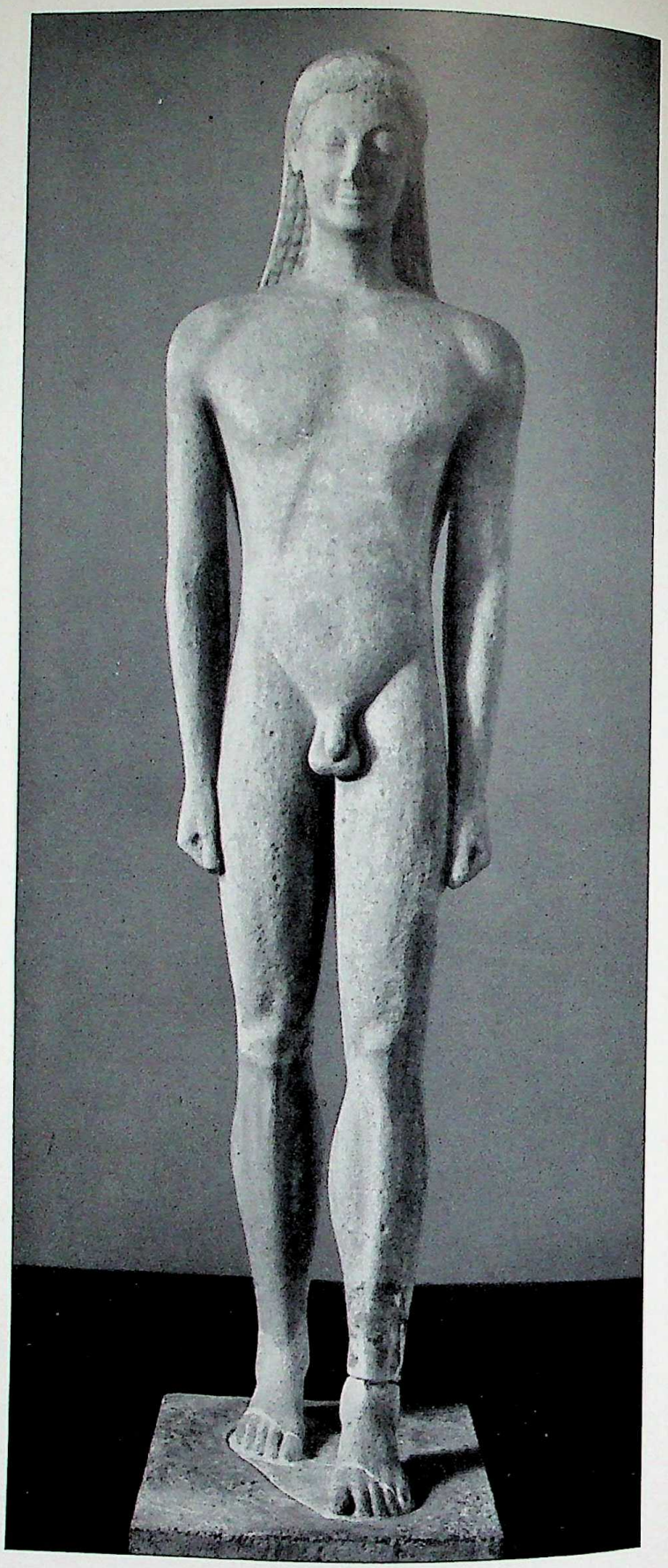

Pl. 12. Cyclades. *Left, above*: Head of a kouros, from Naxos, ca. 580 B.C. Marble, ht., 16 1/8 in. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. *Below*: Statue of Artemis dedicated by Nikandre, from the Artemision of Delos, ca. 650 B.C. Stone, ht., 5 ft., 8 7/8 in. *Right*: Kouros, from Melos, ca. 550 B.C. Marble, ht., 7 ft., 1/4 in. Last two, Athens, National Museum.

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Pl. 13. Cyclades. Sphinx dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi, 570–560 B.C. Marble, ht., 7 ft., 7 3/8 in. Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 14. Thracian archipelago. *Above, left*: Pegasos protome, found on Thasos, late 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 26 in. Thasos, Museum. *Right*: Votive relief with funeral banquet, from Thasos, ca. 450 B.C. Marble, ht., 24 5/8 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. *Below, left*: Back of a throne, with Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios, from Samothrace, ca. 550 B.C. Marble, ht., 18 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Center*: Antefix with Pegasos and Bellerophon, from the Herakleion of Thasos, 540–525 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 6 3/4 in. Athens, National Museum. *Right*: Seilenos with kantharos, relief on a gate in the walls of Thasos, early 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 8 ft., 4 1/4 in.

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550 B.C. Marble, ht., 18 7/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Center*: Antefix with Pegasos and Bellerophon, from the Herakleion of Thasos, 540–525 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 6 3/4 in. Athens, National Museum. *Right*: Seilenos with kantharos, relief on a gate in the walls of Thasos, early 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 8 ft., 4 3/4 in.

Pl. 15. Lemnos. *Left*: Idol, from Hephaistia, early 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., ca. 12 3/4 in. *Right*: Fragment of an idol with representation of Artemis-Bendis the huntress, from Hephaistia, early 7th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 9 1/2 in. Both, Athens, National Museum.



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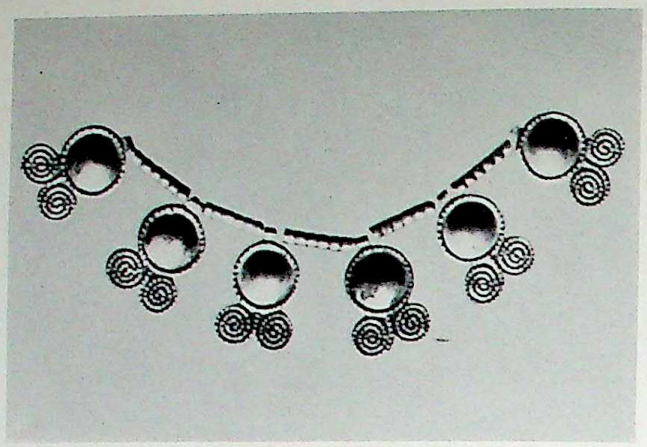
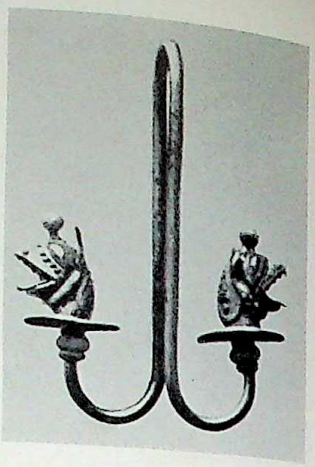

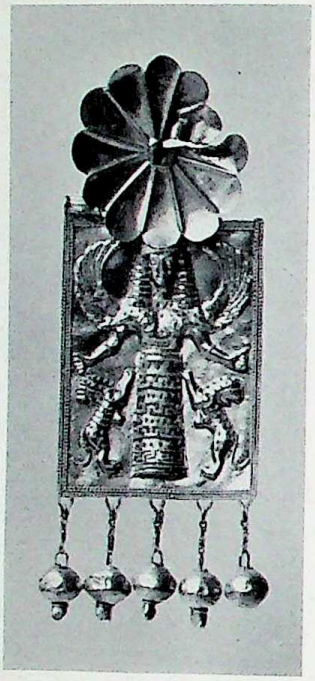

Pl. 16. *Above, left*: Repoussé pendant in the form of a wild goat, from Crete, 7th cent. B.C. Gold, w., ca. 1 1/8 in. London, British Museum. *Center*: Necklace, from Hephaistia, Lemnos, 8th cent. B.C. Gold; ht. of pendants, ca. 1 in. Athens, National Museum. *Right*: Earring with griffin protomes, from Melos, 7th cent. B.C. Gold, l., 2 3/8 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Center, left and right*: Coin of Thasos with Dionysos and Herakles (obverse and reverse), 411–384 B.C. Silver, diam., ca. 1 in. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. *Middle*: Plaque with the "Lady of the Beasts," from Kameiros, Rhodes, 7th cent. B.C. Gold; ht. without pendants, 1 5/8 in. London, British Museum. *Below, left*: Didrachma of Gortyna with Europa and the Bull (obverse and reverse), 430–300 B.C. Silver, diam., ca. 1 in. *Right*: Stater of Rhodes with head of Helios and rose (obverse and reverse), 400–333 B.C. Gold, diam., ca. 5/8 in. Both coins, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.

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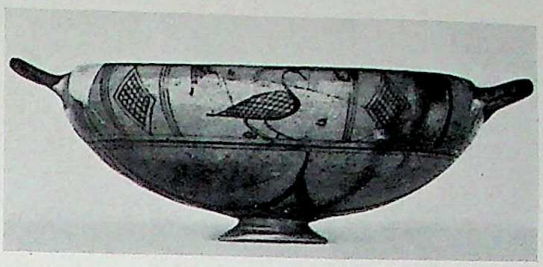

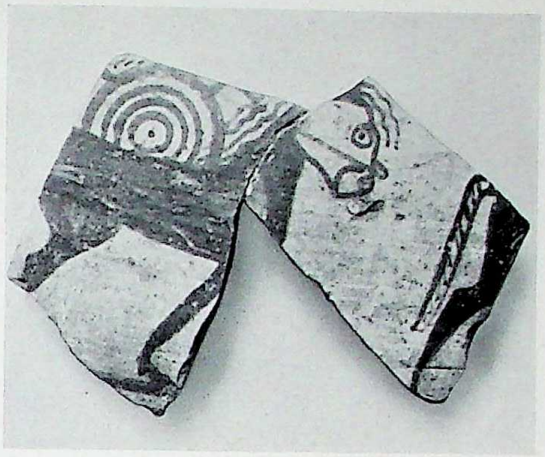

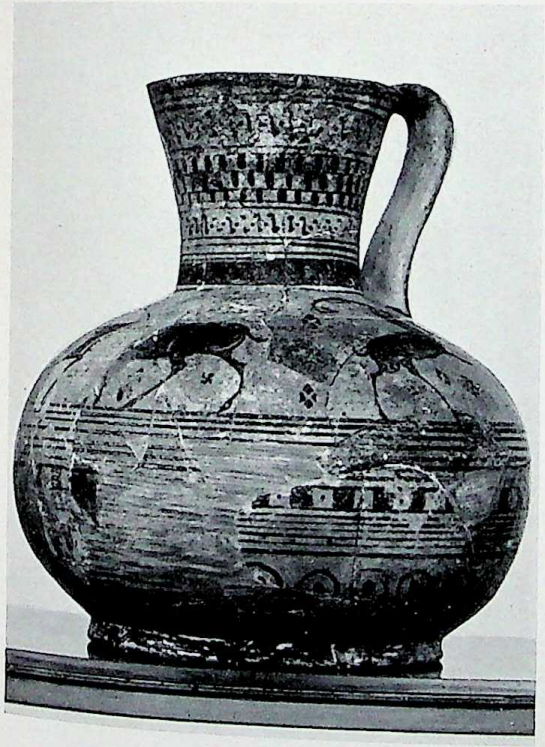

Pl. 17. *Left, above*: Geometric crater, from Rhodes, 8th cent. B.C. Ht., 13 3/8 in. Heidelberg, University. *Below*: Oinochoe of early "wild-goat" style, mid-7th cent. B.C. Ht., 9 5/8 in. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. *Right, above*: Bird bowl, mid-7th cent. B.C. Ht., 2 1/8 in. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet. *Center*: Fragment of dinos, from Ephesos, second quarter of 7th cent. B.C. L., 6 1/4 in. Vienna, University. *Below*: Plate of middle "wild-goat" style, from Rhodes, ca. 615–600 B.C. Diam., 11 7/8 in. Manchester, England, Museum.

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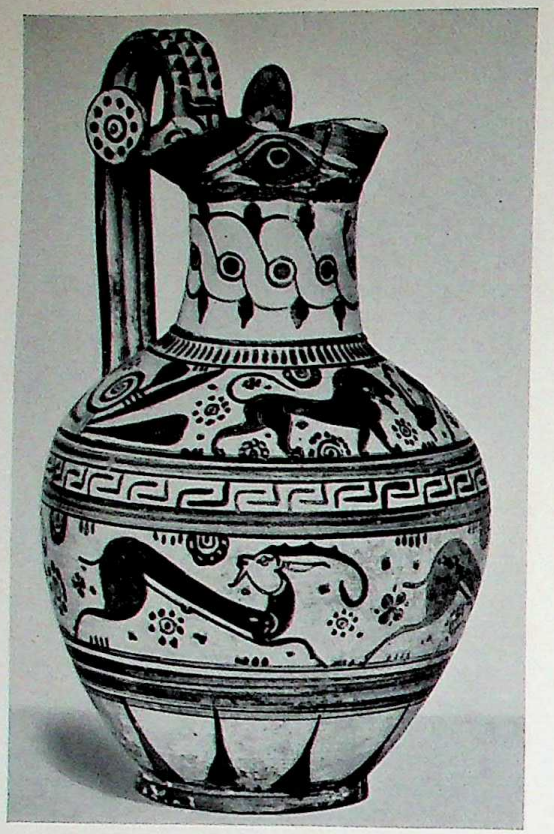

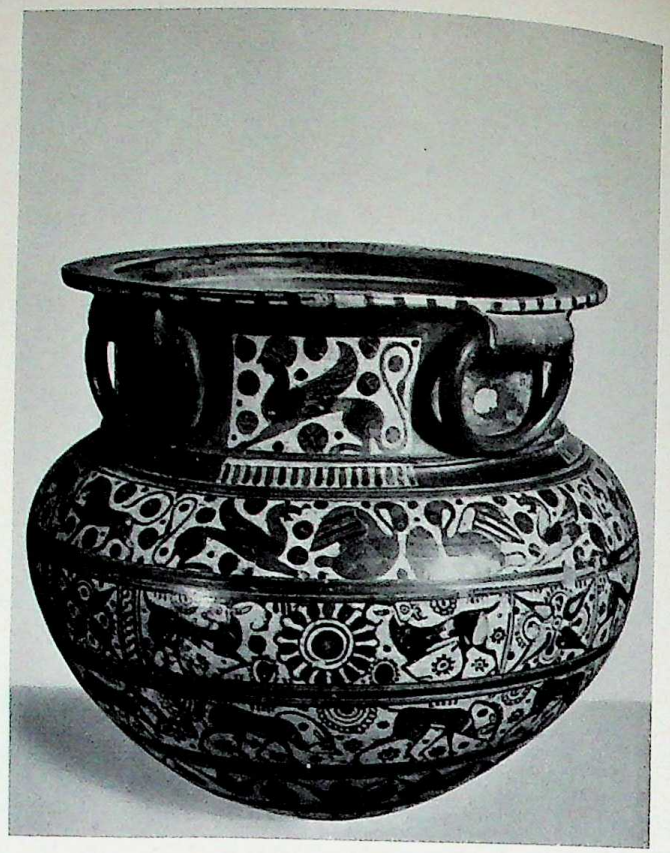

Pl. 18. *Above, left*: Trilobate oinochoe of late "wild-goat" style, from Rhodes, ca. 600–580 B.C. Ht., 14 in. Copenhagen, National-museet. *Right*: Dinos in late "wild-goat" style, ca. 600–580 B.C. Ht., 13¾ in. Paris, Louvre. *Below*: Sciot calyx, from Vulcii, Italy, last quarter of 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 6 in. Würzburg, Germany, Museum der Universität.

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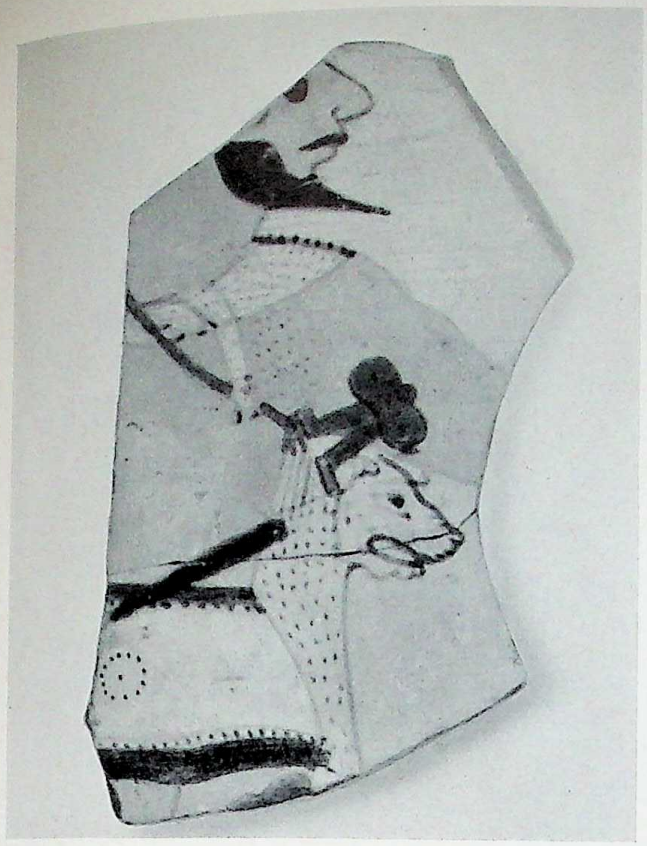

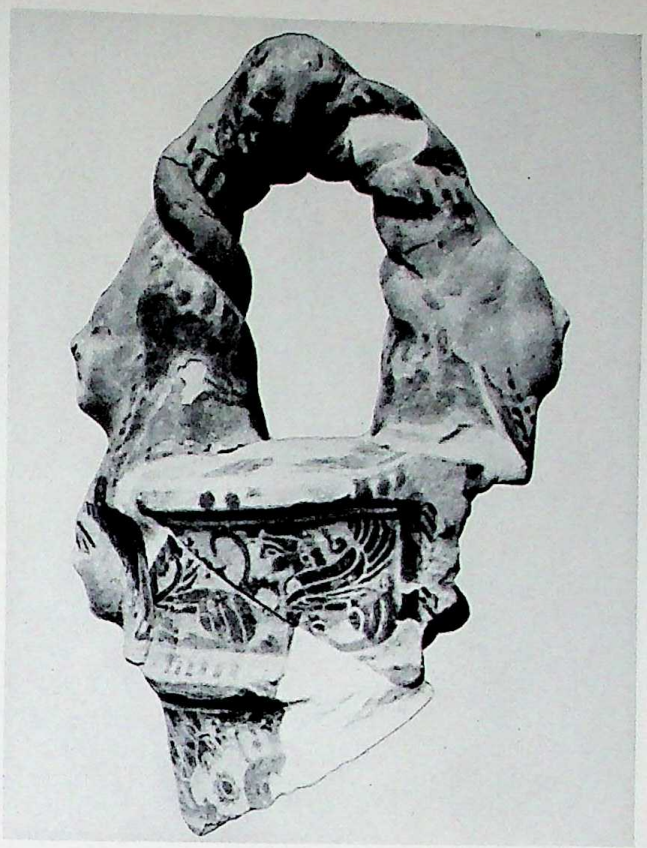

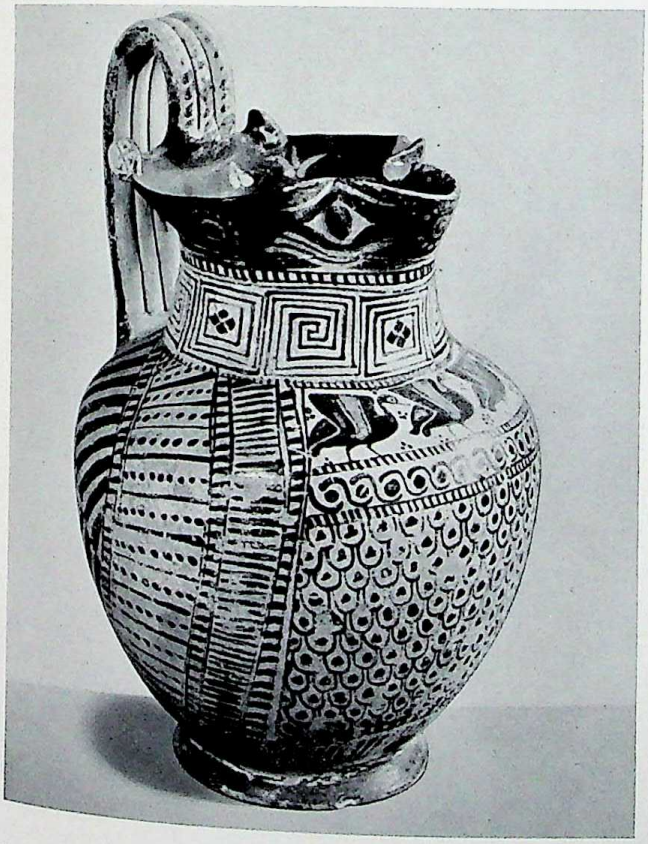

Pl. 19. *Above, left*: Fragment of Sciot calyx, from Athens, second quarter of 6th cent. B. C. Maximum ht., 2 3/4 in. Athens, Acropolis, Museum. *Right*: Fragment of Sciot vase with figured handle, from Chios, first half of 6th cent. B. C. Ht., 6 3/4 in. Chios, Museum. *Below, left*: Trilobate oinochoe in Fikellura style, from Rhodes, mid-6th cent. B. C. Ht., 11 3/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Right*: Amphora in Fikellura style, mid-6th cent. B. C. Ht., 12 3/8 in. Altenburg, Germany, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum.

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Pl. 20. Interior of kylix, with man and trees, mid-6th cent. B. C. Diam., 9 3/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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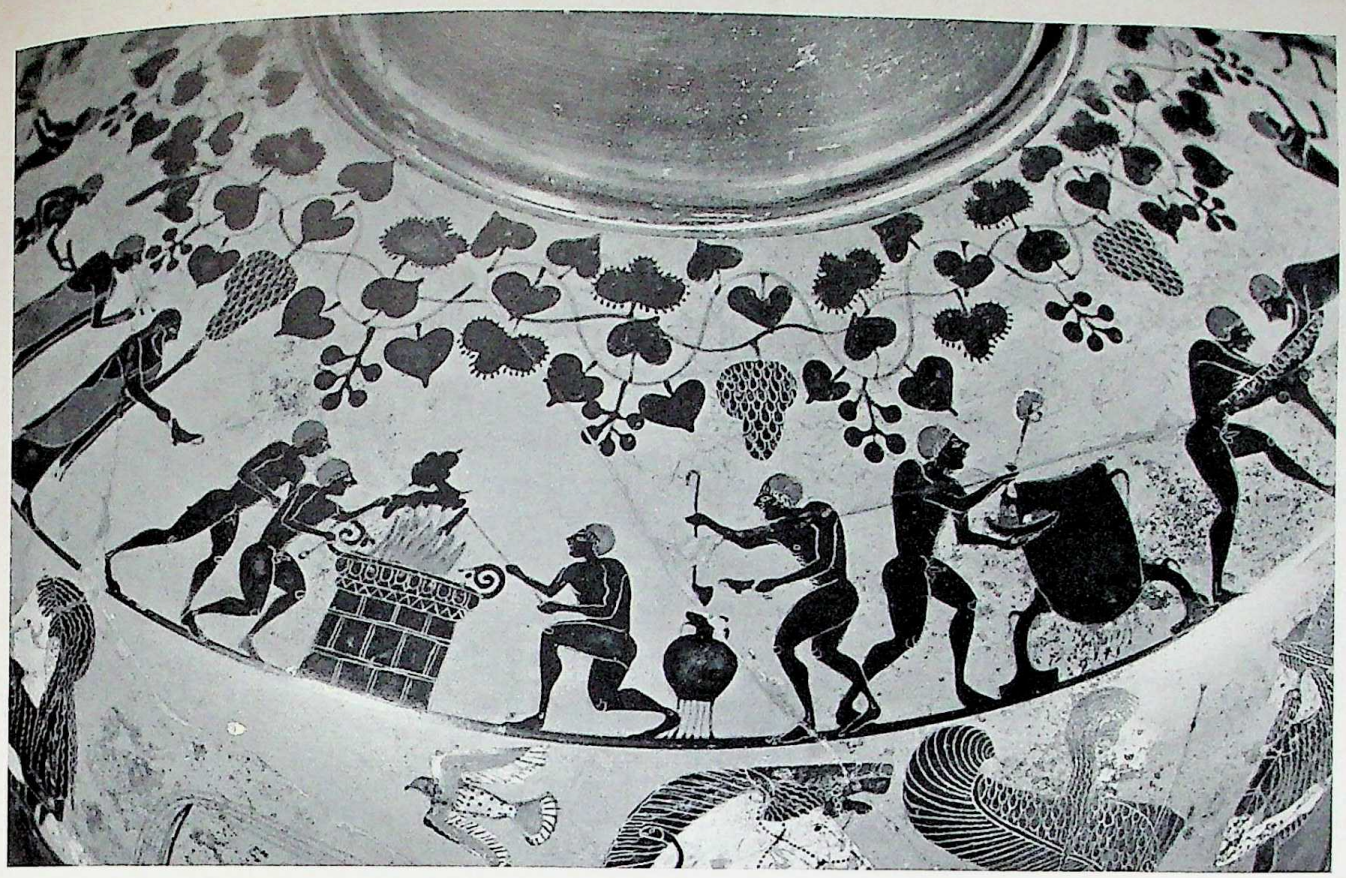

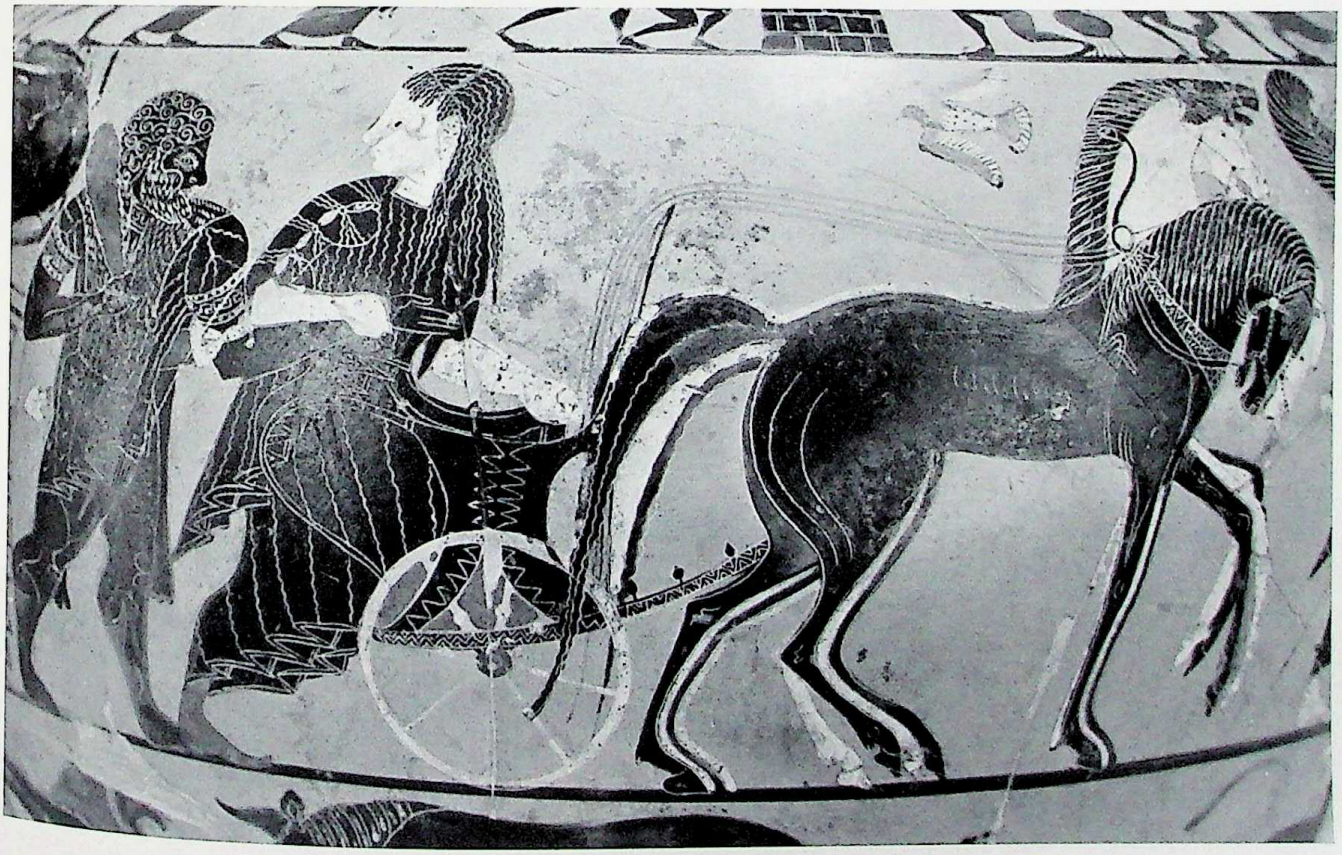

Pl. 21. Details of decoration of Ionian hydria, from Caere (Cerveteri), Italy, ca. 530 B.C. Full ht., 17½ in. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia. *Above*: Sacrifice to Dionysos. *Below*: Apotheosis of Herakles.

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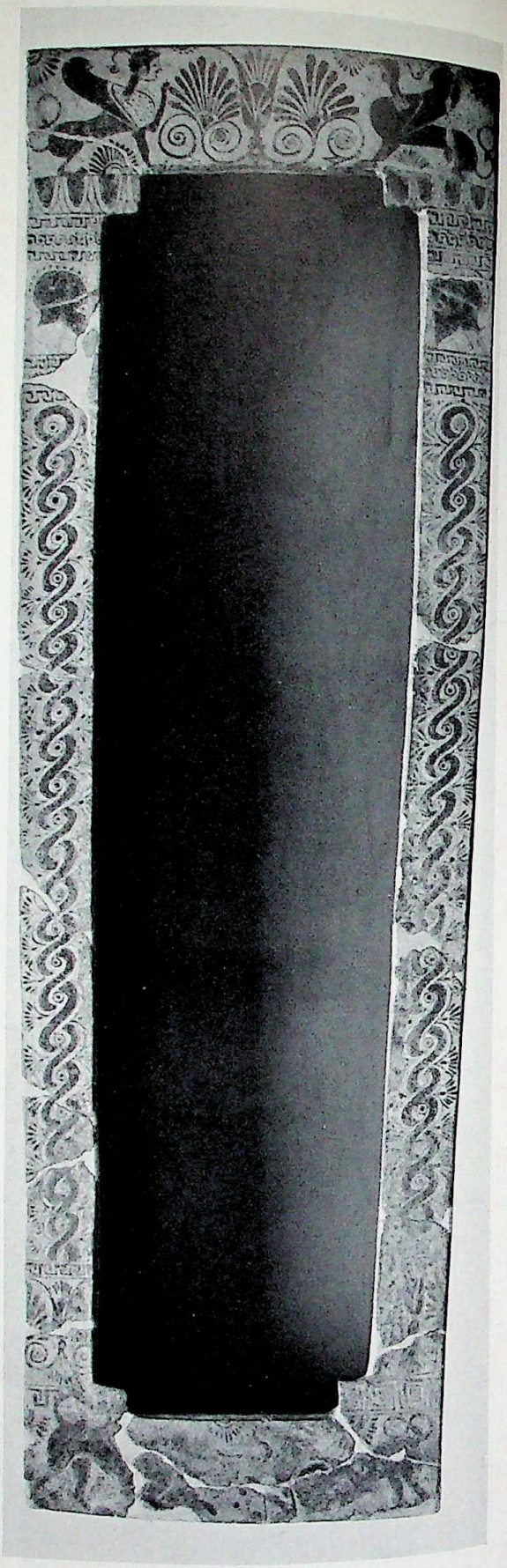

Pl. 22. *Left, above*: Fragment of vase, from Klazomenai (?), ca. 540 B. C. Athens, National Museum. *Below*: Clazomenian hydria, from Tell Defenna, 540–530 B. C. Ht., 9 3/8 in. *Right*: Clazomenian sarcophagus, early 5th cent. B. C. L., 6 ft., 6 in. Last two, London, British Museum.

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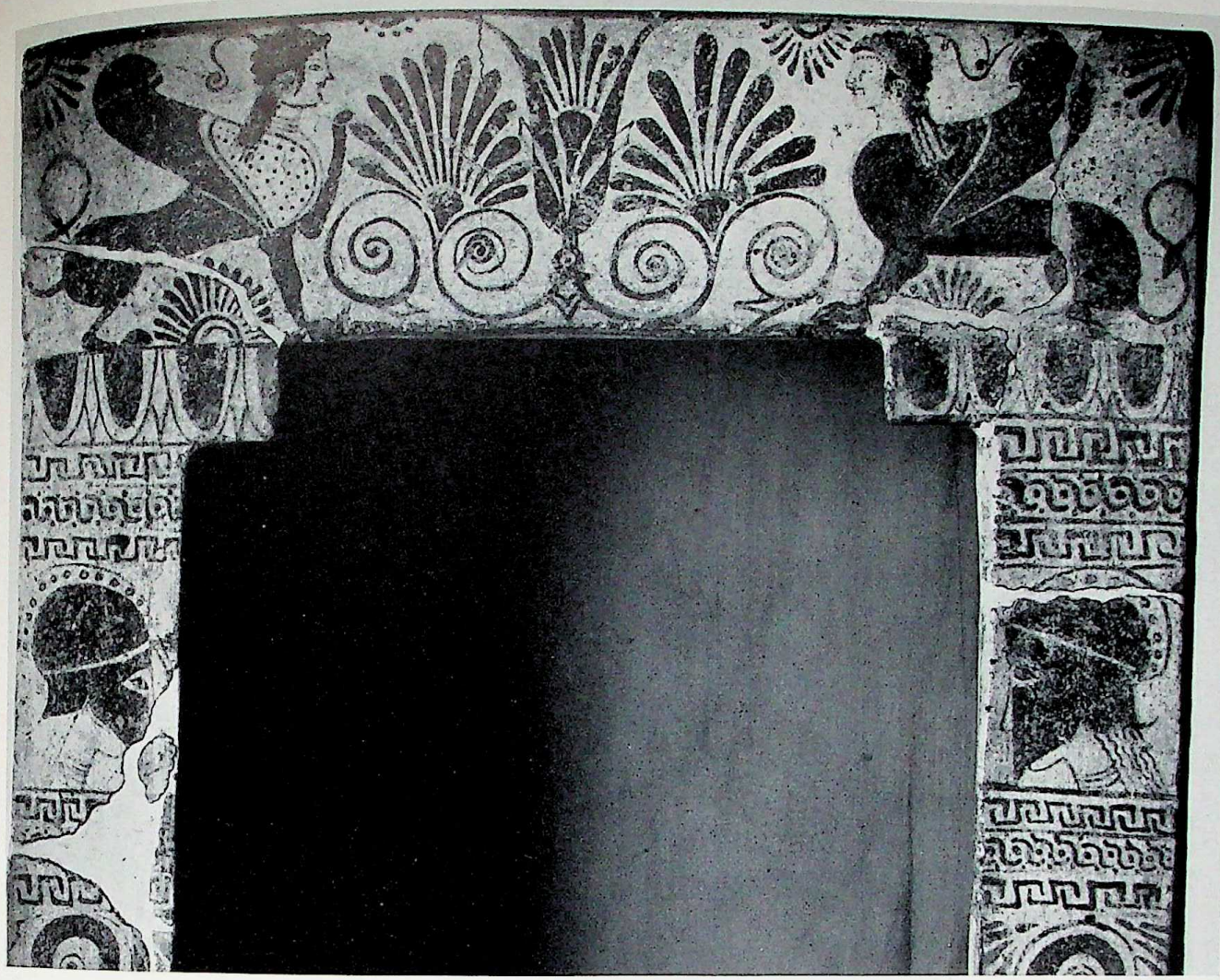

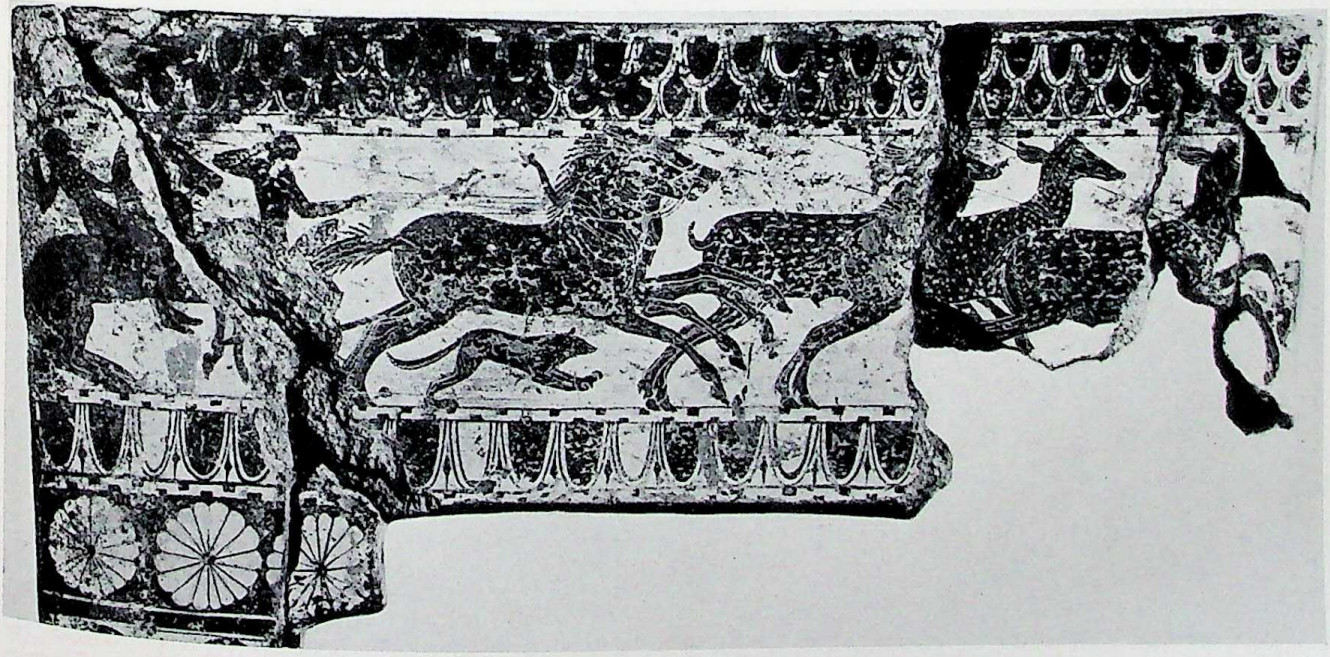

Pl. 23. Details of Clazomenian sarcophagi, early 5th cent. B. C. *Above*: Winged sphinxes and heads of warriors, detail of PL. 22, *right*. *Below*: Hunting scene. Full ht., 47⁵/₈ in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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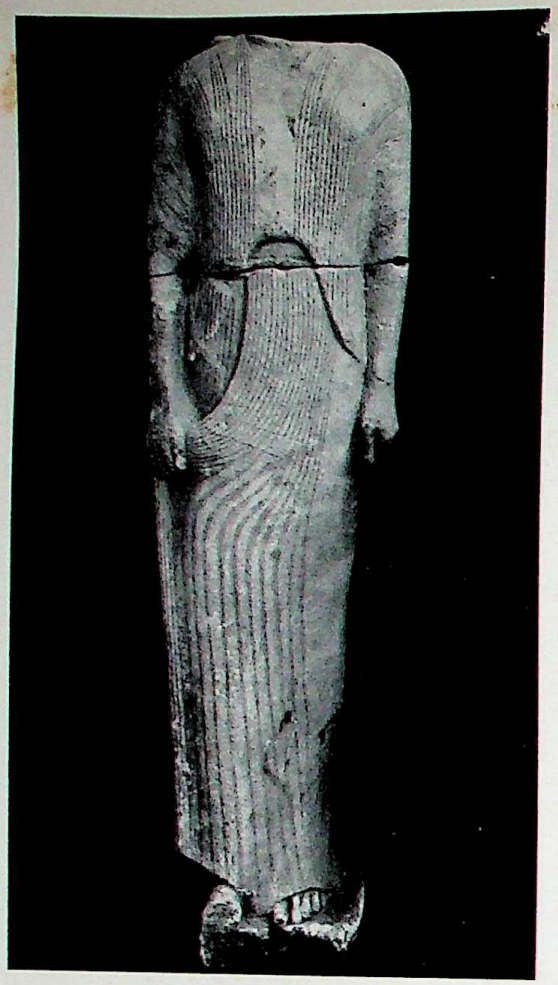

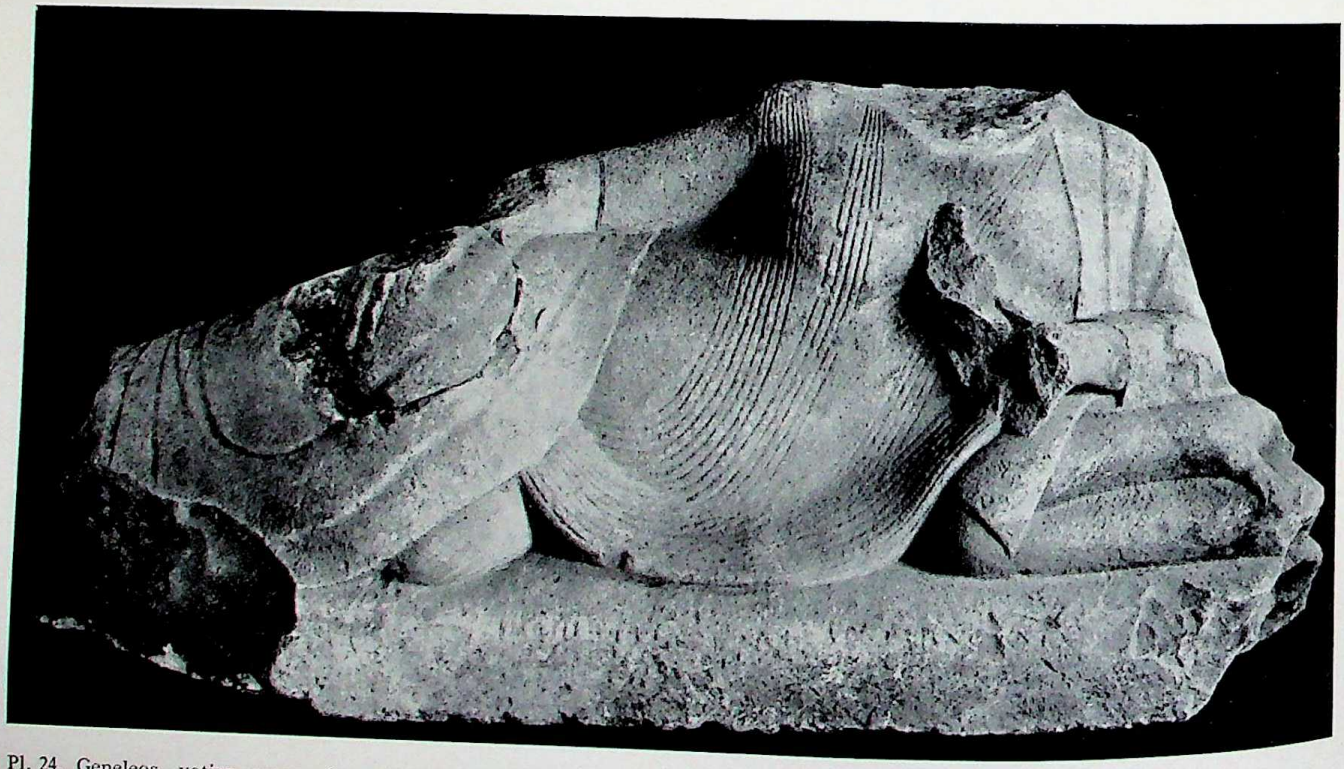

Pl. 24. Geneleos, votive group, from the Heraion of Samos, 560-550 B.C. Marble. Vathy, Samos, Museum. *Above, left*: Philippe. Ht., 5 ft., 3 in. *Right*: Phileia. Ht., 33½ in. *Below*: [Eni]oche. L., 5 ft., 3 in.

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Pl. 25. Member of the Branchidai priestly clan, from Didyma, third quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 8 in. London, British Museum.

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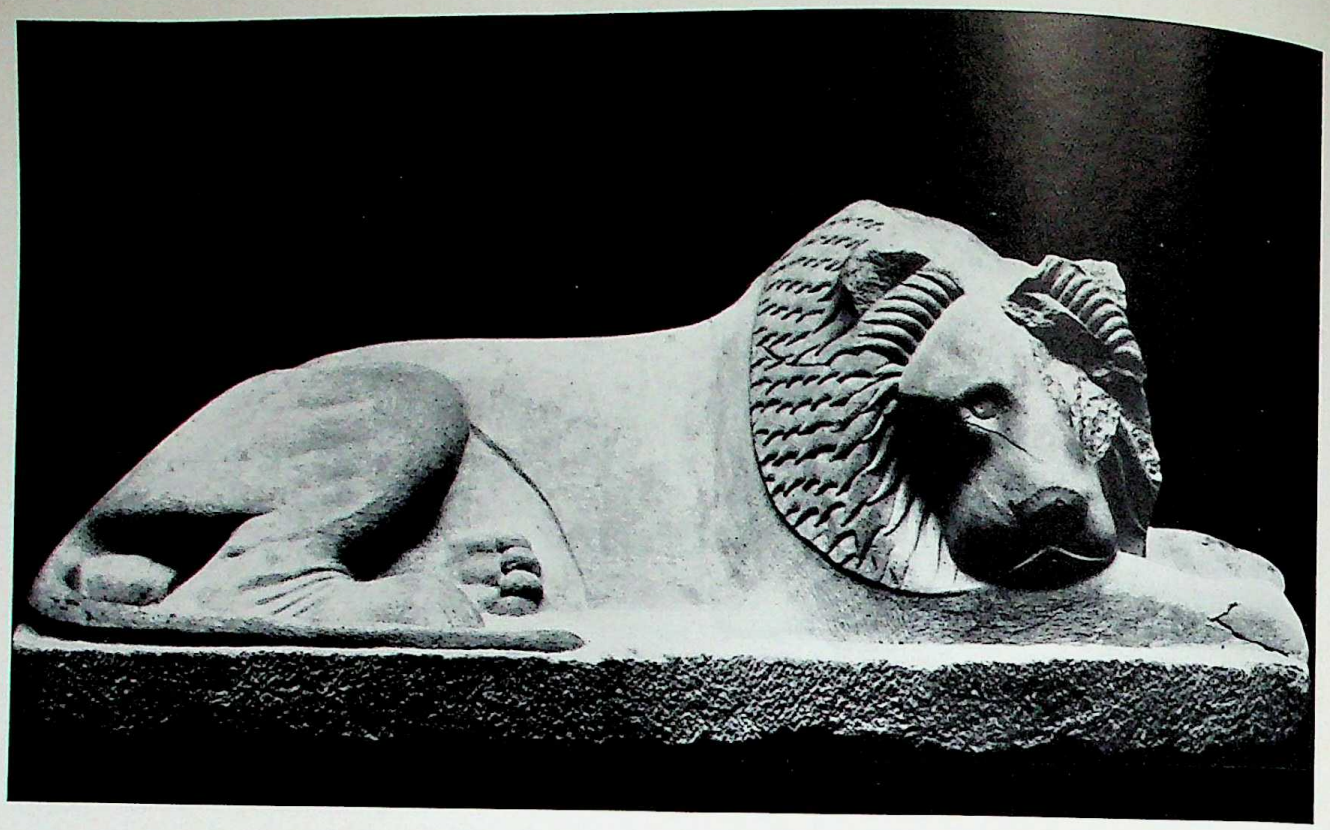

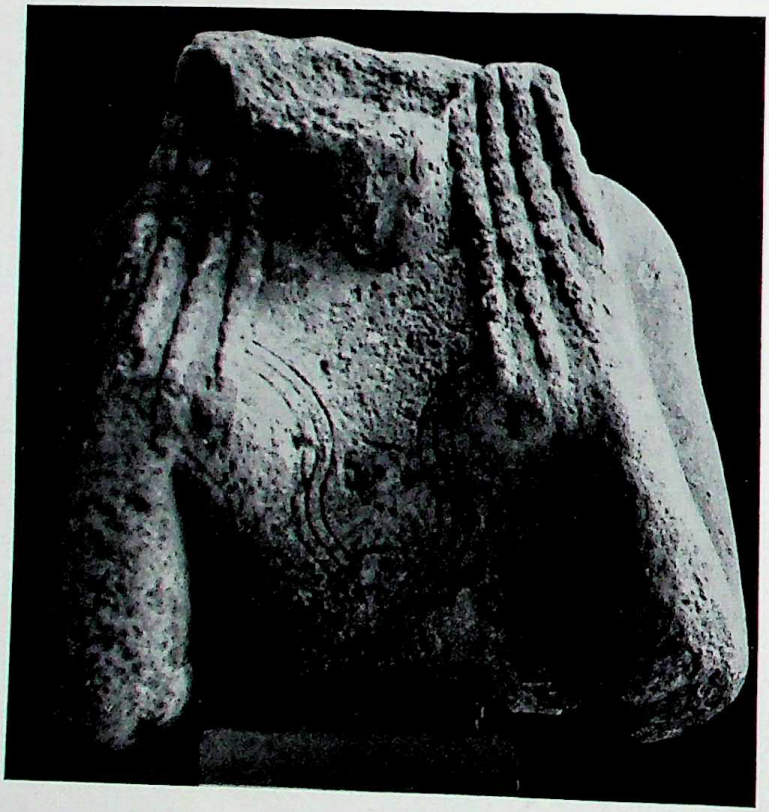

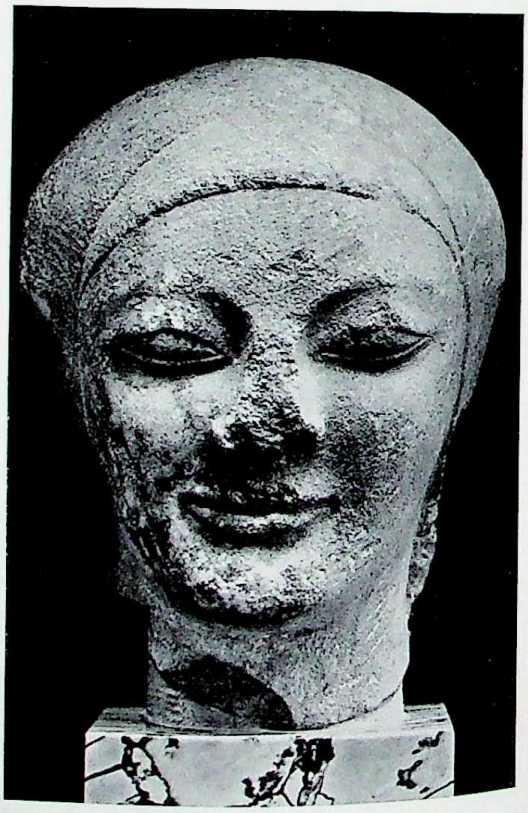

Pl. 26. *Above*: Lion, from Miletos, late 6th cent. B. C. Marble, l., 5 ft., 8 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Below, left*: Fragment of female figure, from Chios, first half of 6th cent. B. C. Marble, ht., 23 5/8 in. Chios, Museum. *Right*: Female head, from Miletos, third quarter of 6th cent. B. C. Marble, ht., 8 1/8 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 27. Fragment of relief with female figure, from column base of the ancient Temple of Apollo at Didyma, near Miletos, third quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 21 7/8 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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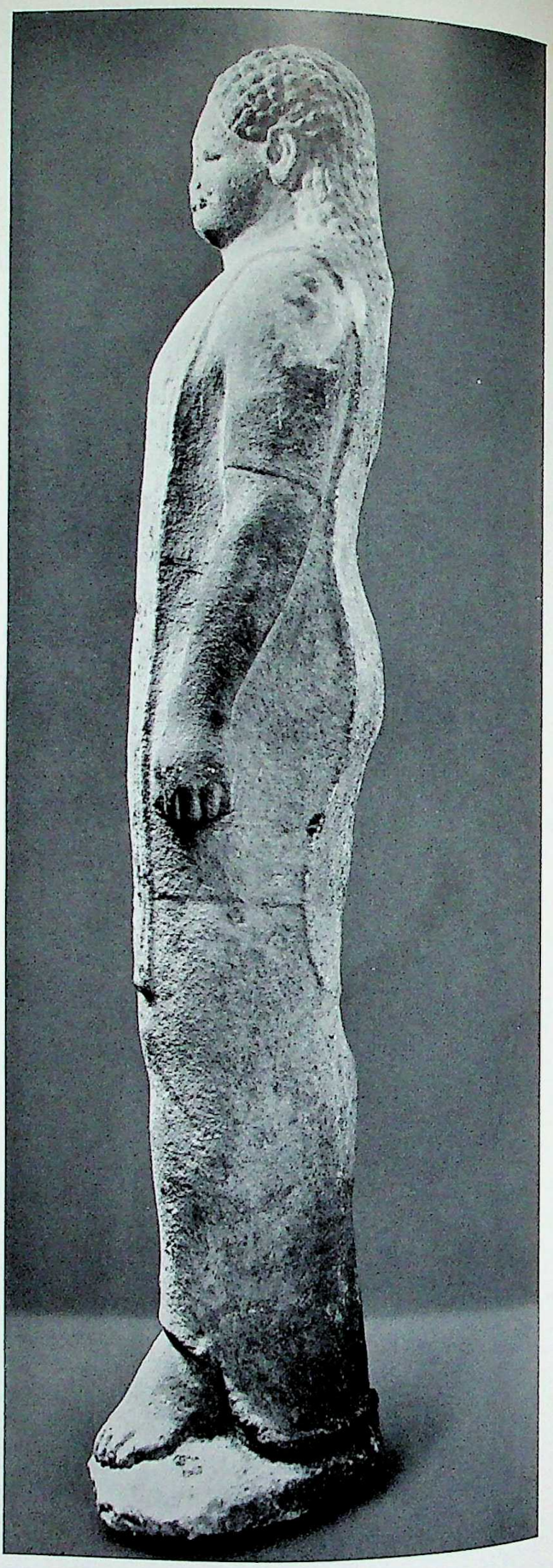

Pl. 28. Male figure, from Samos, third quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 9⅝ in. Vathy, Samos, Museum.

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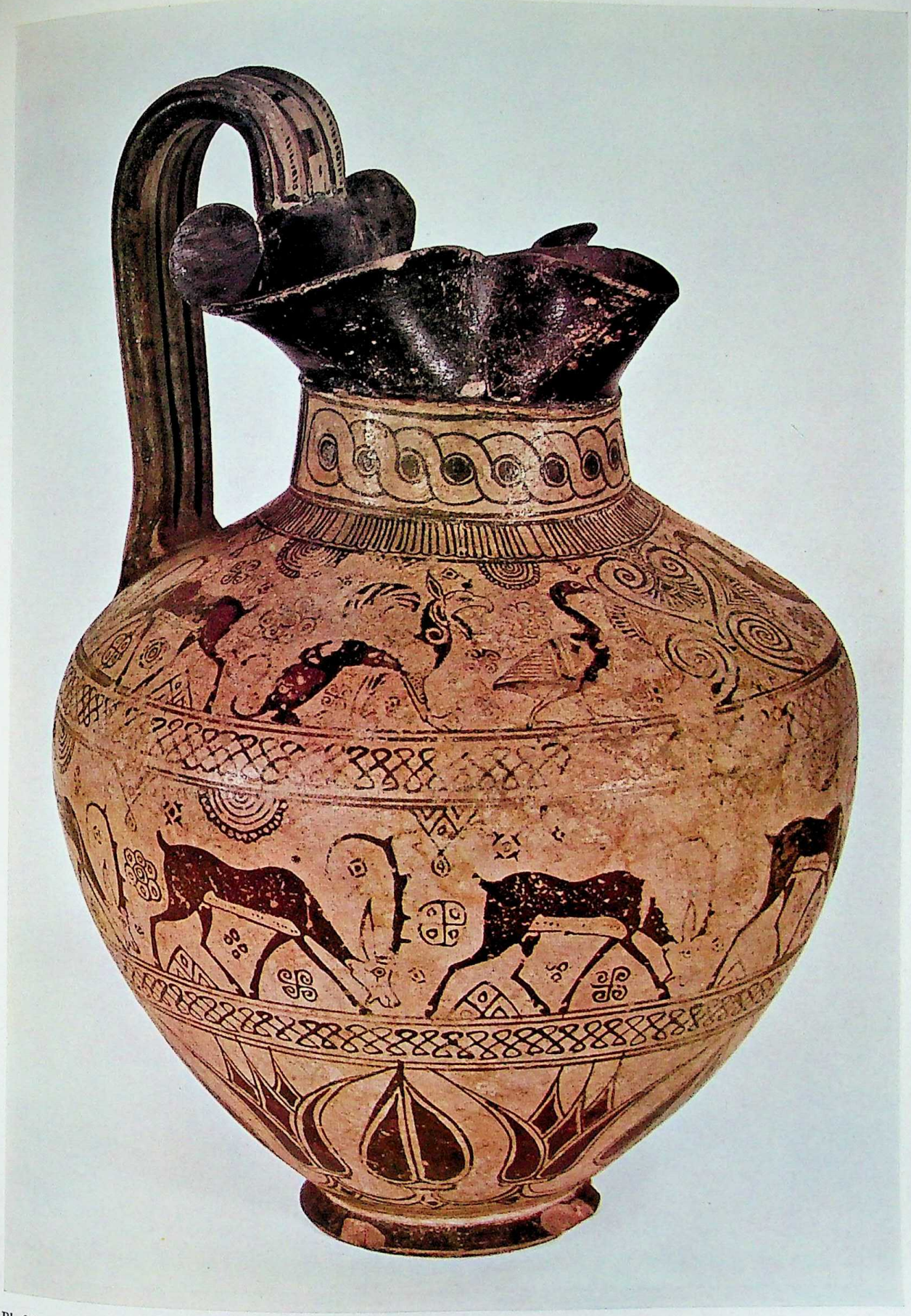

Pl. 29. Rhodian oinochoe in middle "wild-goat" style, 630–615 B.C. Ht., 12 3/4 in. Munich, Antikensammlungen.

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Pl. 30. Clazomenian amphora, from Tell Defenna, ca. 540 B.C. Ht., 18 in. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 31. *Left*: Zeus and Hera, from the Heraion of Samos, late 7th cent. B.C. Wood, ht., 7 5/8 in. Vathy, Samos, Museum. *Right*: Female figurine, from Olympia, ca. 560 B.C. Bronze, ht., 8 5/8 in. Athens, National Museum.

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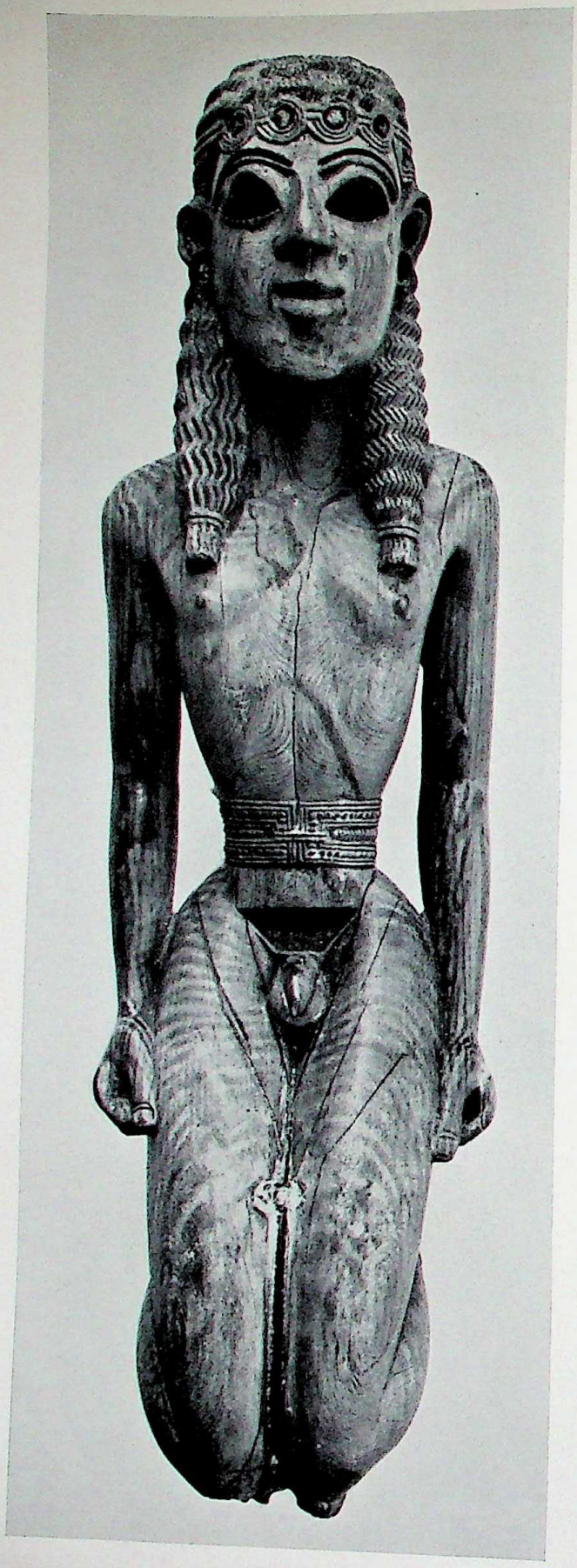

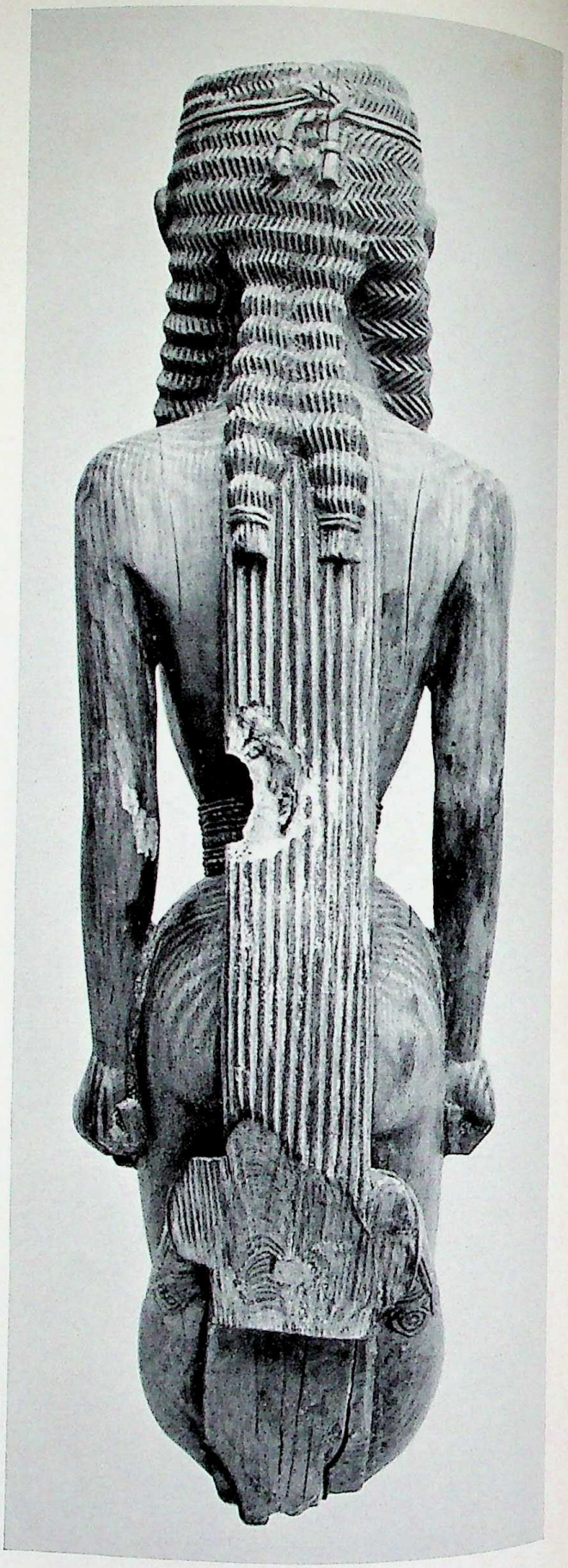

Pl. 32. Figurine of a youth, from the Heraion of Samos, 560–550 B.C. Ivory, ht., 5 3/4 in. Vathy, Samos, Museum.

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Pl. 33. Figurine of a horseman, detail, from Samos, third quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Bronze; full ht., 7 5/8 in. Vathy, Samos, Museum.

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Pl. 34. Banquet scene, fragments of panel, from Larisa, mid-6th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 17 3/8 in. Istanbul, *Archaeological Museum, and Stockholm, National Museum.*

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Pl. 34. Banquet scene, fragments of panel, from Larisa, mid-6th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 17 1/8 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, and Stockholm, National Museum.

Pl. 35. Frieze of the temple at Assos, third quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Trachyte, ht., 32 in. Paris, Louvre. *Above:* Herakles fighting Triton. *Below:* Banquet scene.

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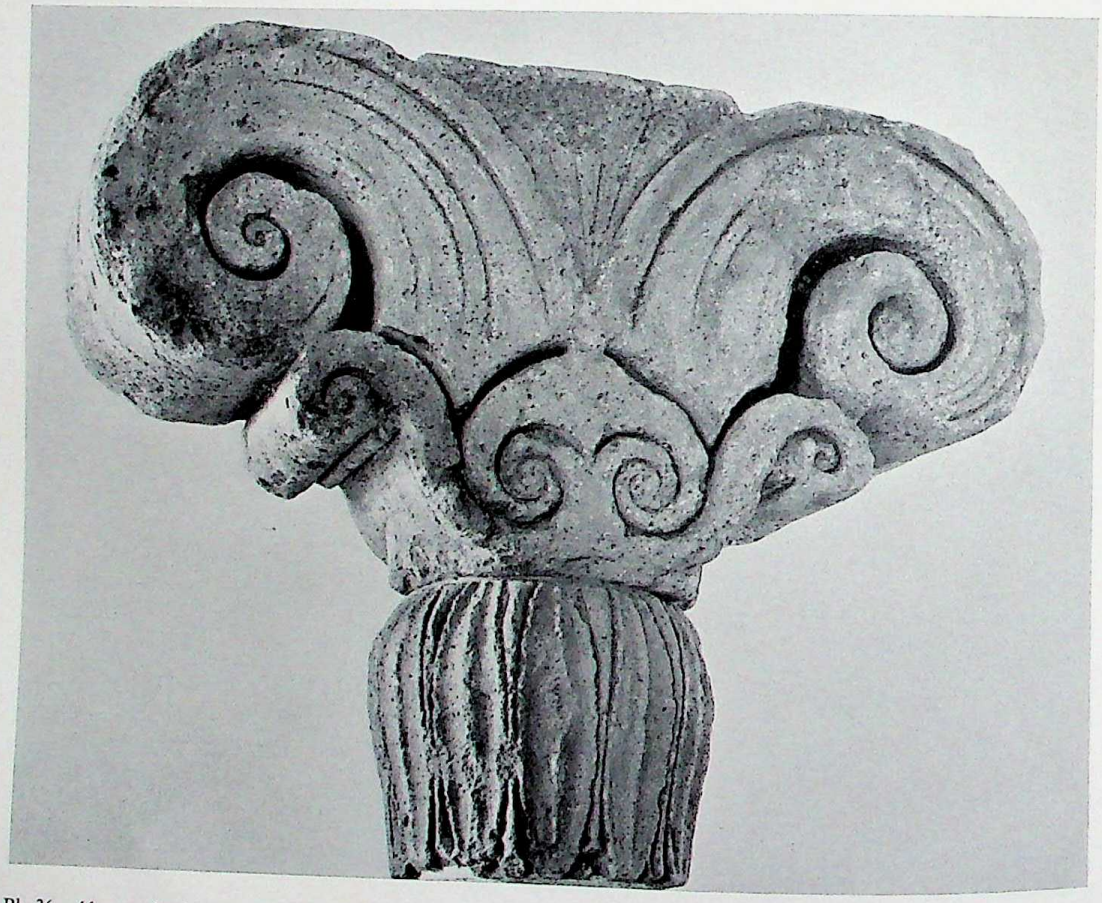

Pl. 36. *Above*: Architectural element, from Baïraklı (site of Aeolian Smyrna), late 7th cent. B.C. Limestone. İzmir, Turkey, Archaeological Museum. *Below*: Aeolian capital, from Larisa, 7th cent. B.C. Limestone. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

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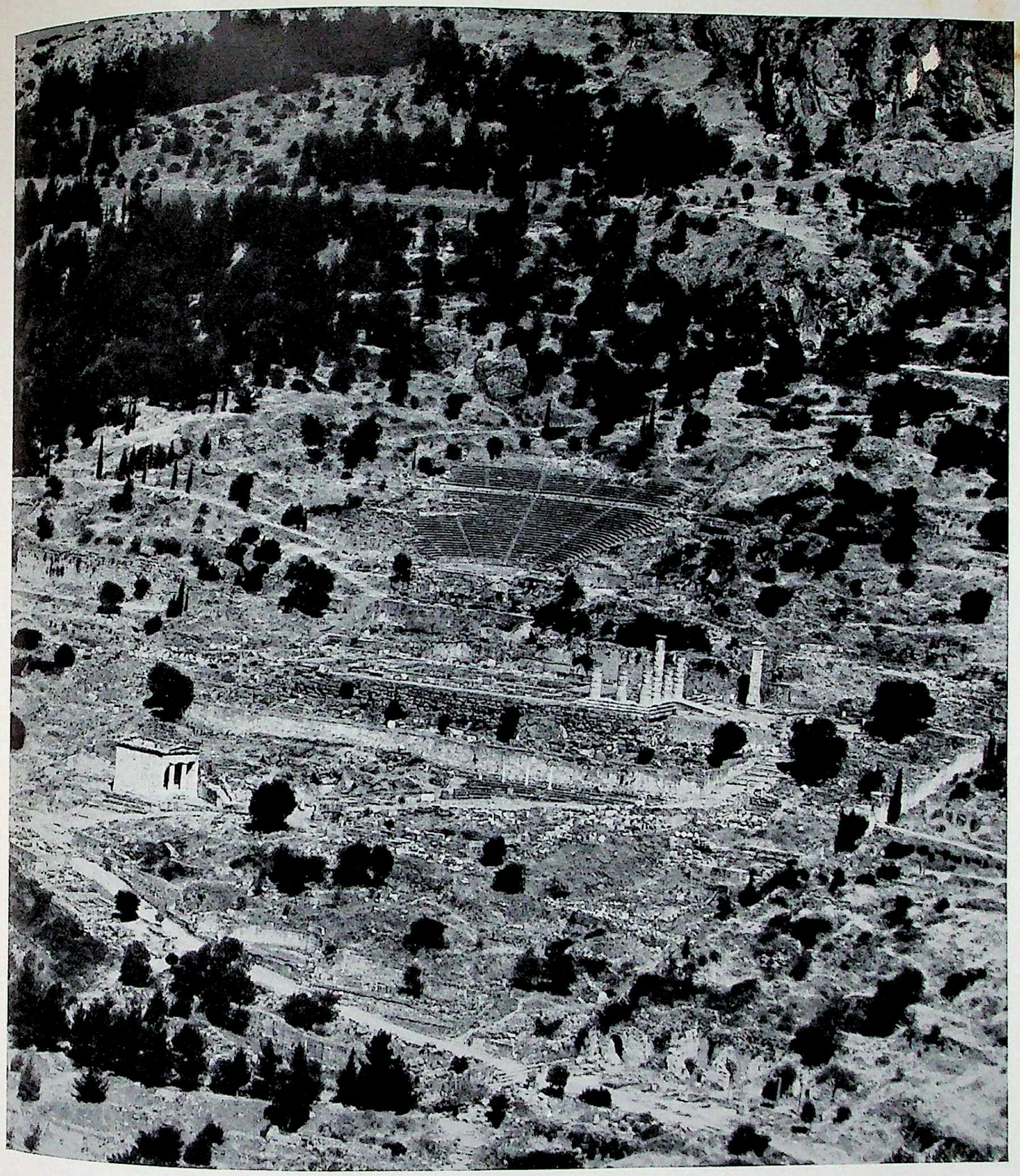

Pl. 37. Delphi, the sanctuary, 6th–5th cent. B.C., aerial view.

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Pl. 38. Phocis and Locris. *Above:* Antefix with gorgoneion, from Antikyra, first half of 6th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta, ht., 5 7/8 in. Athens, National Museum. *Below, left:* Head of kouros, 3d quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., ca. 9 in. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. *Right:* Fragment of stele with female head, from Malessina (Locris Opuntia), early 6th cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 14 7/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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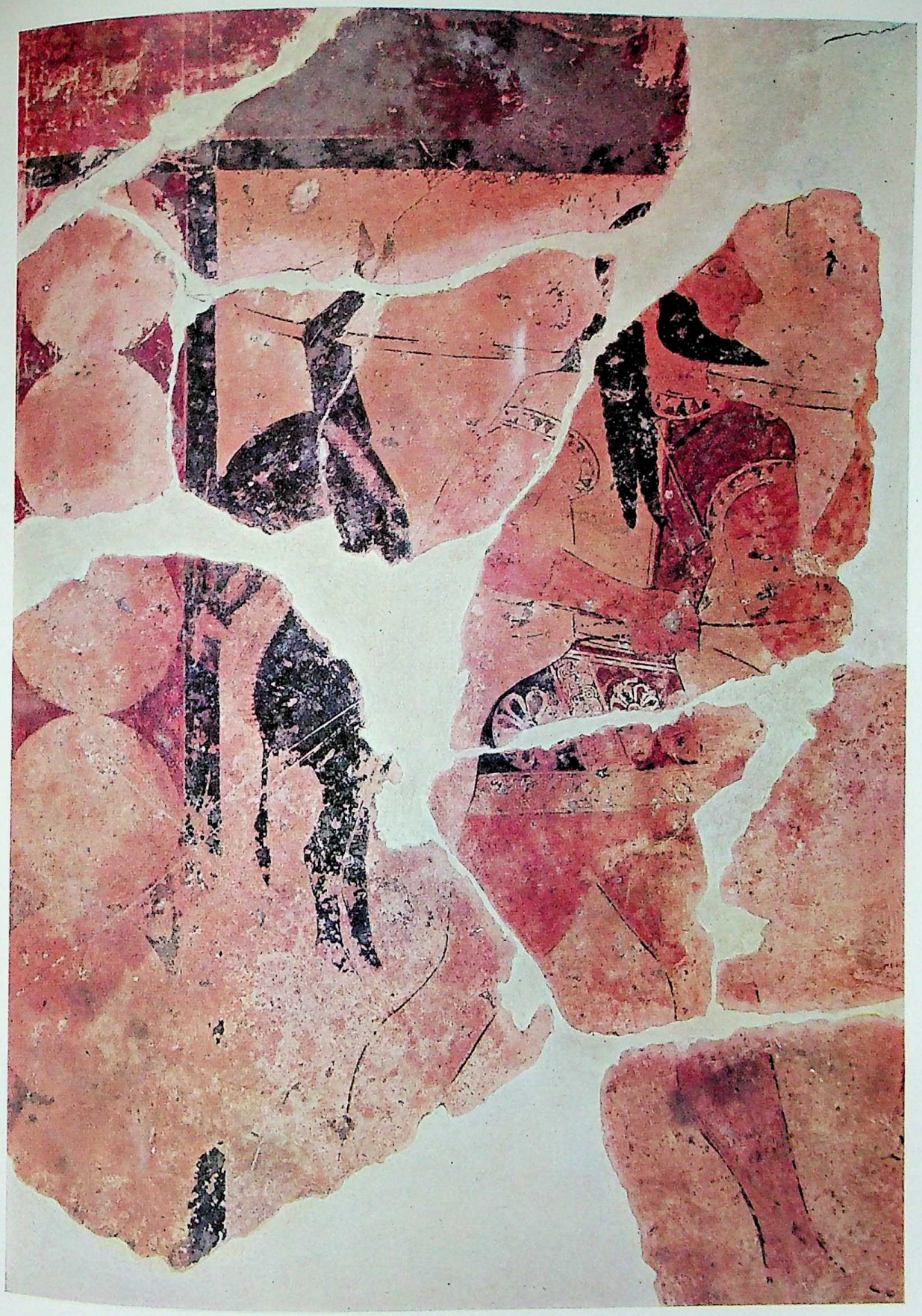

Pl. 39. Fragments of metope from the Temple of Apollo at Thermon, showing a hunter with his quarry, late 7th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta; full size, 31 1/2×31 1/2 in. Athens, National Museum.

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Pl. 40. Winged female figure, interior detail of Euboean plate imitating Attic style, probably from Thebes, mid-6th cent. B.C. Full diam., 7 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 41. Aetolian acroterium in the form of a sphinx, from the temple of Artemis Laphria, Kalydon, early 6th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta, ht., ca. 16 in. Athens, National Museum.

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Pl. 42. Antefixes from the Temple of Apollo, Thermon, Aetolia. Terra cotta. Athens, National Museum. *Above*: Female head, late 7th cent. B.C. Ht., 11 in. *Below*: Bearded male head, early 5th cent. B.C. Ht., ca. 9 in.

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Pl. 43. Lion, detail, from the cenotaph of Menekrates, Corfu, ca. 600 B.C. Limestone; w. of base, 16 1/8 in. Corfu, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 44. Sculpture from west pediment of the Temple of Artemis, Corfu, early 6th cent. B.C. Limestone; maximum ht. of pediment, 8 ft., 6½ in. *Corfu, Archaeological Museum.*
*Left*: Chrysaor (or Perseus?). *Right*: Zeus and a giant.

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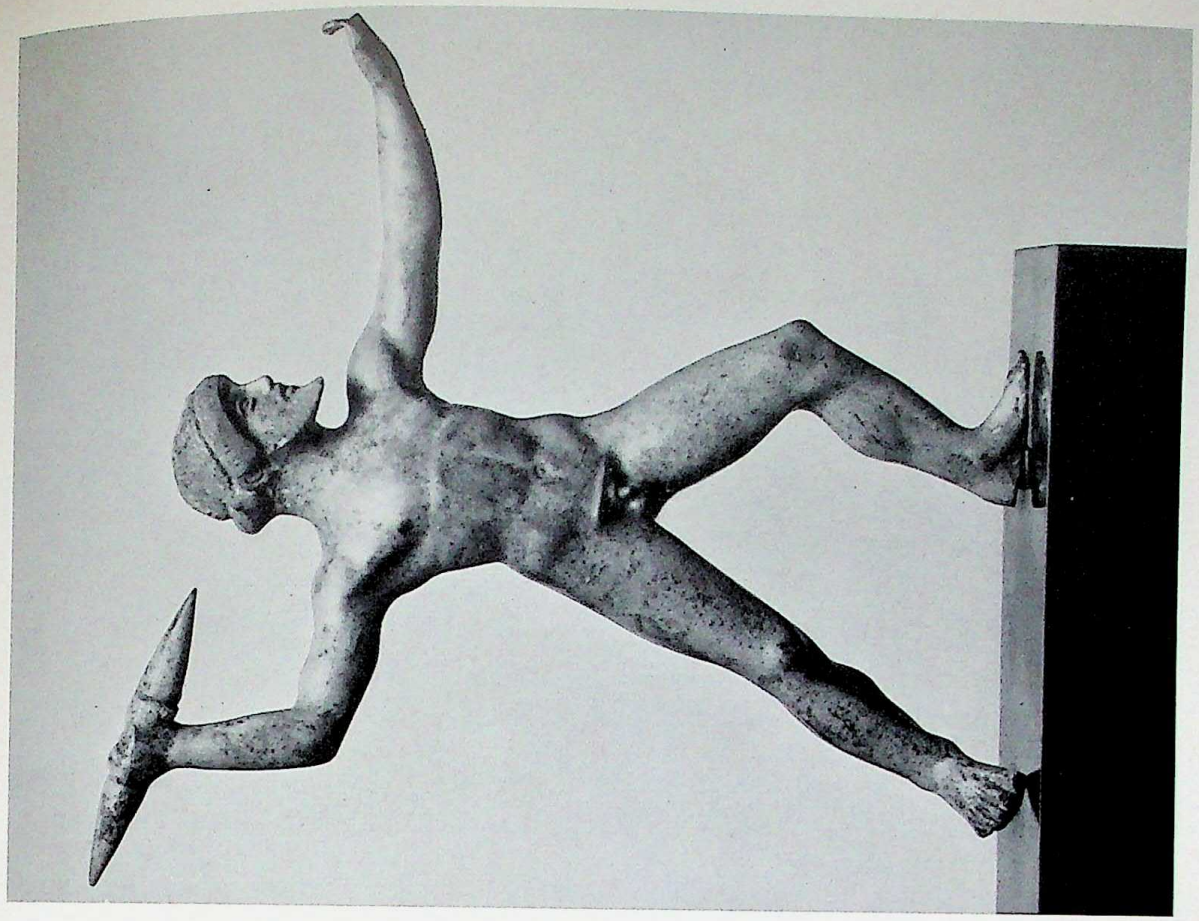

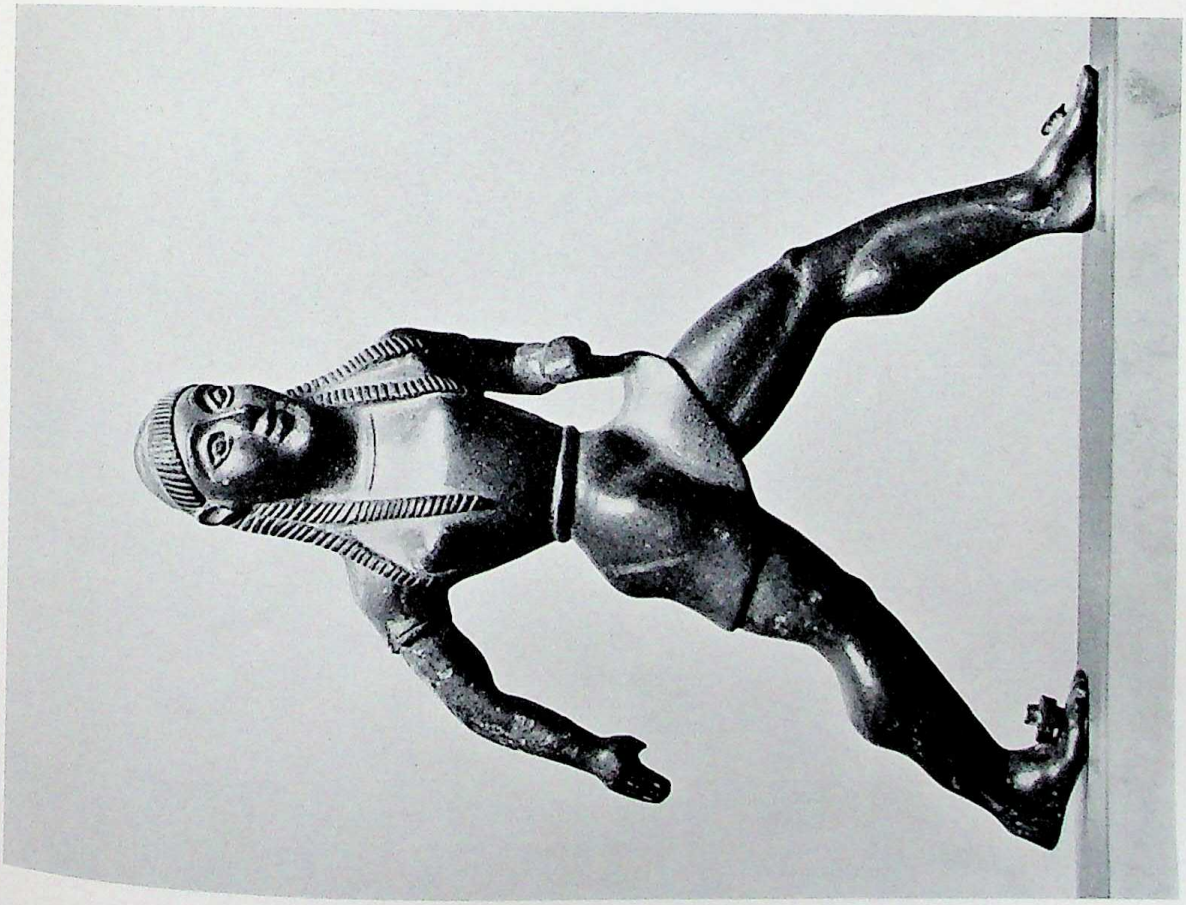

Pl. 45. Bronze statuettes from Dodona. *Left*: Running maiden, ca. 525 B.C. Ht., 4¾ in. Athens, National Museum. *Right*: Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, early 5th cent. B.C. Ht., 5½ in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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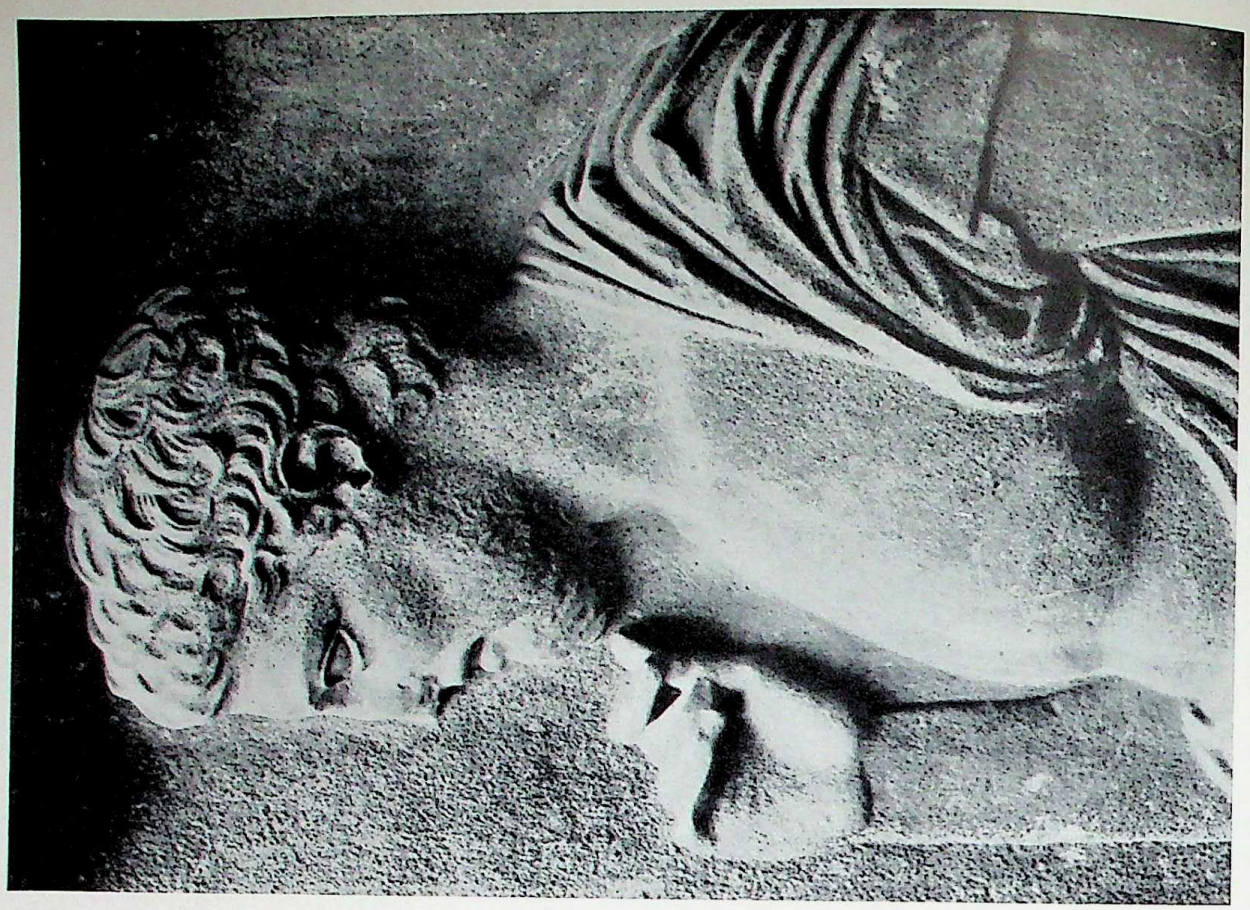

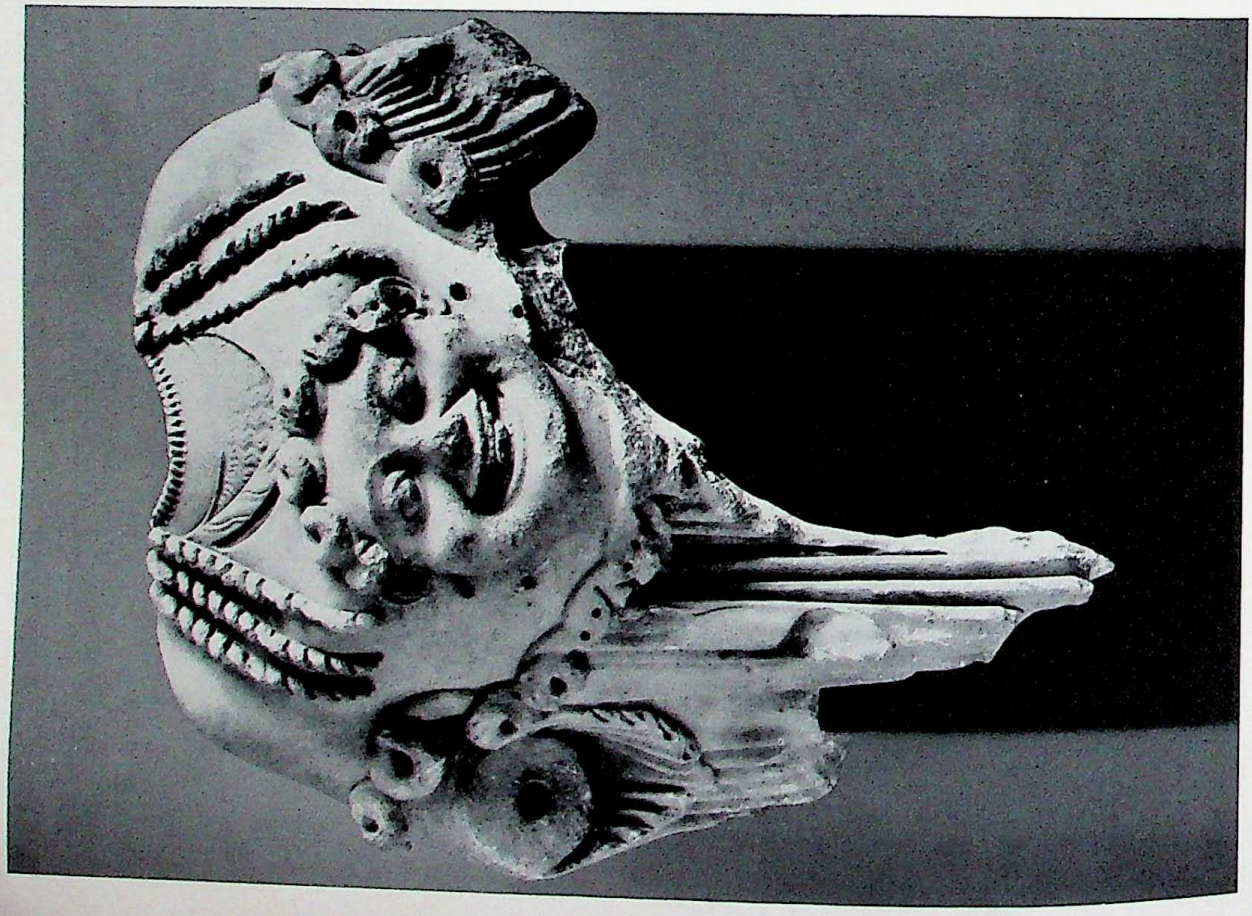

Pl. 46. Sculptures from Euboea. *Left*: Fragment of figure of Athena, from west pediment of the Temple of Apollo, *Eretria*, early 5th cent. B.C. *Marble*, *ht.*, 29 1/8 *in. Chalcis*, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Detail of stele, from Karystos, 3d quarter of 5th cent. B.C. Marble; full ht., 4 ft., 10 5/8 in. *Berlin*, *Staatliche Museen*.

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PL. 47. Relief with female figures, from Pharsalos, Thessaly, ca. 480 B.C. Marble, ht., 25 5/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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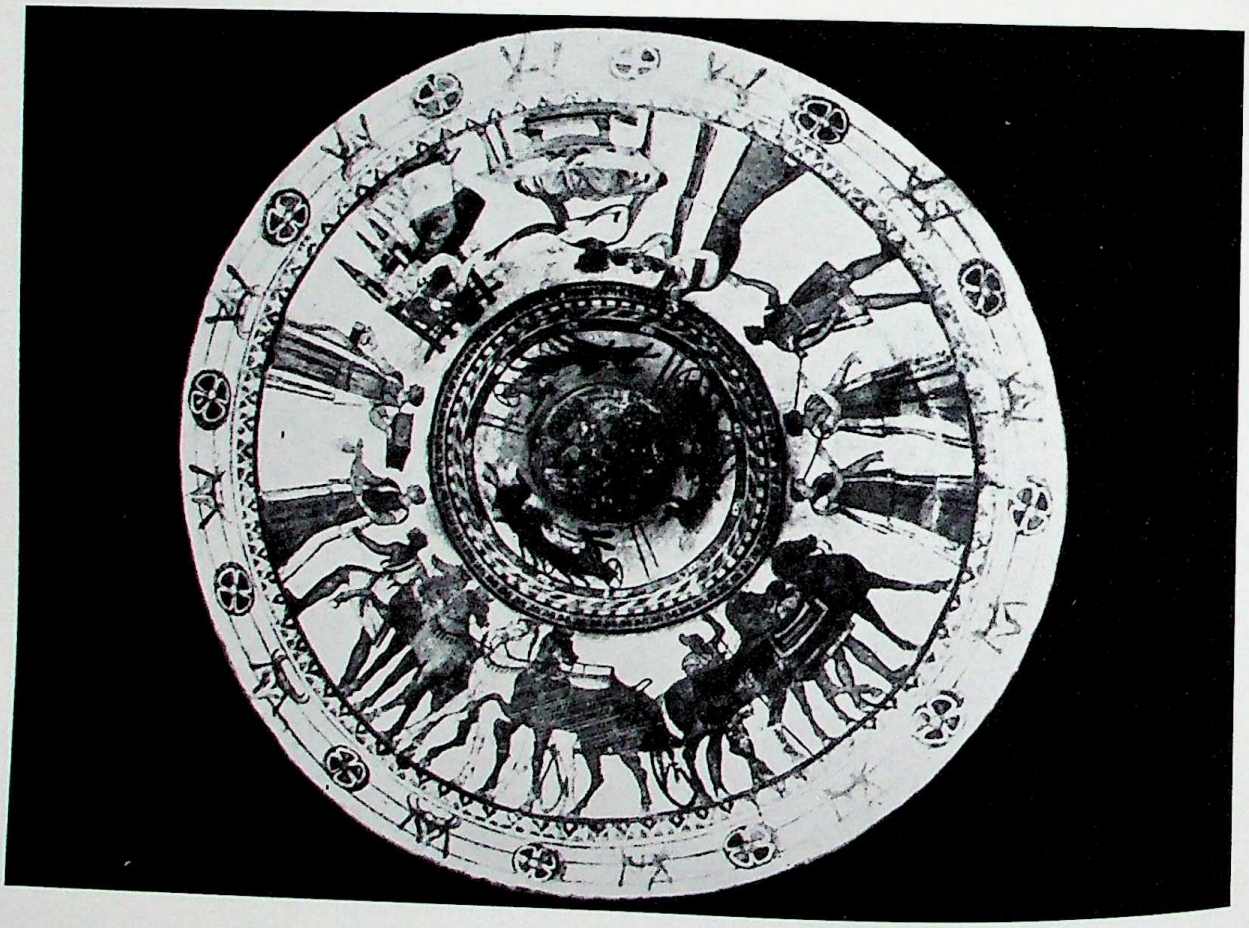

Pl. 48. *Above, left*: Mosaic detail of lion hunt, Pella, Macedonia, ca. 300 B.C. *Right*: Stele of Archidike, detail, from Pagasai, Thessaly, late 3d cent. B.C. Painted marble; ht. of stele, ca. 43 in. Volos, Archaeological Museum. *Below*: Painted ceiling of tholos tomb, Kazanlik, Thrace, 3d cent. B.C.

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Pl. 49. Thracian amphora with sculptured handles, from Panagyurishte, Bulgaria, second half of 4th cent. B.C. Gold, ht., ca. 10 in. Plovdiv, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

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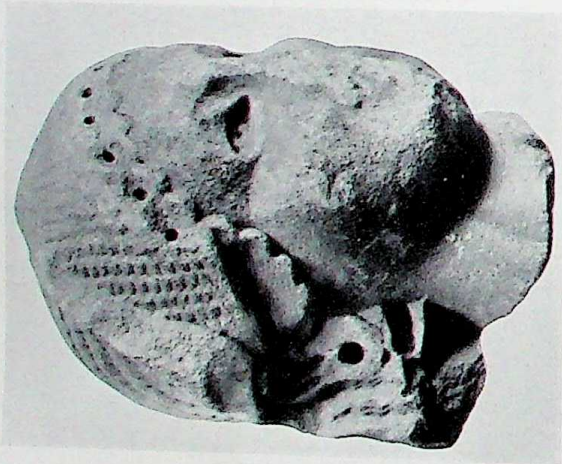

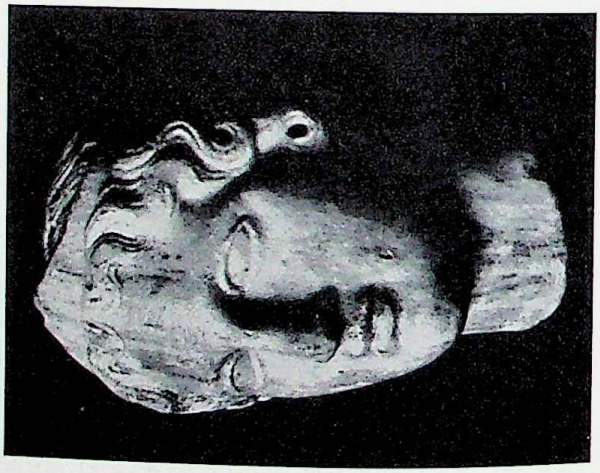

Pl. 50. Sculpture of Thrace and the Propontis. *Above, left*: Head of kore, from Neapolis (mod. Kavalla), late 6th cent. B.C. Marble. Salonika, Vulgaridis Coll. *Right*: Charioteer, relief from Kyzikos, 3d quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 21 5/8 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. *Below, left*: Female head, from Olynthos, second half of 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 9 1/2 in. Salonika, Museum. *Right*: Fragment of relief, from Kalchedon (Chalcedon), mid-6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 15 3/4 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

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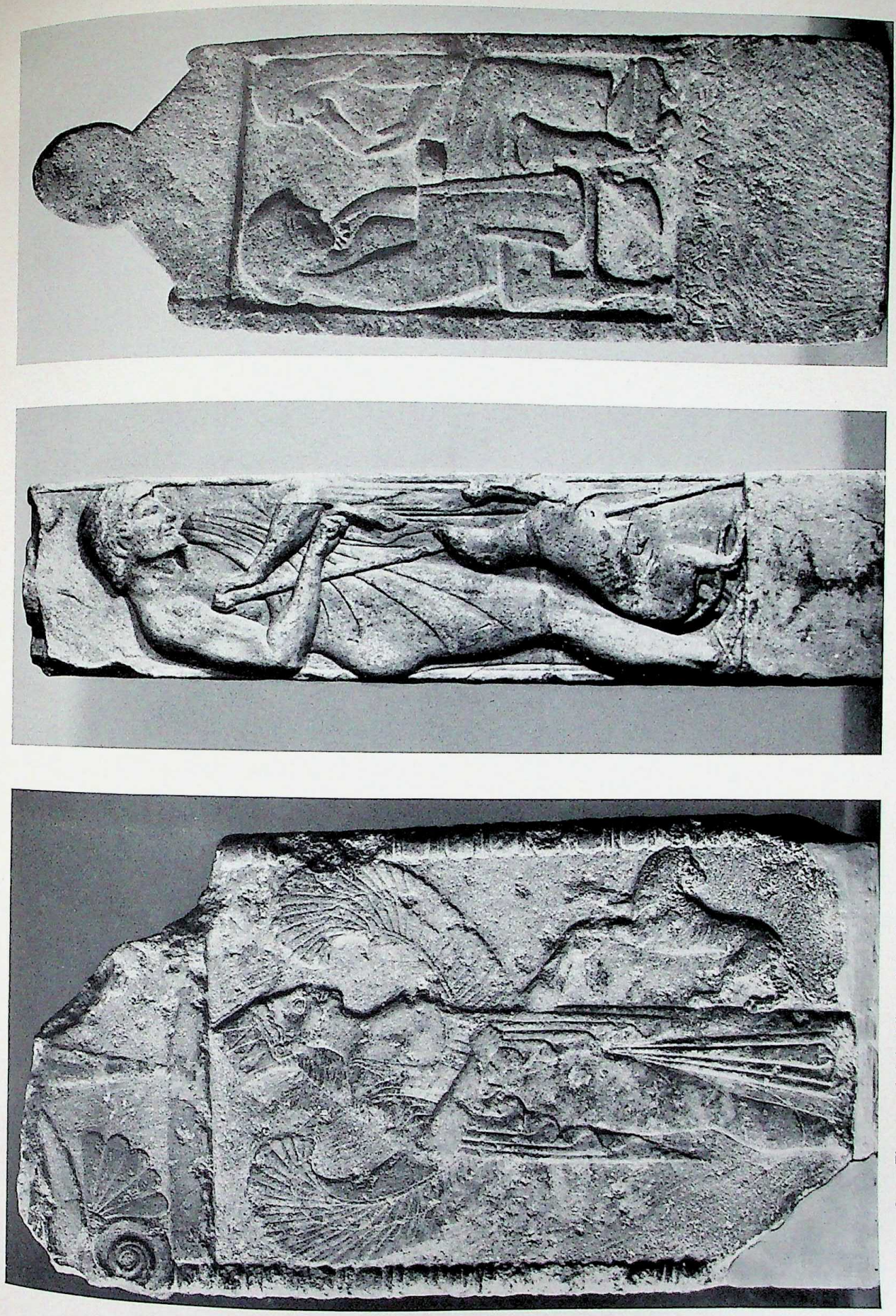

Pl. 51. Steles from Thrace and Asia Minor. *Left*: Fragment with winged goddess and lion, from Dorylaion (mod. Eskişehir), last quarter of 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 28 3/4 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. *Center*: Stele of Anaxandros, from Apollonia, late 6th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 4 ft., 3 5/8 in. Sofia, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Stele, from Sinope, 460–450 B.C. Sandstone, ht., 4 ft., 9 1/8 in. Kastamonu, Turkey, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 52. *Above, left*: Boreas and Orithyia, detail of hydria, probably from Kyzikos, second half of 4th cent. B.C. Bronze; full ht., ca. 18 in. Munich, Antikensammlungen. *Right pair*: Stater of Lampsakos, obv. and rv., with Herakles strangling the serpents, and protome of winged horse, 394–330 B.C. Gold, diam., 15 mm. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. *Second row, left*: Tetradrachma of Ainos, with head of Hermes, obv., ca. 460 B.C. Silver, diam., 25 mm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Center*: Stater of Neapolis, Thrace, with Gorgon's head, obv., ca. 500 B.C. Silver, diam., 21 mm. Basel, antique market. *Right*: Tetradrachma of the Chalcidean League (Olynthos), with head of Olynthian Apollo, obv., first half of 4th cent. B.C. Silver, diam., ca. 25 mm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Below, left*: Stater of Locris Opuntia, with the Locrian Ajax, rv., 369–338 B.C. Silver, diam., 26 mm. *Center*: Stater of Kyzikos, with warrior, obv., ca. 470 B.C. Electrum, diam., 19 mm. *Right*: Tetradrachma from Mende, with Dionysos riding an ass, obv., ca. 425 B.C. Silver, diam., 26 mm. Last three, London, British Museum.

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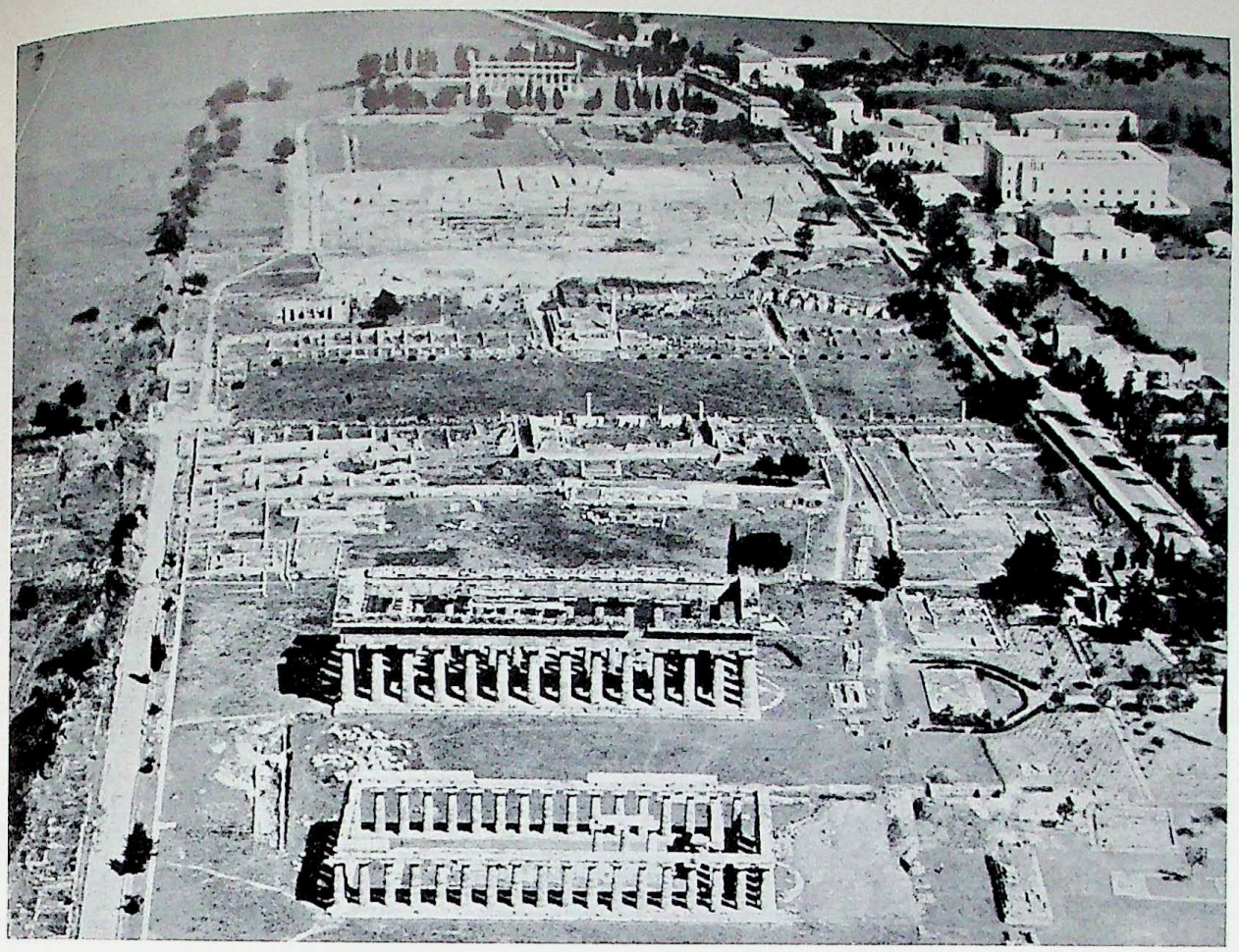

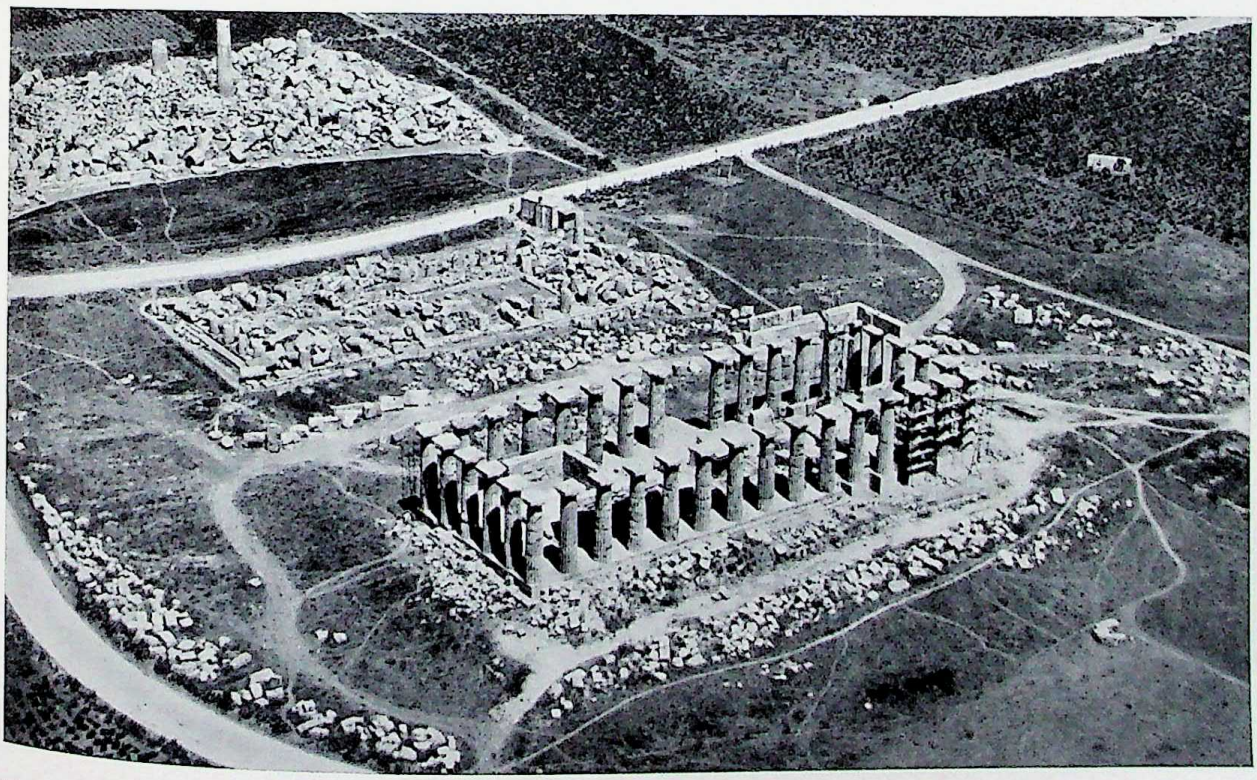

Pl. 53. *Above*: Paestum, Italy, aerial view of temples, 6th cent. B.C. *Below*: Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Sicily, aerial view of temples E, F, and G, 6th cent. B.C.

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Pl. 54. *Above*: Metaponto, near Taranto, Italy, temple known as "Tavole Palatine," 6th–5th cent. B.C. *Below*: Segesta, Sicily, the temple, 5th cent. B.C.

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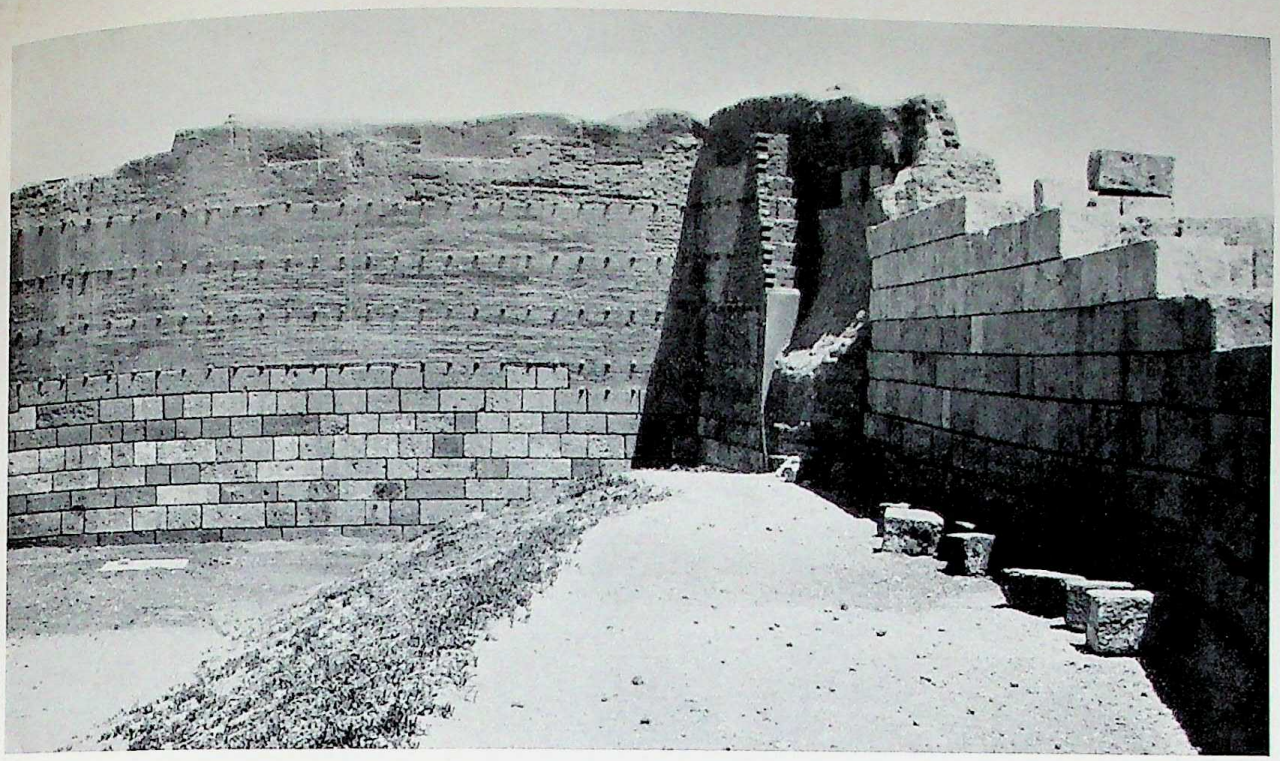

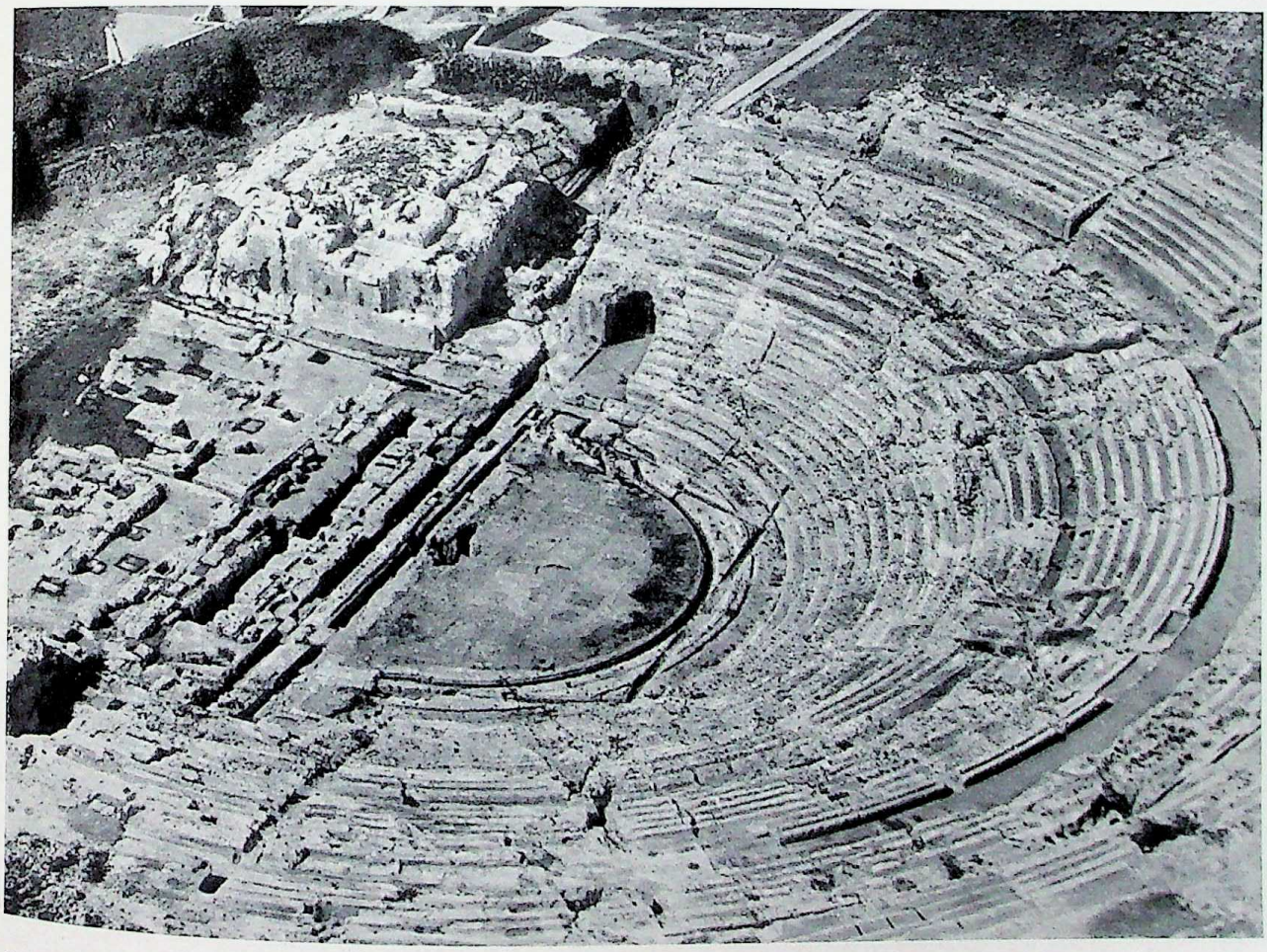

Pl. 55. *Above*: Gela, Sicily, girdle wall in Cape Soprano area (with modern protective facings), 5th cent. B.C. *Below*: Syracuse, Sicily, aerial view of theater, 5th cent. B.C. (rebuilt 3d cent. B.C. and again by the Romans).

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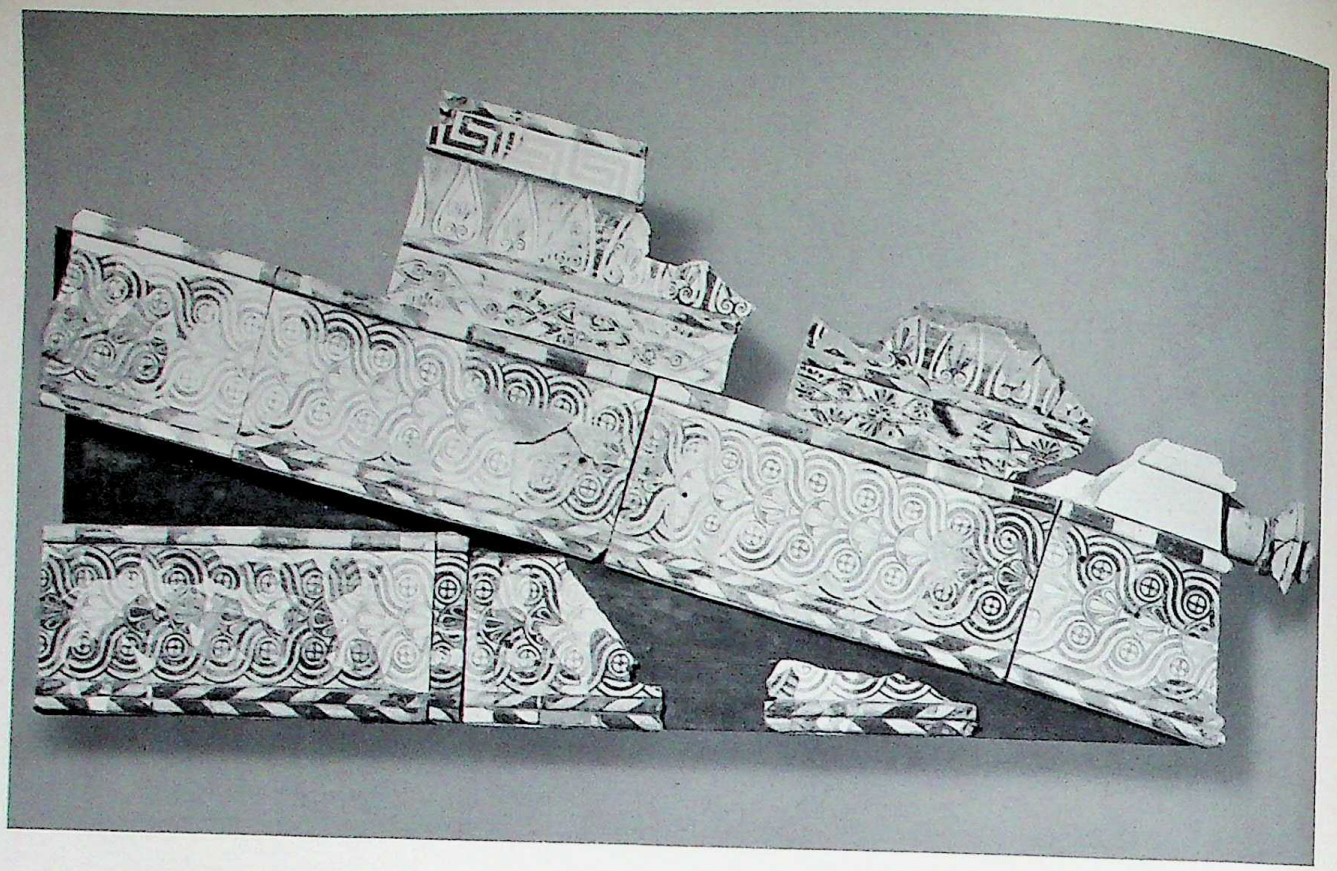

Pl. 56. *Above*: Decorative elements from pediment of a sacellum in Sanctuary of Athena, Syracuse, Sicily, mid-6th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta. (Partial restoration.) Syracuse, Museo Archeologico. *Below, left*: Antefix in form of head, from Taranto, Italy, ca. 600 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 7 1/2 in. Taranto, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Antefix with mask of Seilenos, from Gela, Sicily, ca. 460 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 8 5/8 in. Gela, Museo Nazionale.

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Pl. 57. *Above, left*: Lion-headed rainspout, from temple at Himera, Sicily, 480–470 B.C. Limestone. Palermo, Sicily, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Head of telamon, from Temple of Olympian Zeus, Agrigento, Sicily, 5th cent. B.C. Limestone; ht. of figure, ca. 25 ft. Agrigento, Museo Civico Archeologico. *Below*: Ionic capital, from Solunto, Sicily, ca. 100 B.C. Terra cotta. Palermo, Museo Nazionale.

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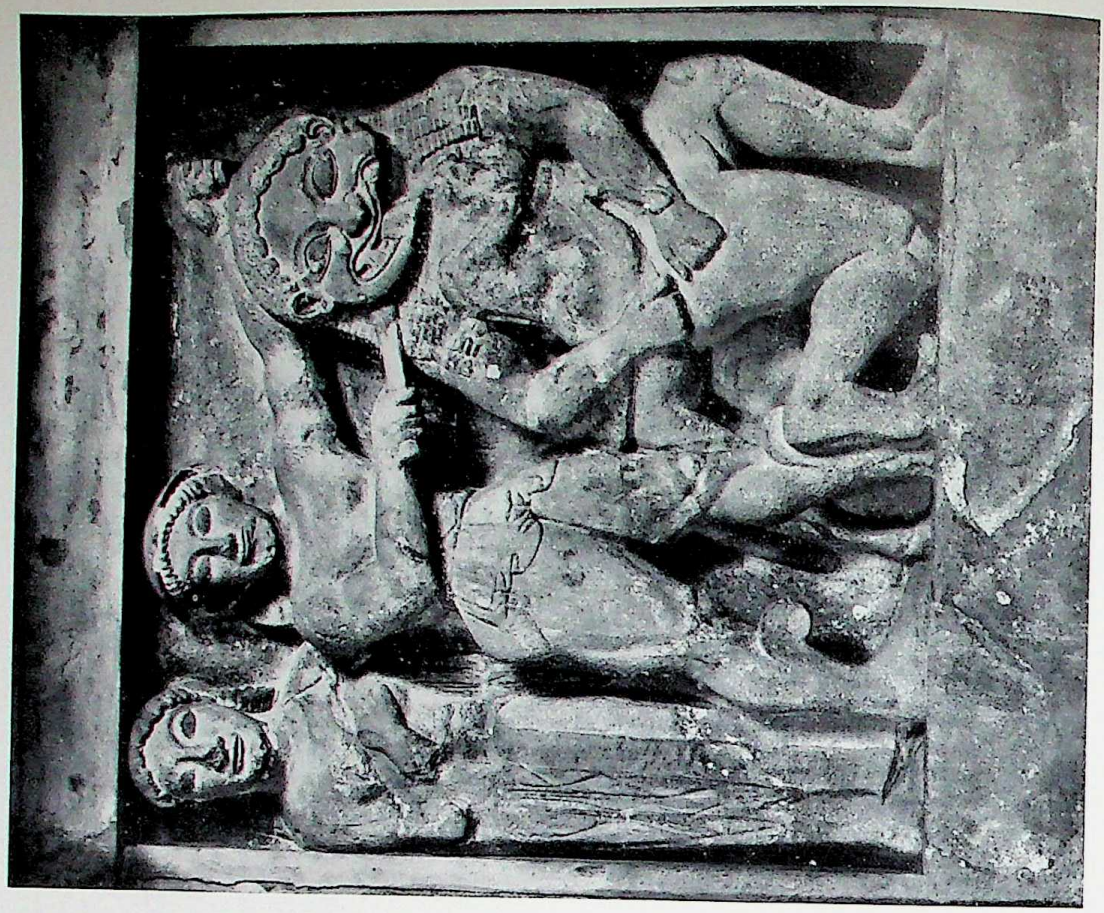

Pl. 58. Metopes from Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Sicily. Limestone. Palermo, Sicily, Museo Nazionale. *Left:* Rape of Europa, from Temple Y, mid-6th cent. B.C. Ht., 33½ in. *Right:* Athena and Perseus killing the Gorgon, from Temple C, second half of 6th cent. B.C. Ht., 4 ft., 9⅞ in.

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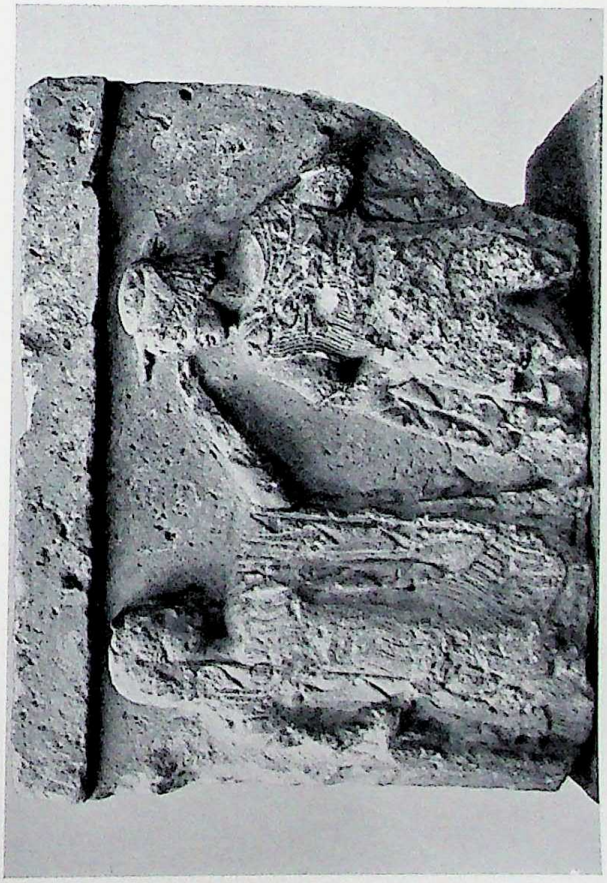

Pl. 59. Metopes from Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Sicily. Palermo, Sicily, Museo Nazionale. *Left, above:* Goddess killing a giant, from Temple F, early 5th cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 32 1/4 in. *Below:* Hermes (?) and a goddess (or Eos and Kephalos), from the acropolis, early 5th cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 24 5/8 in. *Right:* Hera, from Temple E, detail, ca. 460–450 B.C. Marble and limestone; full ht., 5 ft., 3 1/4 in.

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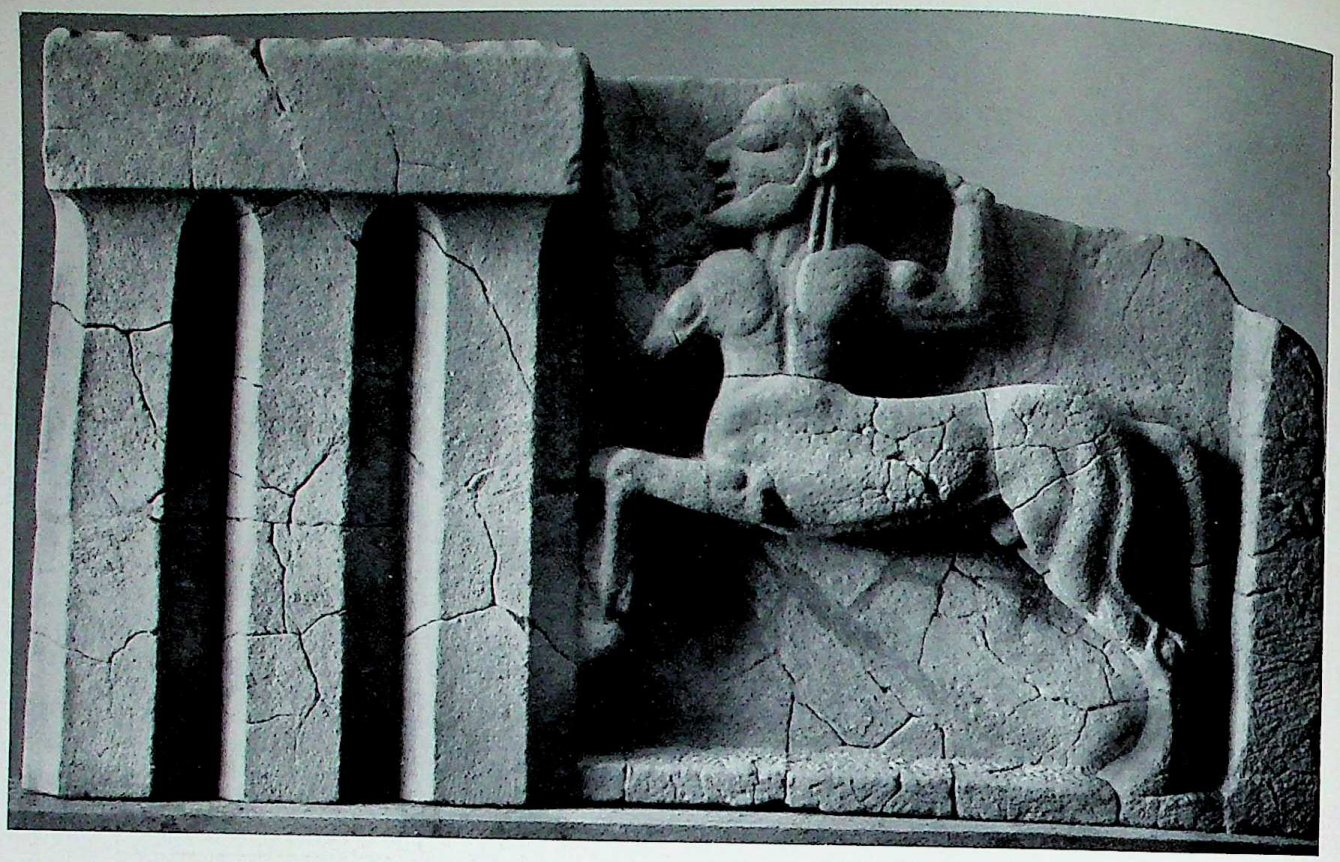

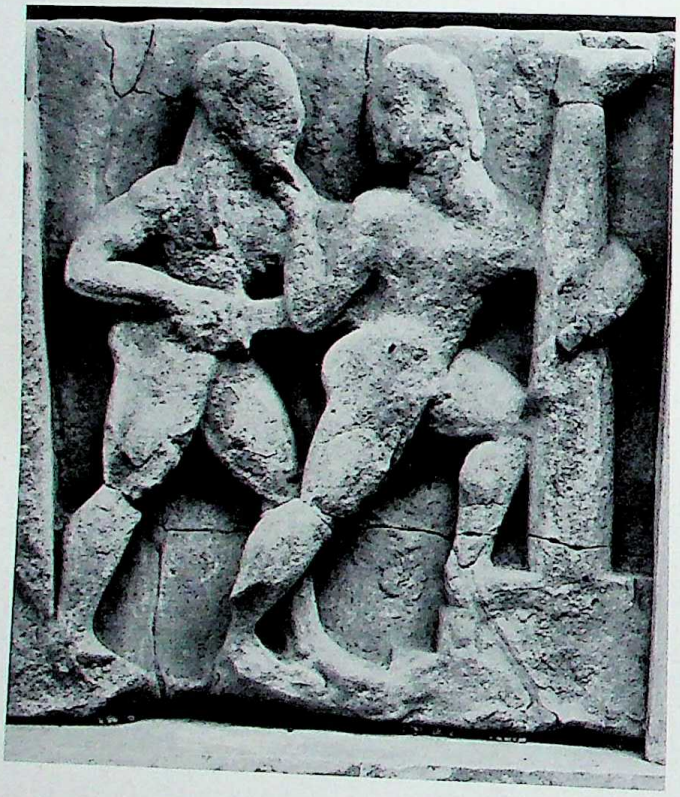

Pl. 60. Metopes from Sanctuary of the Argive Hera at mouth of the Sele, near Paestum, Italy. Sandstone. Paestum, Museo Archeologico. *Above*: Centaur, from the so-called "Treasury," ca. 550 B.C. Ht., 31 3/8 in. *Below, left*: Orestes and Aigisthos (?), from the "Treasury," ca. 550 B.C. Ht., 31 in. *Right*: Running maidens, from the major temple, ca. 510 B.C. Ht., 33 1/2 in.

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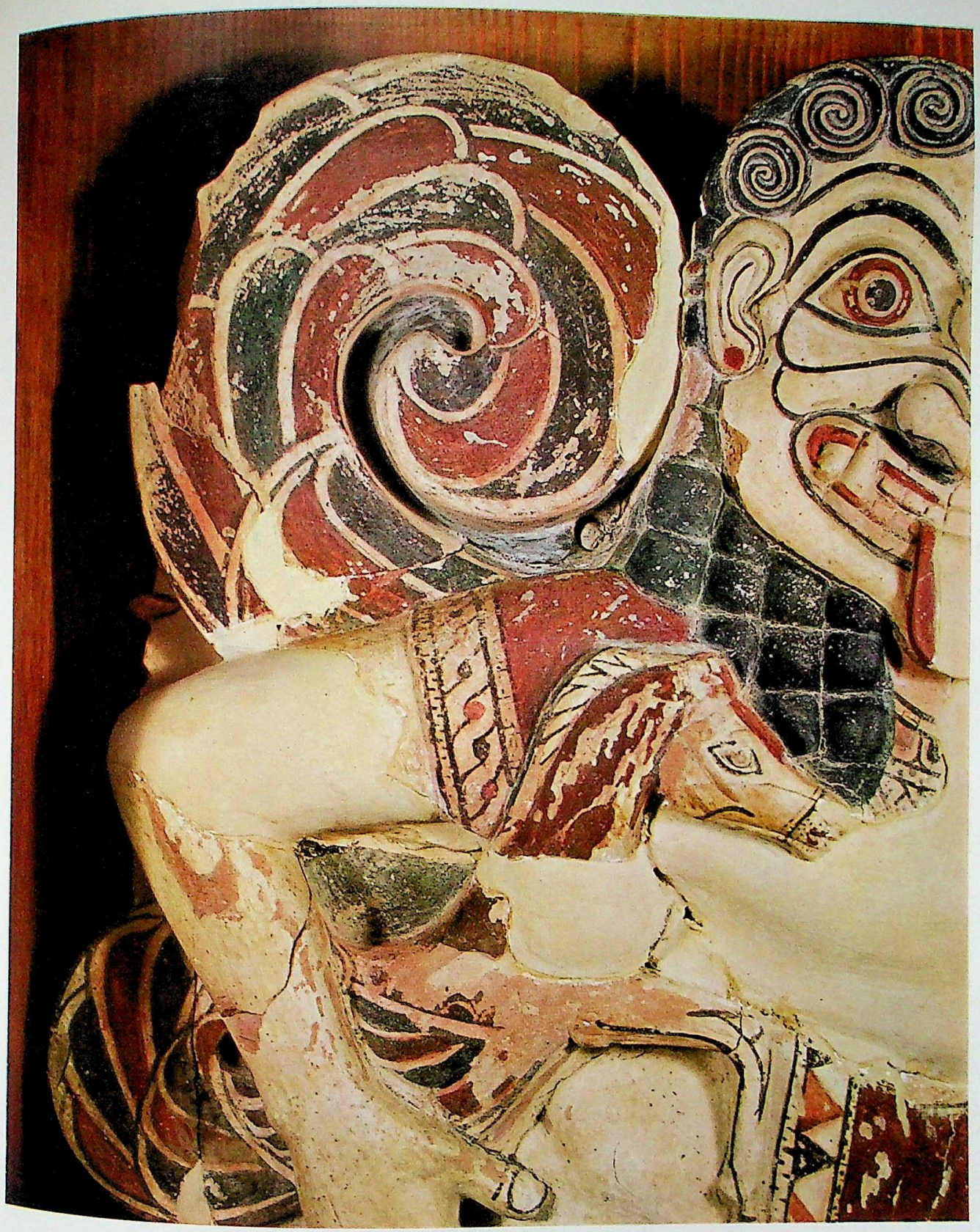

Pl. 61. Gorgon and Pegasos, detail of acroterium, from a temple in Sanctuary of Athena, Syracuse, Sicily, first half of 6th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta; full ht., 22 in. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico.

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Pl. 62. Fragment of frieze with running female figures, from Reggio Calabria, Italy, late 6th cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta. *Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale.*

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Pl. 63. So-called "Ludovisi Throne," central relief, 460–450 B.C. Marble; L., 4 ft., 8¼ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 64. Demeter Kourotrophos, from Megara Hyblaea, near Syracuse, Sicily, ca. 560 B.C. Limestone with traces of polychrome, ht., 30 3/4 in. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico.

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Pl. 65. Enthroned goddess, said to be from Taranto, Italy, ca. 480 B.C. Marble, ht., 4 ft., 11½ in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 66. *Above, left*: Fragment of high relief, from Monte Casale, near Syracuse, Sicily, mid-6th cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 16 7/8 in. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico. *Right*: Head, from Sibari, Italy, 520 B.C. Limestone, ht., 6 1/4 in. Reggio Calabria, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Below, left*: Head of Athena (?), ca. 500 B.C. Limestone, ht., 9 5/8 in. Rome, Museo Barracco. *Right*: Head of Athena, from Agrigento, Sicily, ca. 500 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 7 7/8 in. Agrigento, Museo Civico Archeologico.

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Pl. 67. Head of youth, from Leontinoi (mod. Lentini), Sicily. Marble, ht., 9 5/8 in. Catania, Sicily, Museo di Castello Ursino.

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Pl. 68. *Above, left*: Detail of statue of Athena, from Palestrina, Italy, ca. 470 B.C. Marble; full ht., 51 5/8 in. *Right*: Head of youth, early 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 9 3/4 in. Both, New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Below, left*: Female head, from Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Sicily, mid-5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 6 7/8 in. *Right*: Head, probably from metope, from Selinous, mid-5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 9 5/8 in. Last two, Palermo, Sicily, Museo Nazionale.

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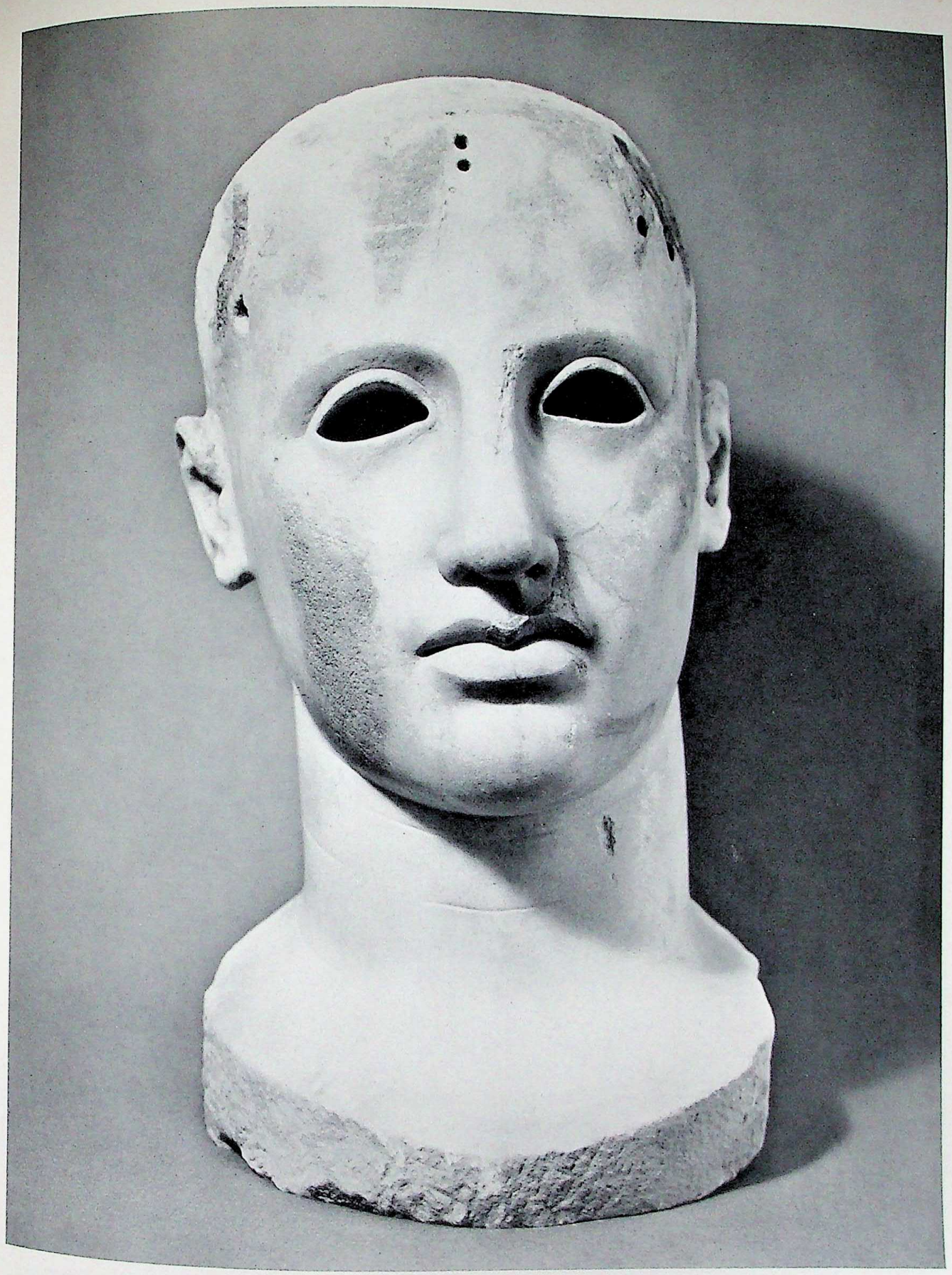

Pl. 69. Head of Apollo, from Cirò, near Catanzaro, Italy, mid-5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 15 in. Reggio Calabria, Italy, Museo Nazionale.

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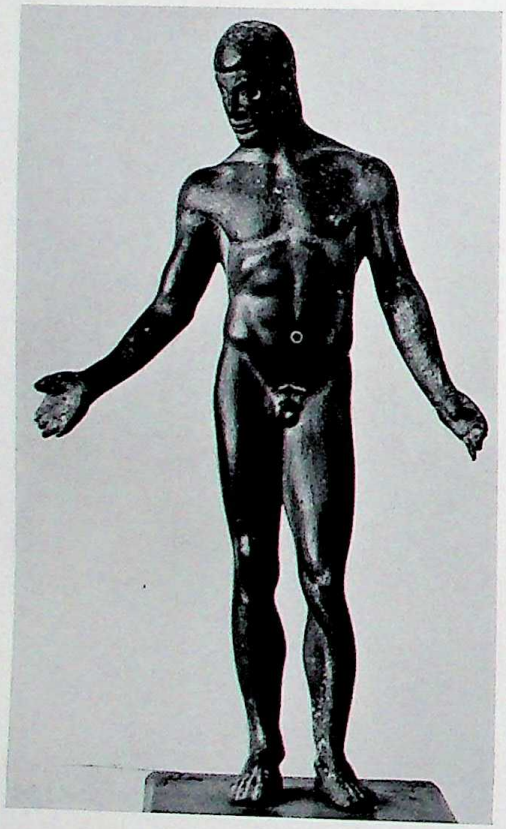

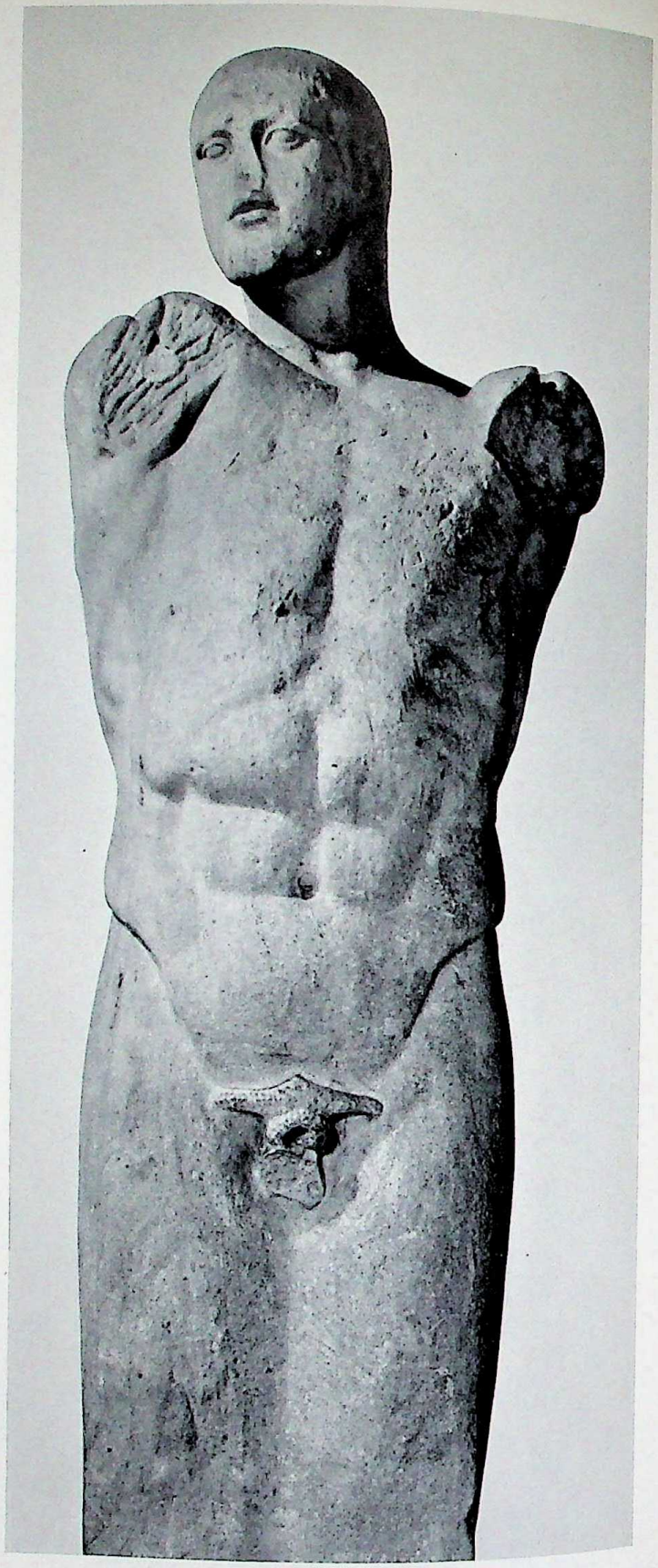

Pl. 70. Works in the style of Pythagoras of Rhegion (mod. Reggio Calabria). *Left, above*: Epimetheos or Hephaistos, ca. 460 B.C. Bronze, ht., 8 1/2 in. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Coll. *Below*: Athlete, from Adrano, near Catania, Sicily, ca. 470–460 B.C. Bronze, ht., 7 3/4 in. Syracuse, Sicily, Museo Archeologico. *Right*: Herm of discus thrower, Roman copy of original of first half of 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 1 5/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 71. Ephebus of Selinunte, ca. 470 B.C. Bronze, ht., 33½ in. Castelvetrano, Sicily, Municipio.

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Pl. 72. Funeral lamentation, detail of wall painting from tomb near Paestum, Italy, mid-4th cent. B.C. Paestum, Museo Archeologico.

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Pl. 73. *Above, left*: Gorgoneion with horses, detail of hydria handle, first half of 5th cent. B. C. Bronze. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Mirror with winged figures, probably from Locri, Italy, ca. 450 B. C. Bronze. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Below, left*: Young woman, from Locri, 460 B. C. Bronze, ht., 6 7/8 in. Reggio Calabria, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Center*: Young athlete, mid-5th cent. B. C. Bronze, ht., 4 1/8 in. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum. *Right*: Handle of mirror in form of young man, ca. 470 B. C. Bronze. London, British Museum.

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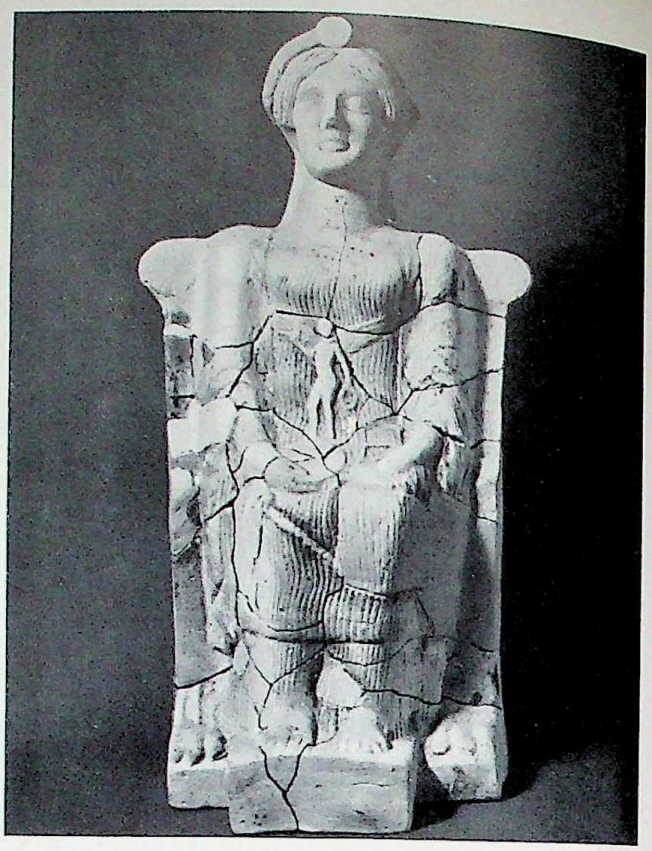

Pl. 74. *Above, left*: Votive head, from Gela, Sicily, late 6th cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht., 9 1/4 in. Gela, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Aphrodite enthroned, from Camarina, Sicily, 5th cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht., 14 5/8 in. Syracuse, Sicily, Museo Archeologico. *Below, left*: Head of goddess, from Taranto, Italy, second half of 5th cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht., 4 1/8 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Right*: Bust of Demeter (?), from Agrigento, Sicily, early 4th cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht., 13 5/8 in. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico.

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Pl. 75. Votive pinax with offering scene, from Locri, Italy, 470–450 B. C. Terra cotta, ht., 8 7/8 in. Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale.

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Pl. 76. *Left, above*: Bell crater by the Pisticci Painter, with youth between two women, 450–430 B.C. Ht., 13 3/4 in. Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Detail of calyx-crater with initiation scene, from Canicattini, Sicily, ca. 350 B.C. Syracuse, Sicily, Museo Archeologico. *Right, above*: Detail of calyx-crater by the Dolon Painter, showing capture of Dolon by Diomedes and Odysseus, from Pisticci, Italy, early 4th cent. B.C. Full ht., 20 1/8 in. London, British Museum. *Center*: Fragment of calyx-crater by Assteas, with parody of Ajax and Cassandra story, from Buccino, near Salerno, Italy, third quarter of 4th cent. B.C. Ht., 6 1/4 in. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia. *Below*: Phiale in Gnathia style, with hunter resting, 4th cent. B.C. Diam., 7 1/4 in. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 77. Volute crater, showing funeral of Patroklos, from Canosa, Apulia, second half of 4th cent. B.C. Ht., 4 ft., 7 7/8 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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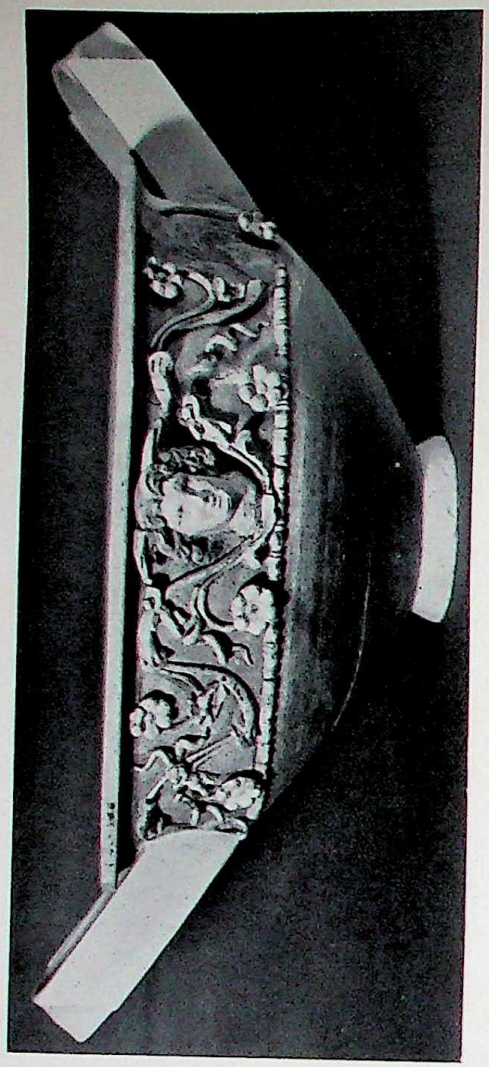

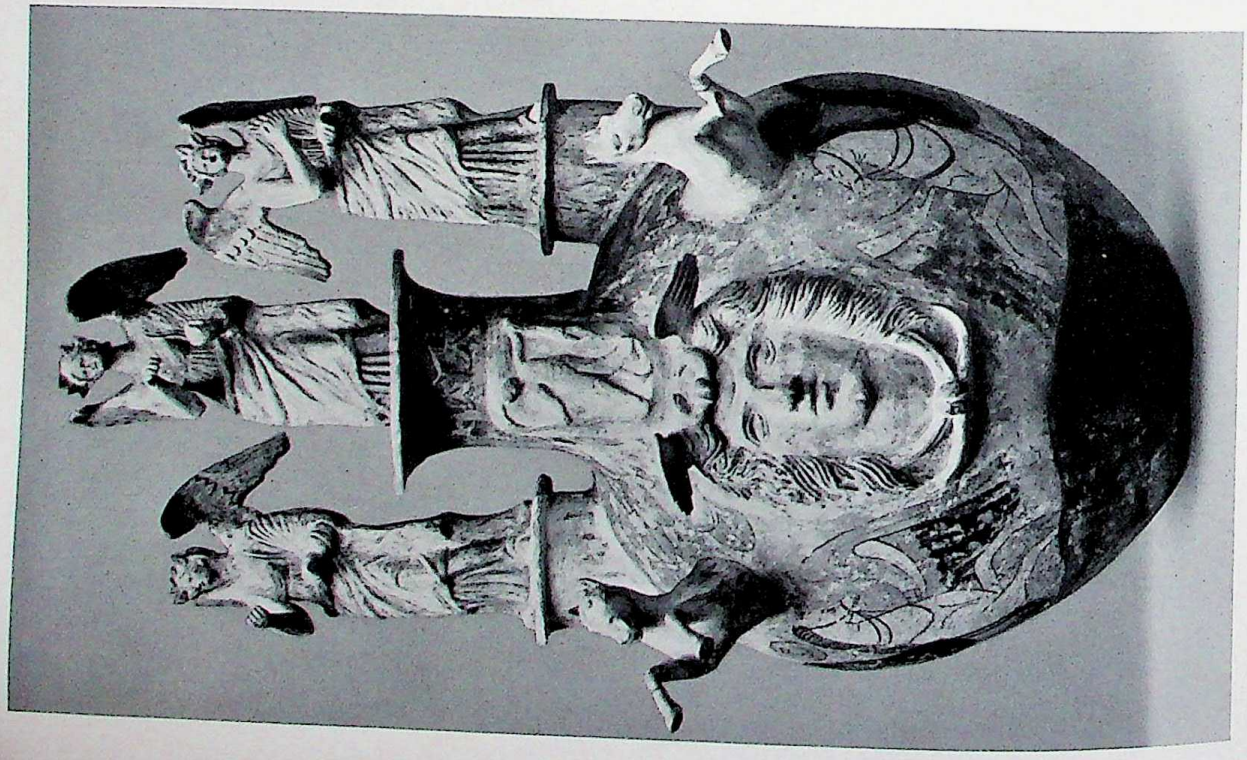

Pl. 78. *Left:* Askos with sculptured decoration, from Canosa, Apulia, 2d cent. B. C. Ht., 30 7/8 in. London, British Museum. *Right, above:* Vase with decoration in polychrome relief, from Centuripe, Sicily, 2d cent. B. C. Ht., 9 1/4 in. Syracuse, Sicily, Museo Archeologico. *Below, center:* Seated girl, 3d–2d cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht., ca. 8 in. Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Right:* Head of youth, from Lucera, Apulia, 2d–1st cent. B. C. Terra cotta, ht. with base, 11 3/4 in. Lucera, Museo Civico Giuseppe Fiorelli.

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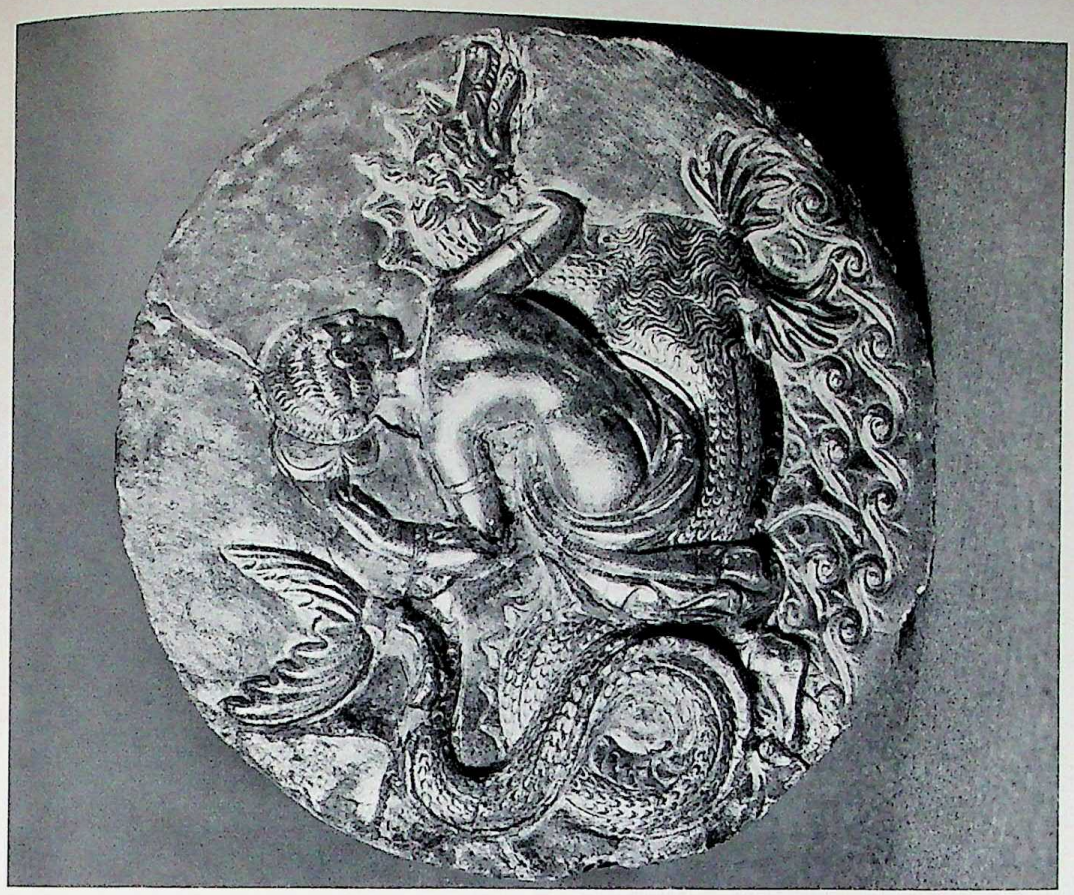

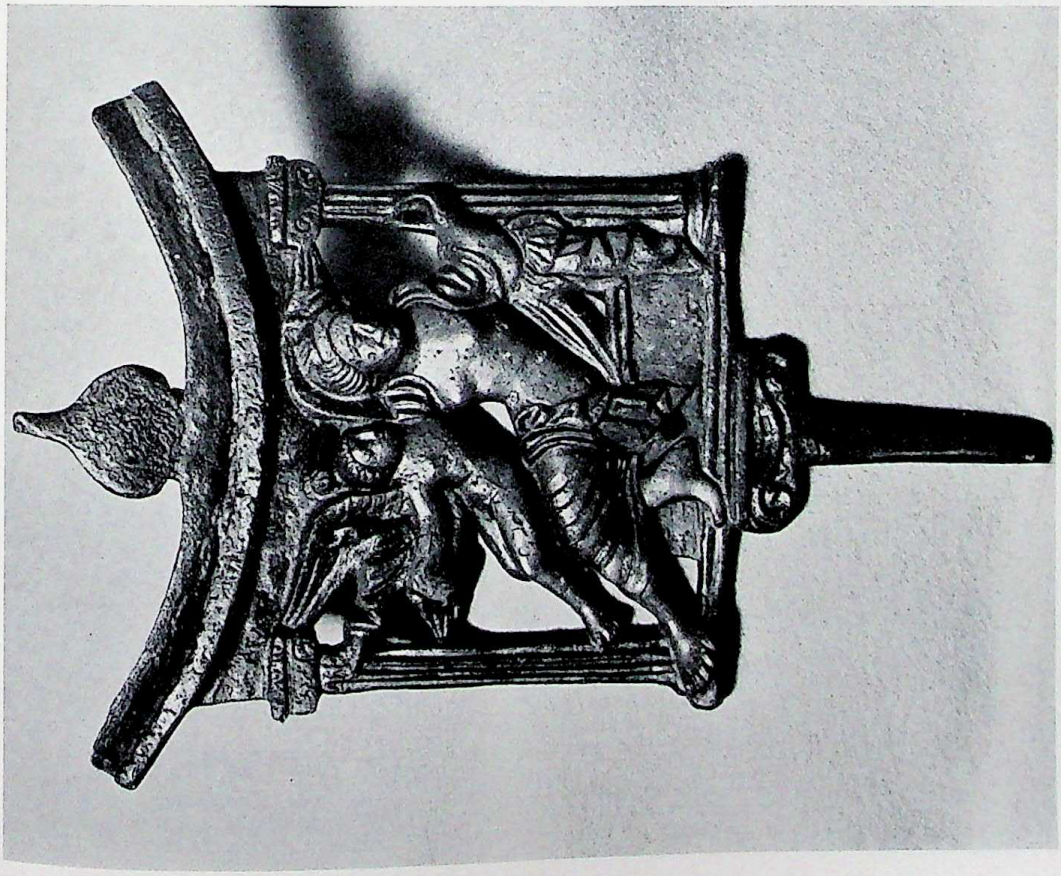

Pl. 79. *Left:* Mirror handle with Aphrodite and Eros, from Locri, Italy, early 4th cent. B. C. Bronze. Reggio Calabria, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Right:* Medallion with Nereid on sea monster, from Canosa, Apulia, mid-2d cent. B. C. Silver, diam., 4 1/8 in. Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale.

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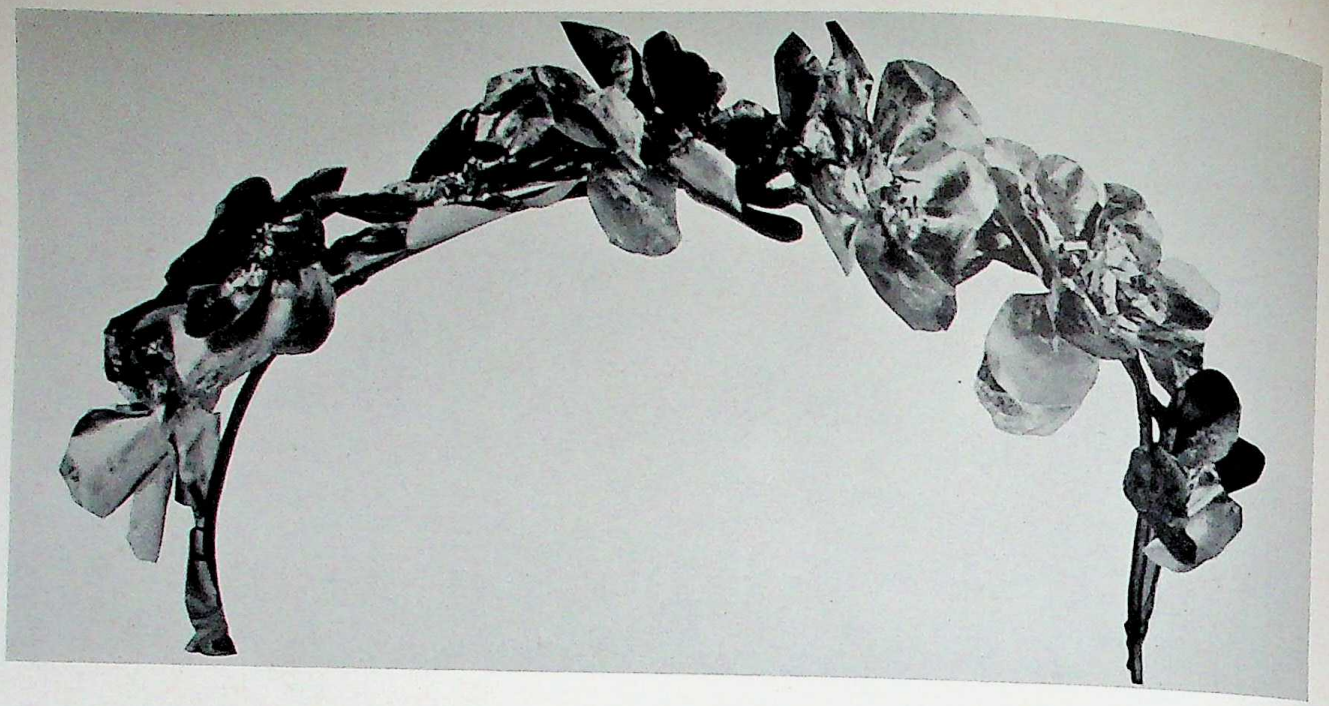

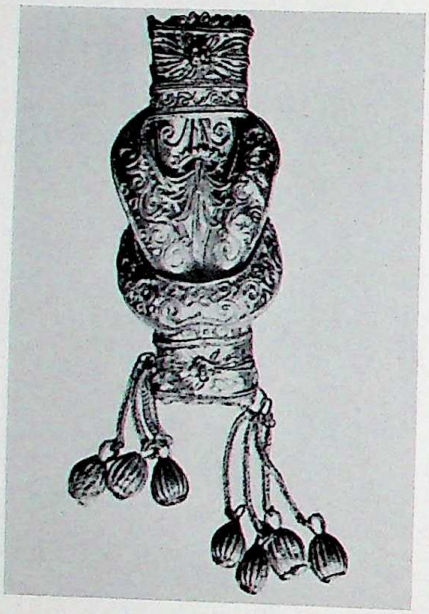

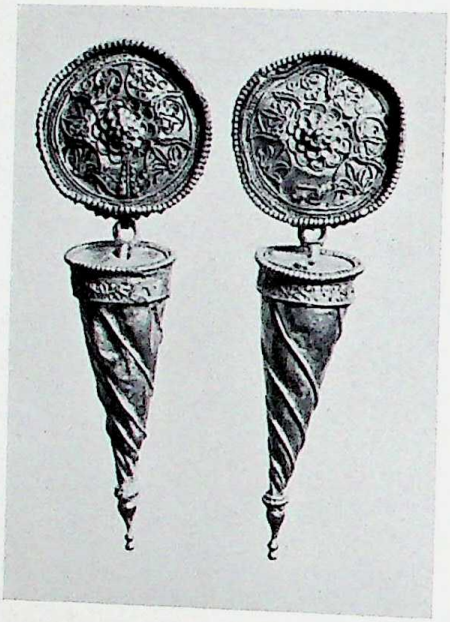

Pl. 80. *Above and center*: Tarantine goldwork, 4th cent. B. C. *Above*: Diadem with roses, from Carbonara, diam., 6 1/4 in. *Center, left*: Pendant, from Ginosa, l., 7 1/2 in. *Middle*: Earrings, from Ginosa, diam. of disk, 1 in. *Right*: Lion-headed earring, from Taranto, l., 1 1/4 in. All four, Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Silver coins. *Far left*: Tetradrachma, from Selinous (mod. Selinunte), Sicily, obv., mid-5th cent. B. C. *Left, center*: Didrachma, from Neapolis (mod. Naples), obv., 4th cent. B. C. *Right, center*: Stater, from Taranto, obv., 460–430 B. C. *Far right*: Didrachma, from Gela, Sicily, rv., second quarter of 5th cent. B. C. All four, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.

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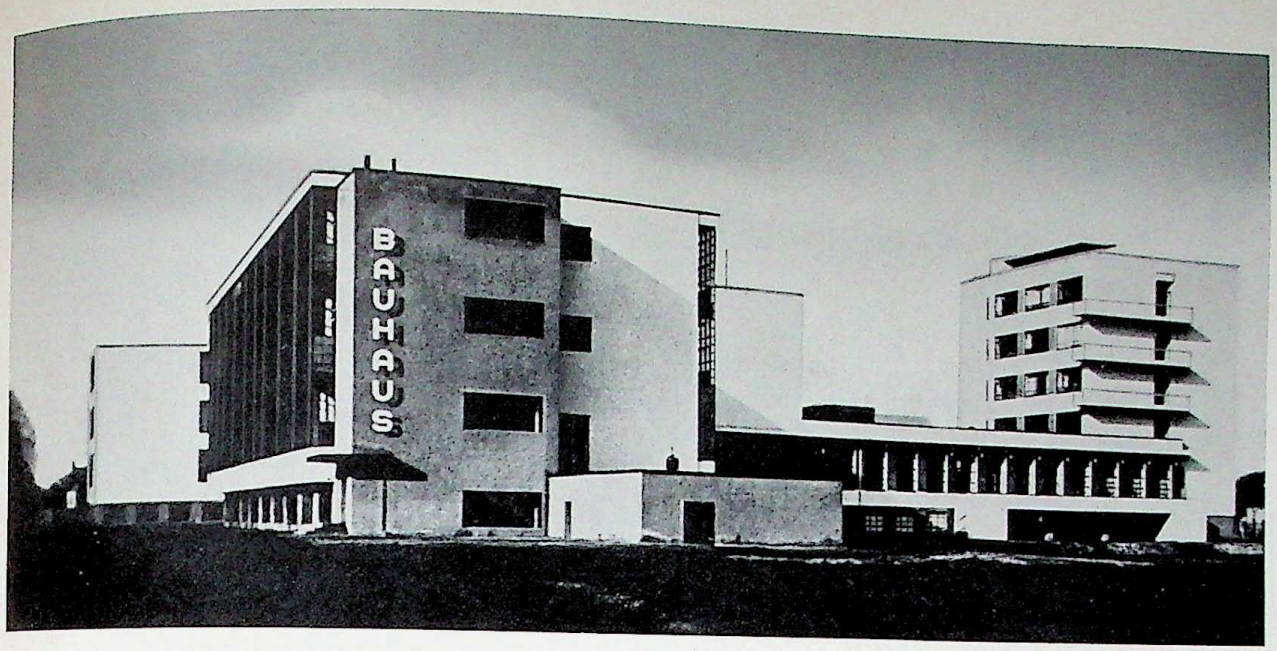


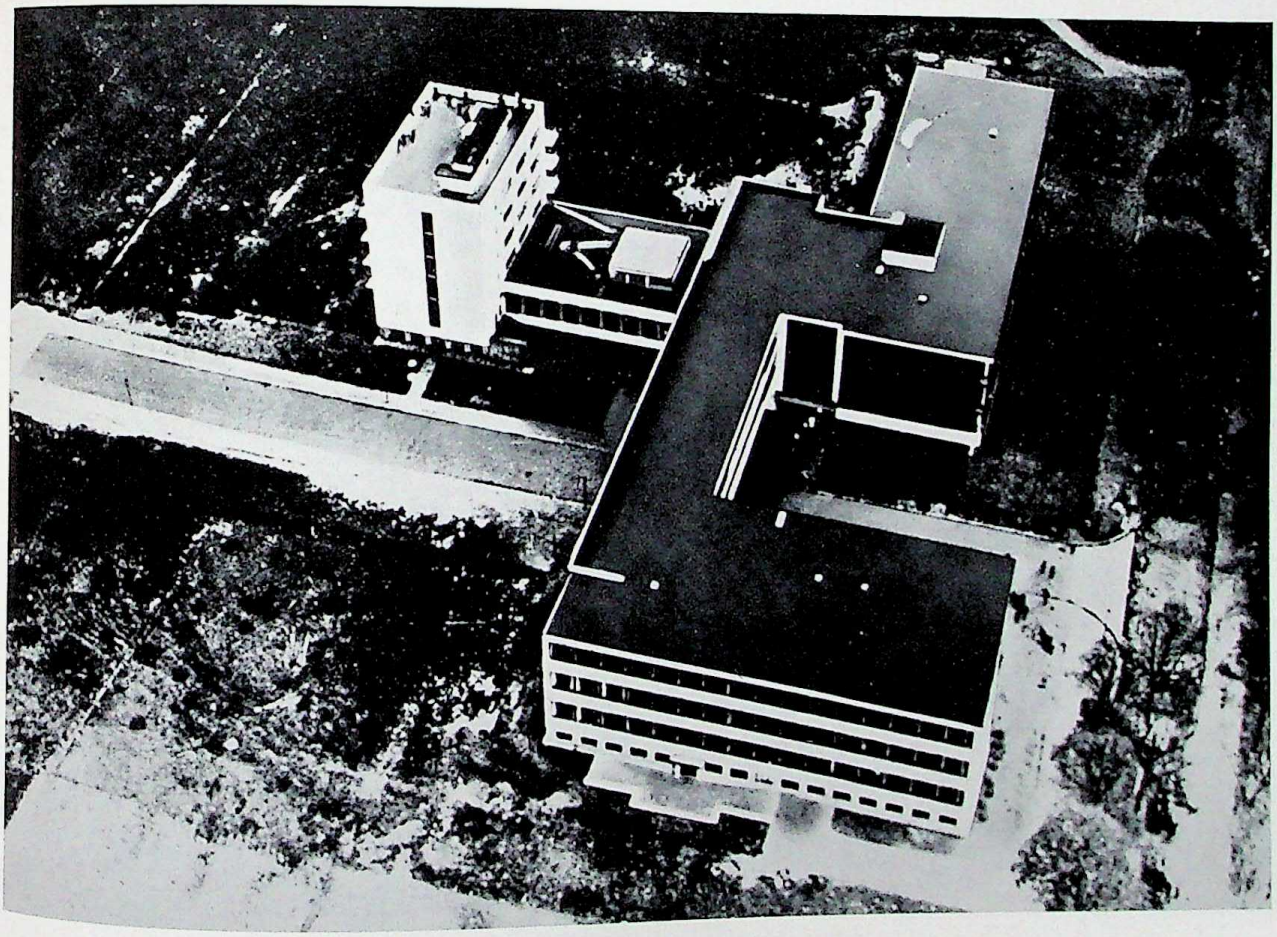

Pl. 81. W. Gropius and A. Meyer, Bauhaus, Dessau, Germany. *Above*: Side view. *Below*: View from the air.

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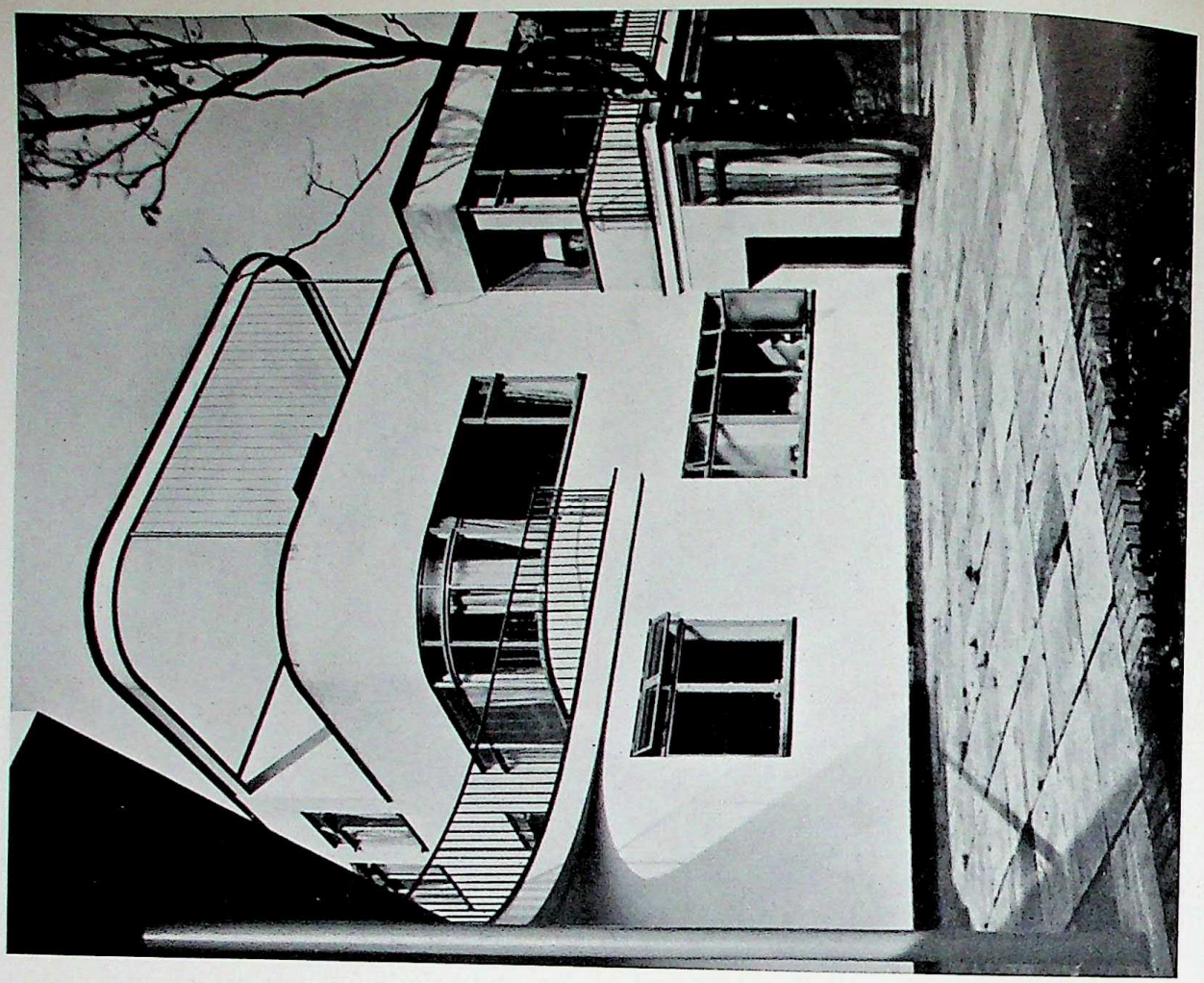

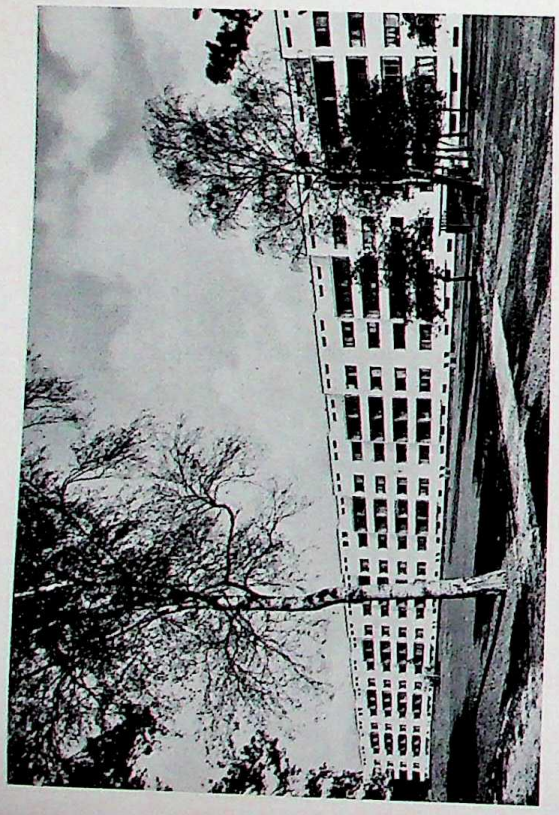

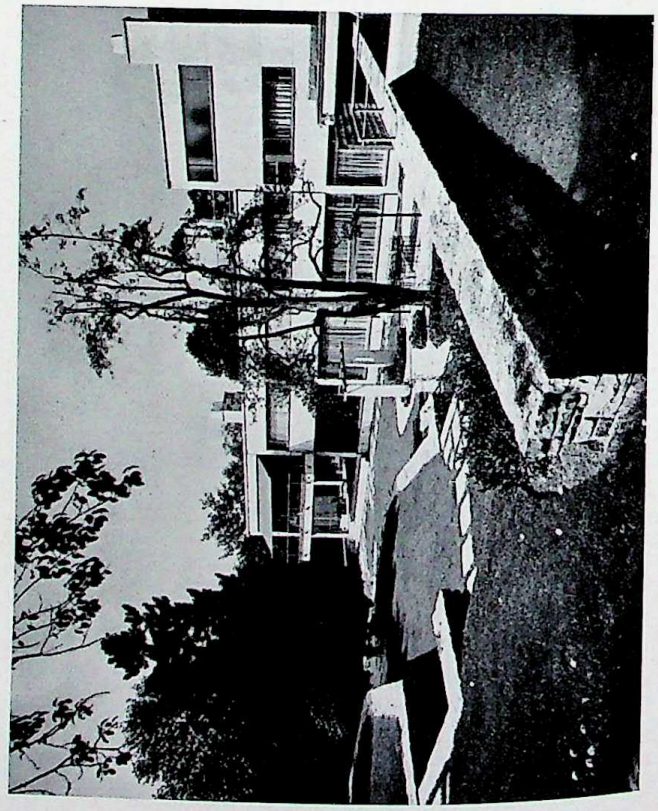

Pl. 82. *Left, above*: Berlin, Siemensstadt housing estate. *Below*: Pittsburgh, Frank house. *Right*: W. Gropius and M. Fry, *Levy house, London.*

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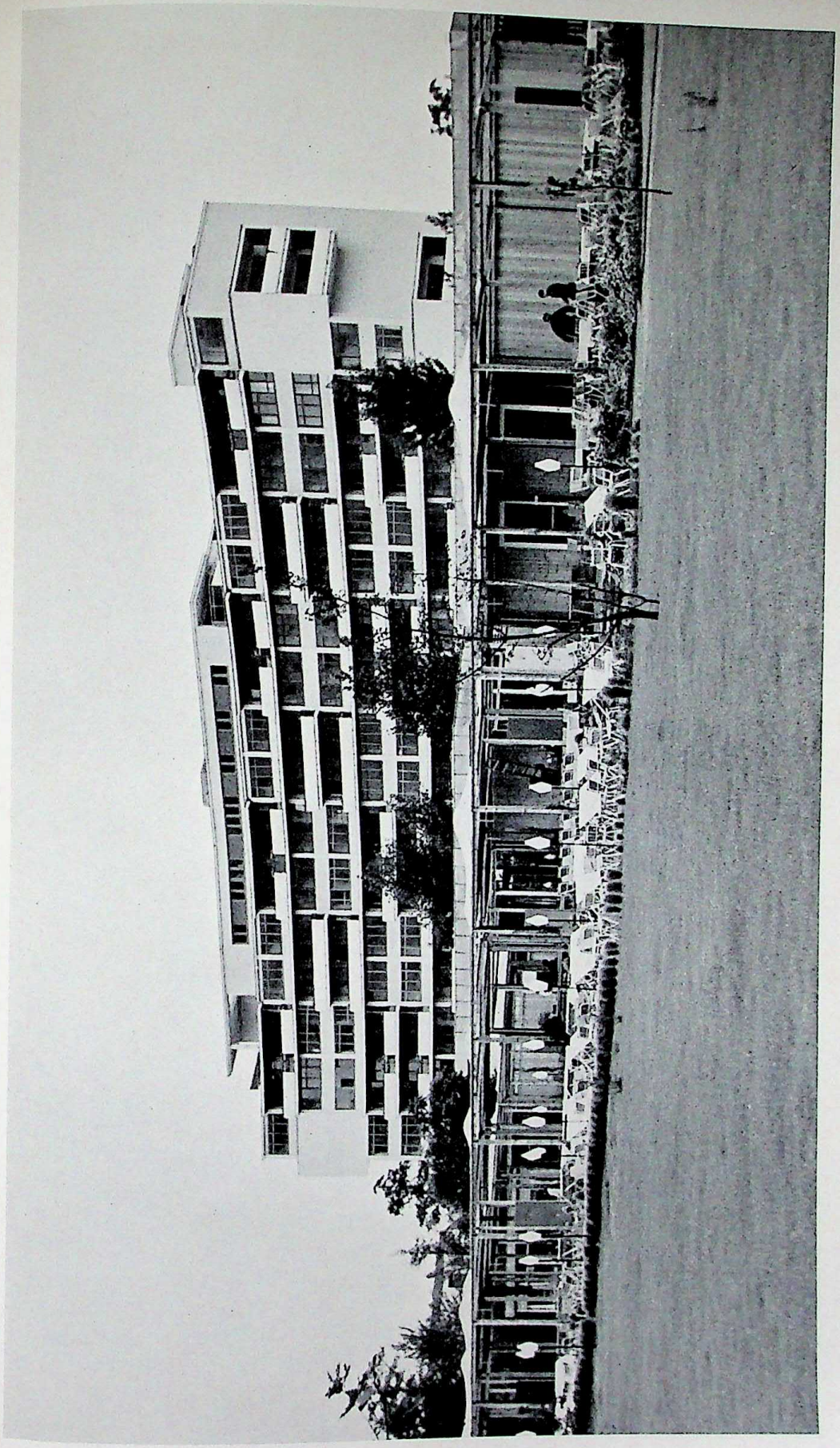

Pl. 83. Berlin, building at the Interbau exhibition of 1957.

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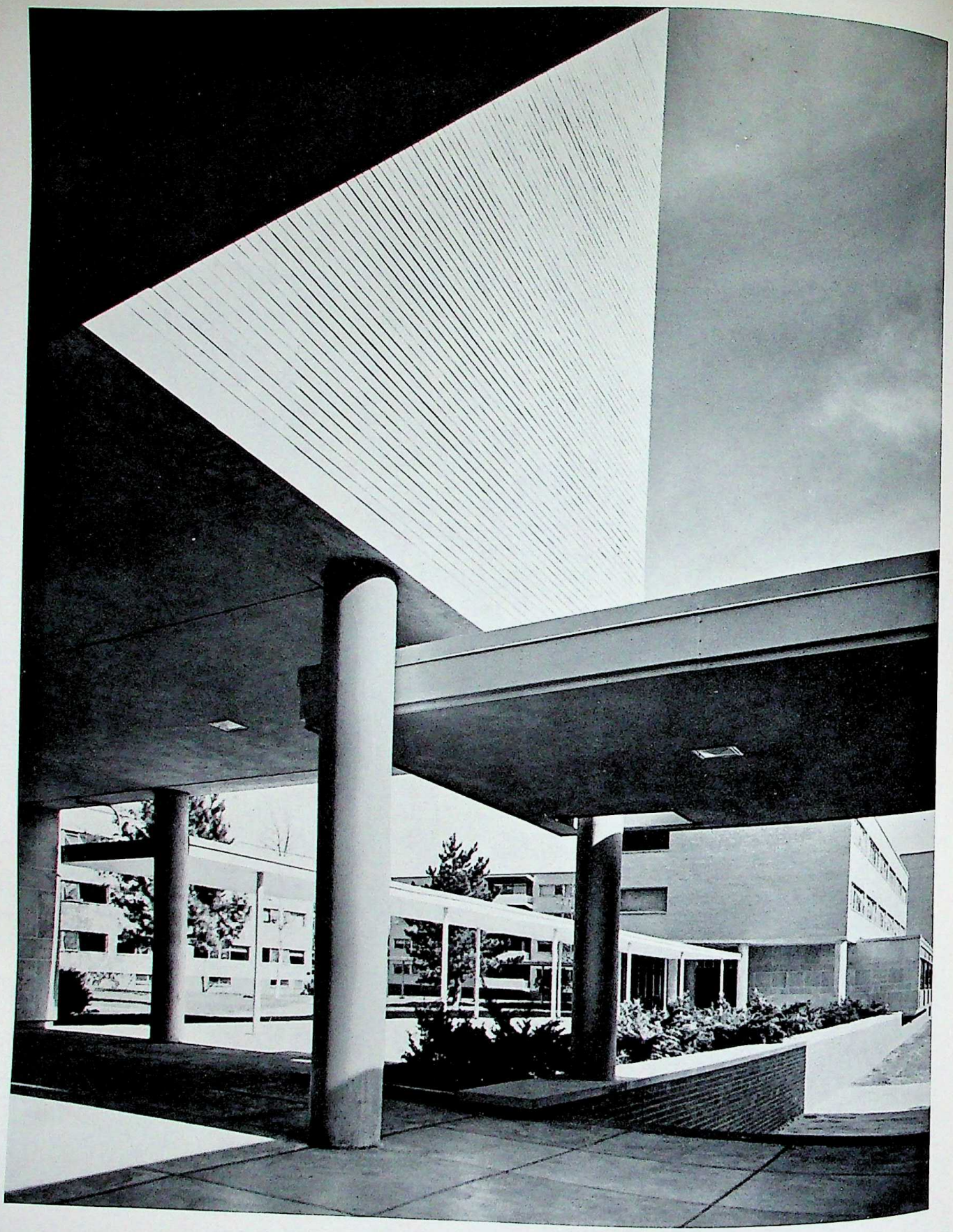

Pl. 84. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Graduate Center, exterior view of the dormitories.

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Pl. 85. Isenheim Altar, detail of PL. 88, with St. John, the Virgin, and the Magdalen.

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Pl. 86. Isenheim Altar, detail of PL. 88, with Christ and John the Baptist.

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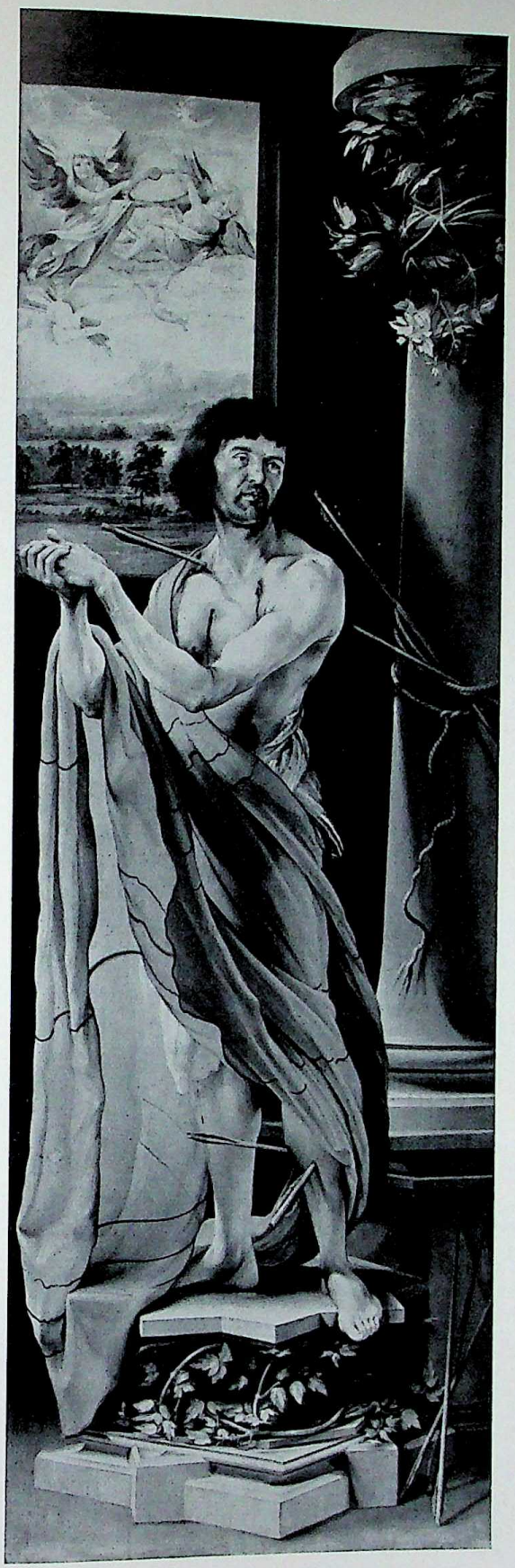

Pl. 87. Isenheim Altar, St. Sebastian. Panel, 7 ft., 7 3/8 in. × 2 ft., 6 in. Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden.

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Pl. 88. Isenheim Altar, Crucifixion. Panel, 8 ft., 9 7/8 in. × 10 ft., 7/8 in. Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden.

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Pl. 89. Isenheim Altar. Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden. *Left*: The Resurrection. Panel, 8 ft., 9 7/8 in. × 4 ft., 8 1/4 in. *Right*: The Annunciation. Panel, 8 ft., 9 7/8 in. × 4 ft., 7 7/8 in.

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Pl. 90. The Meeting of St. Erasmus and St. Maurice. Panel, 7 ft., 5 in. × 5 ft., 9¼ in. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

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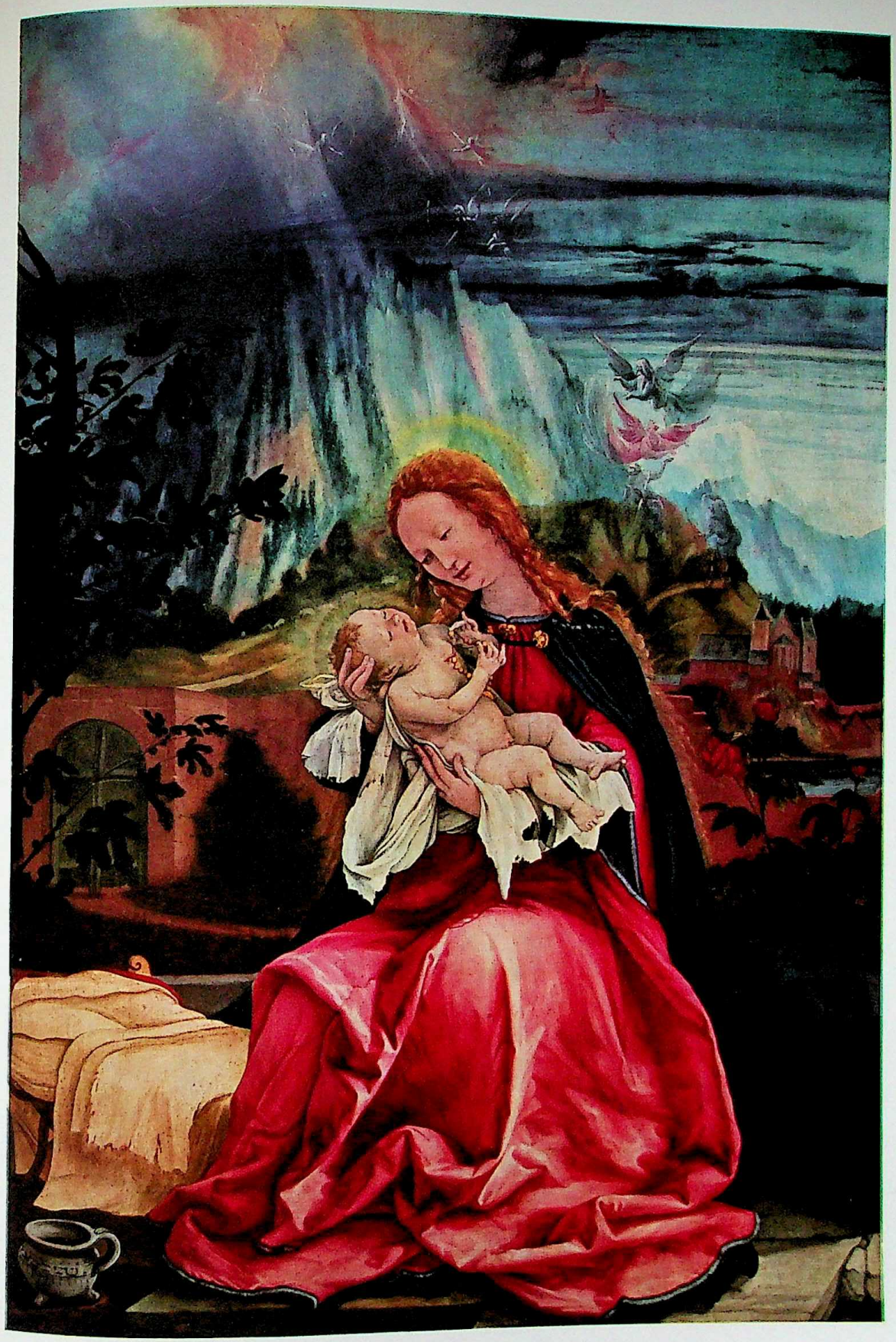

Pl. 91. Isenheim Altar, Christmas (Angel Concert and Nativity), detail. Panel; full size, 8 ft., 8 3/8 in. × 9 ft., 11 3/4 in. Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden.

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Pl. 92. Isenheim Altar, predella with the Lamentation, detail. Panel; full size, 2 ft., 2 3/8 in. × 11 ft., 2 1/4 in. Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden.

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Pl. 93. *Left*: St. Elizabeth. Panel, $37^{3}/_{4} \times 16^{7}/_{8}$ in. *Right*: Female saint (St. Lucy?). Panel, $39^{7}/_{8} \times 17^{1}/_{2}$ in. Both, Donaueschingen, Germany, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Sammlungen.

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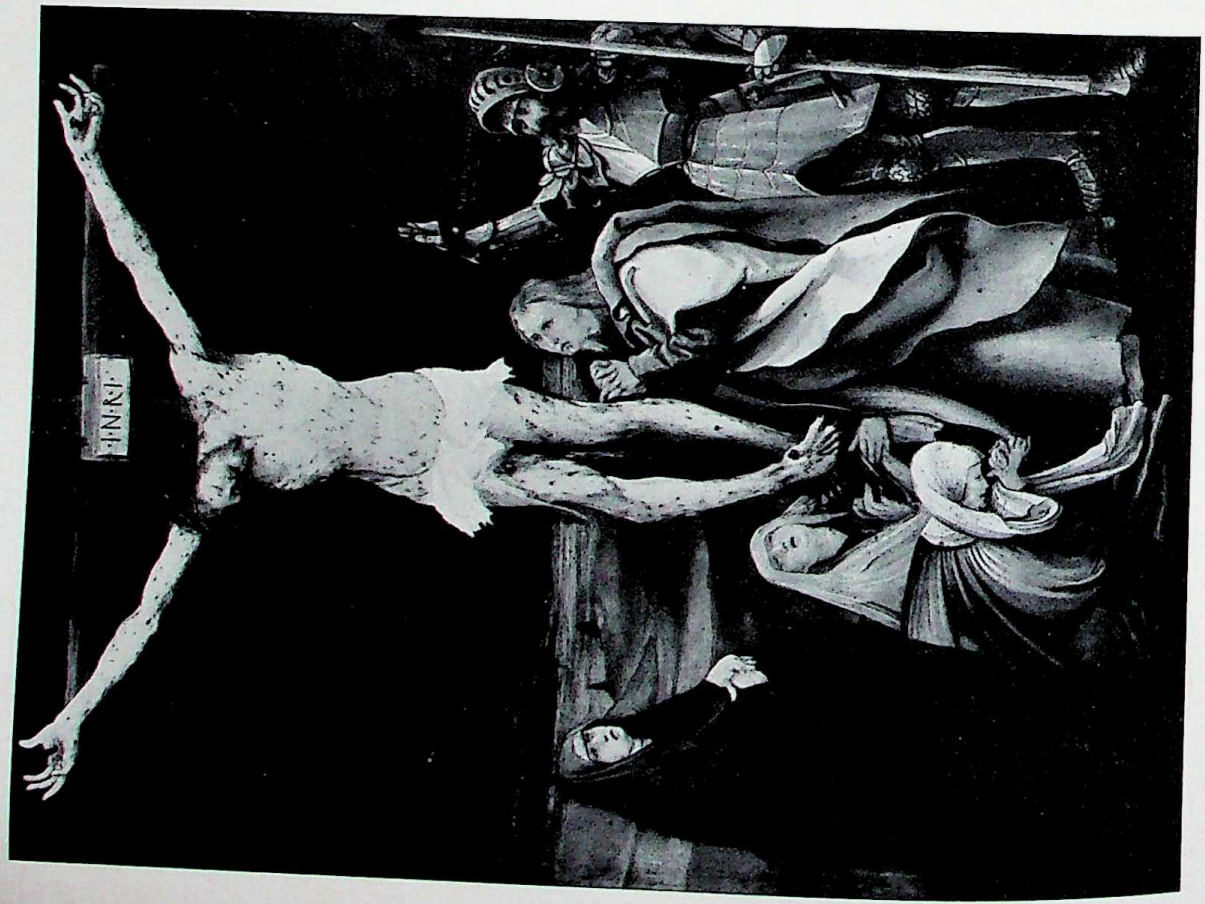

Pl. 94. *Left*: Crucifixion. Panel, 29½×21½ in. Basel, Switzerland, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung. *Right*: Christ Carrying the Cross. Panel, 6 ft., 4 in. × 4 ft., 11½ in. Karlsruhe, Germany, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

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Pl. 95. Crucifixion, detail. Panel; full size, 6 ft., 4 in. × 4 ft., 11½ in. Karlsruhe, Germany, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

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Pl. 96. Study for a Magdalen. Chalk drawing, 15 3/4 × 11 3/4 in. Winterthur, Switzerland, Oskar Reinhart Coll.

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Pl. 97. G. A. Guardi, Holy Family. Canvas, $45^{5}/_{8} \times 37^{3}/_{4}$ in. Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art.

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Pl. 98. *Above*: F. Guardi, Miracle of St. Hyacinth. Canvas, 3 ft., 11 1/4 in. × 5 ft., 8 1/2 in. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. *Below*: G. A. and/or F. Guardi, Tobias healing his father. Canvas. Venice, Chiesa dell'Angelo Raffaele.

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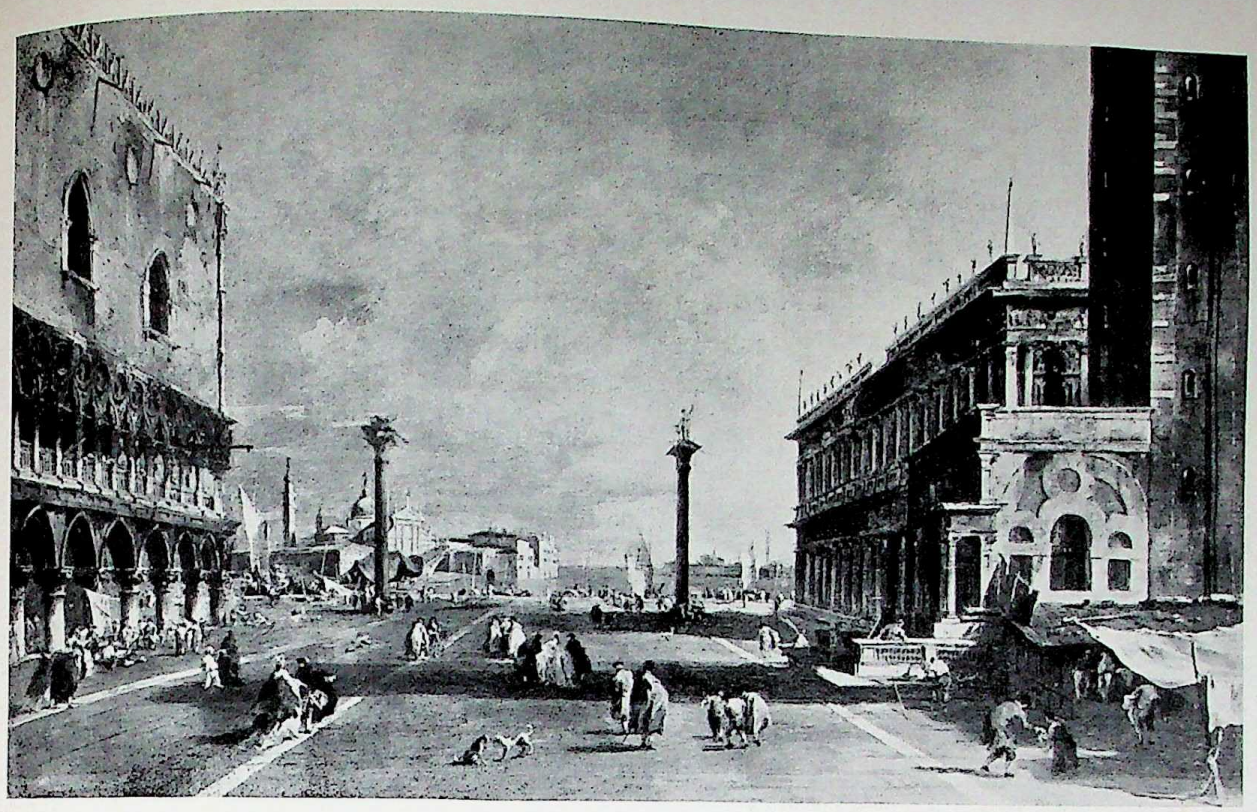

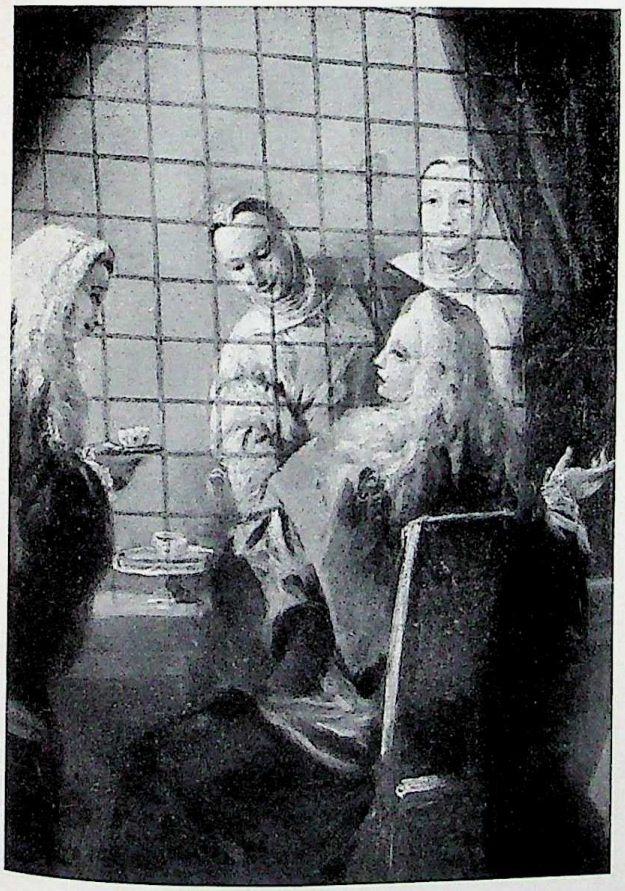

Pl. 99. *Above*: F. Guardi, The Piazzetta. Canvas, 17 3/4 × 28 3/8 in. Venice, Ca' d'Oro. *Below, left and right*: G. A. (and F. ?) Guardi, details of The Parlatorio (visitors' room) in the Convent of San Zaccaria, and The Ridotto (gaming hall). Canvas; full size, each 3 ft., 6 1/2 in. × 6 ft., 9 7/8 in. Venice, Ca' Rezzonico.

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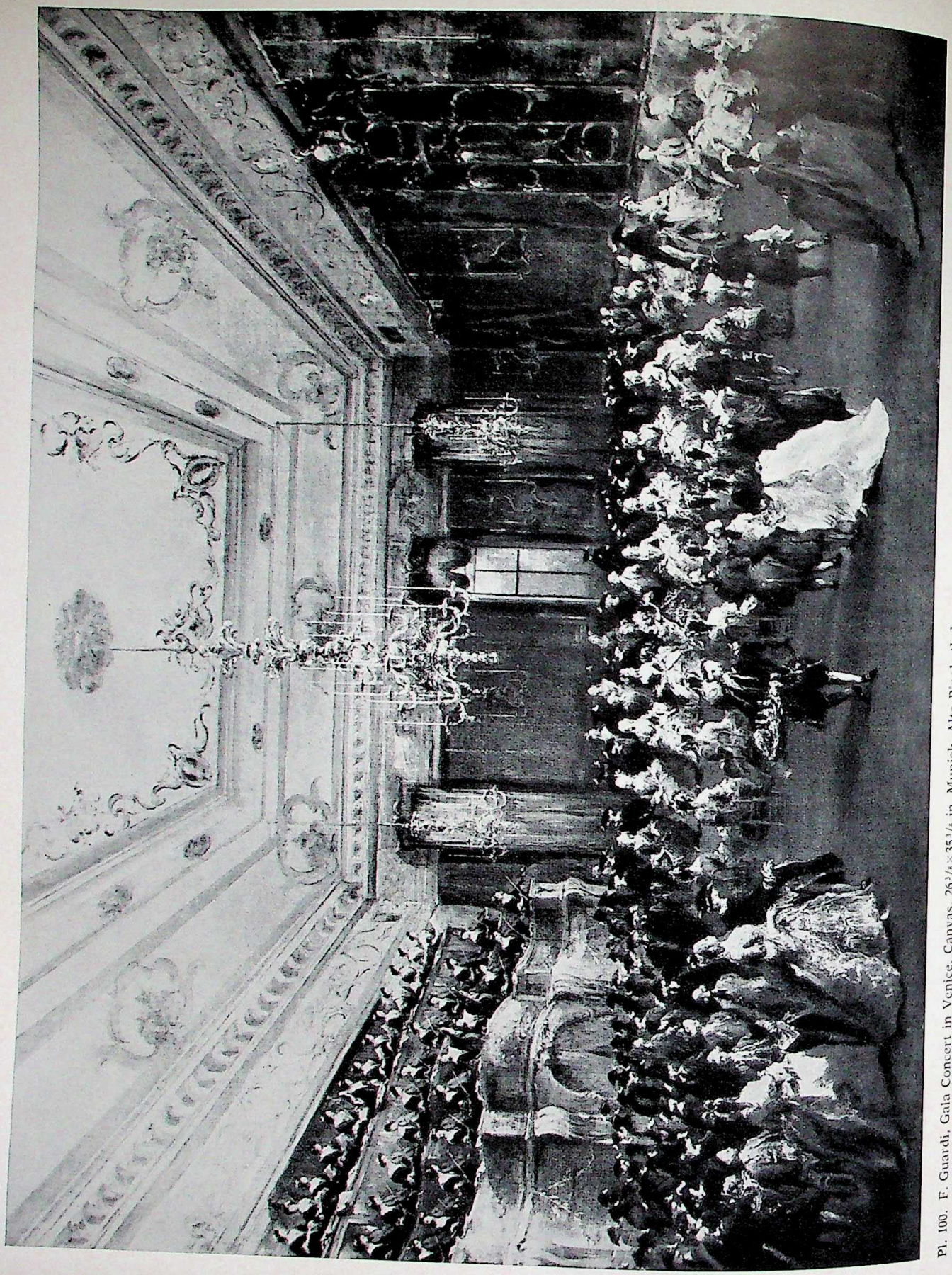

Pl. 100. F. Guardi, Gala Concert in Venice. Canvas, 26 3/8 × 35 1/8 in. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

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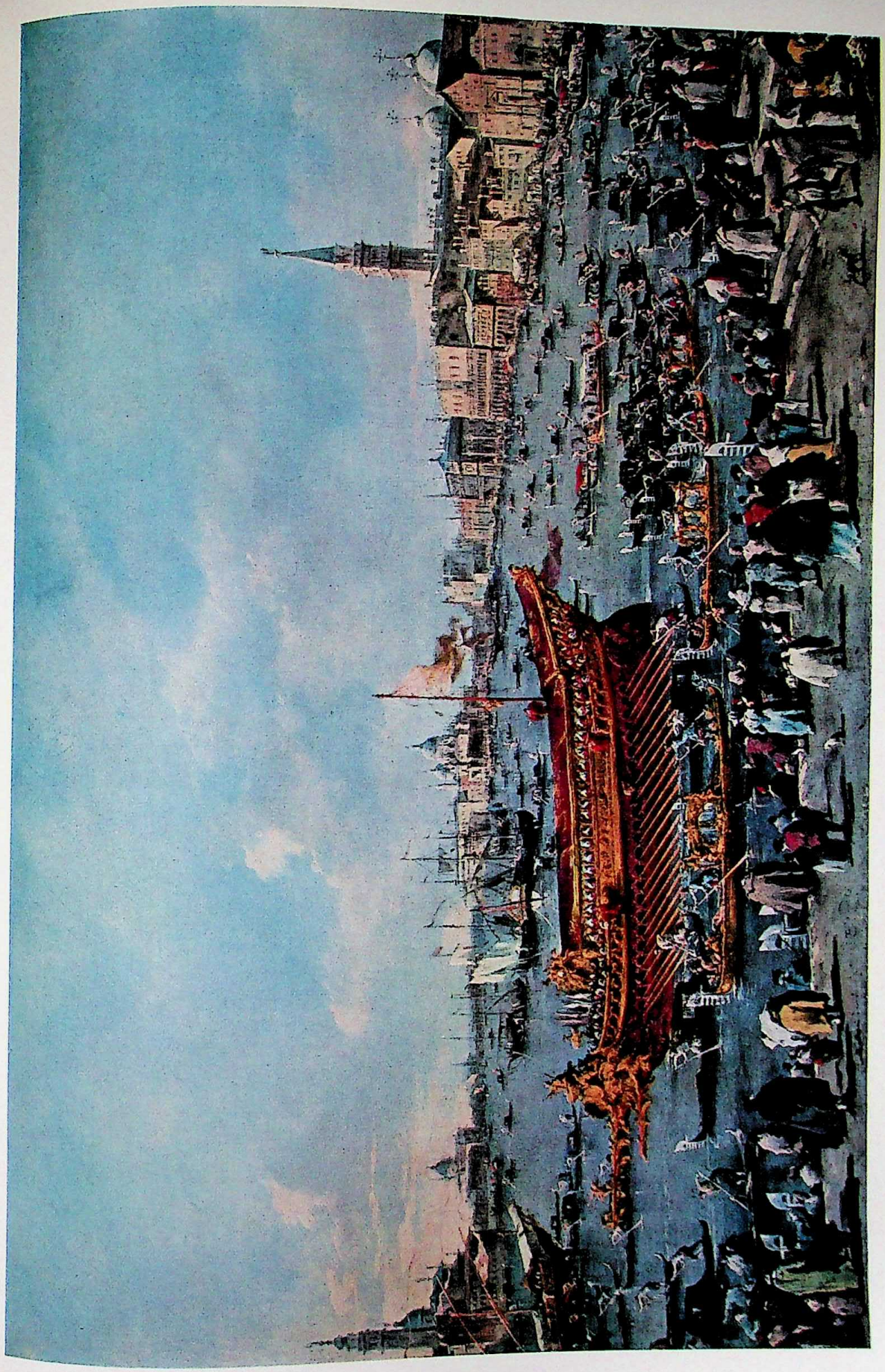

Pl. 101. F. Guardi, The Embarkation of the Doge on the Bucintoro. Canvas, 26 3/8 × 39 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 102. F. Guardi, Rio dei Mendicanti, Venice. Canvas, $7^{1}/_{2} \times 5^{7}/_{8}$ in. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.

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Pl. 103. Turin, S. Lorenzo, interior.

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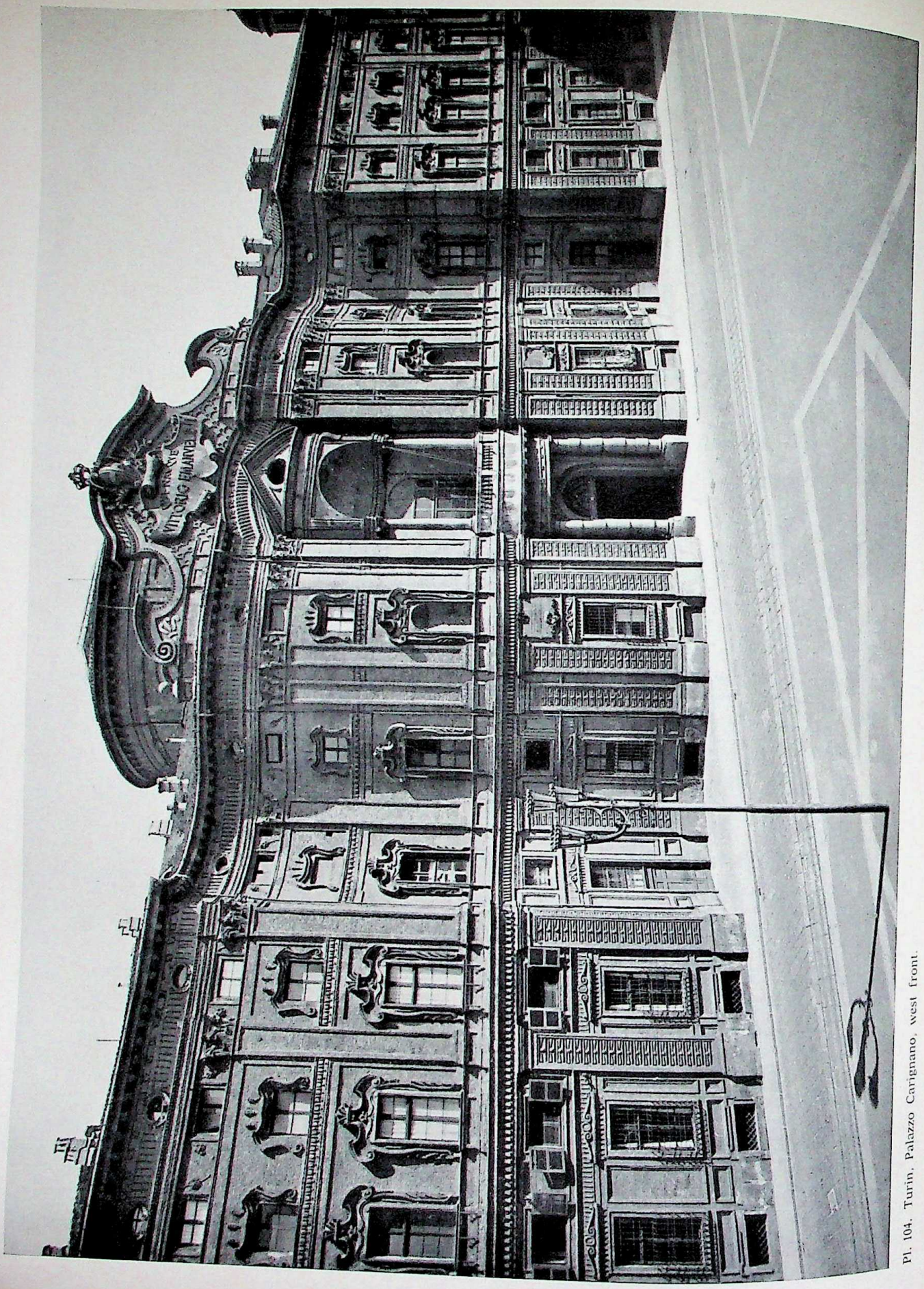


Pl. 104. Turin, Palazzo Carignano, west front.

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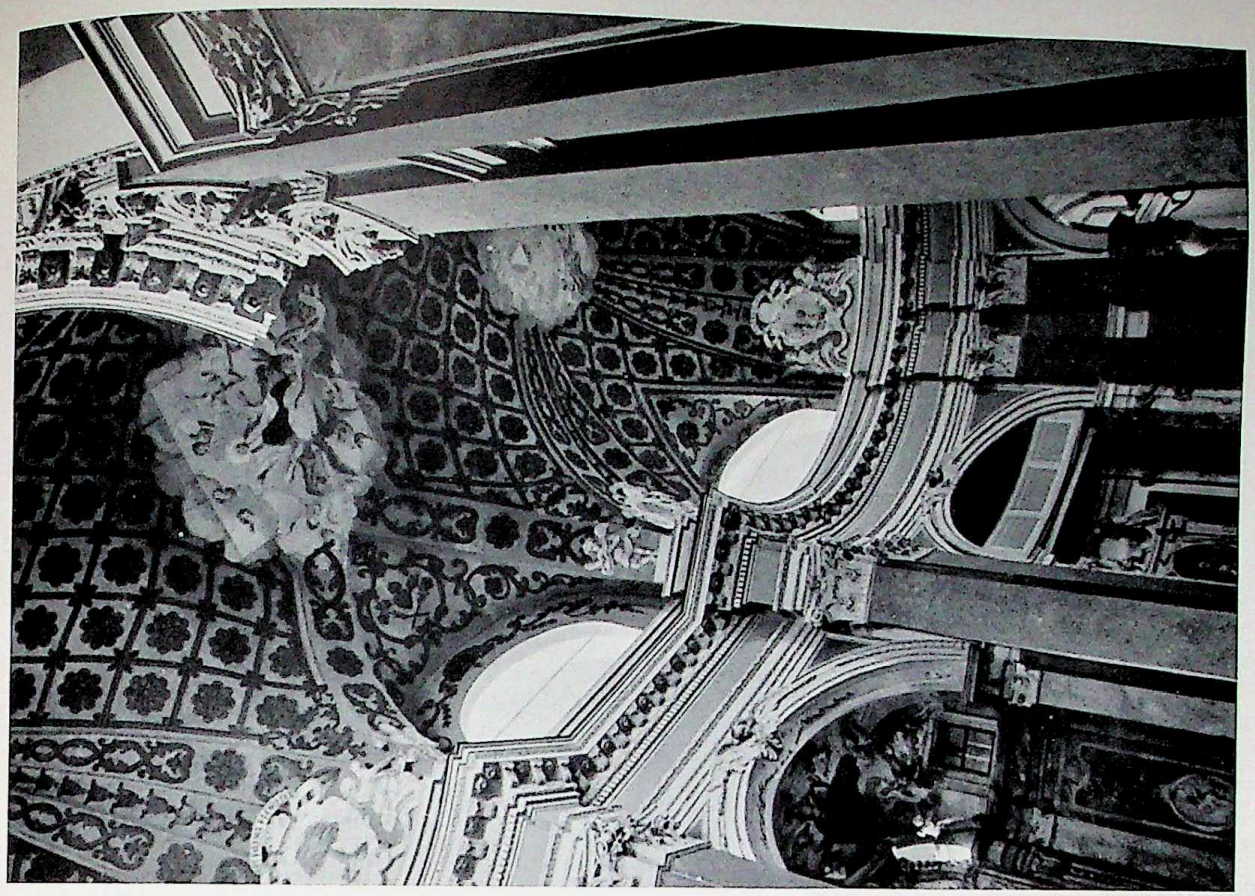

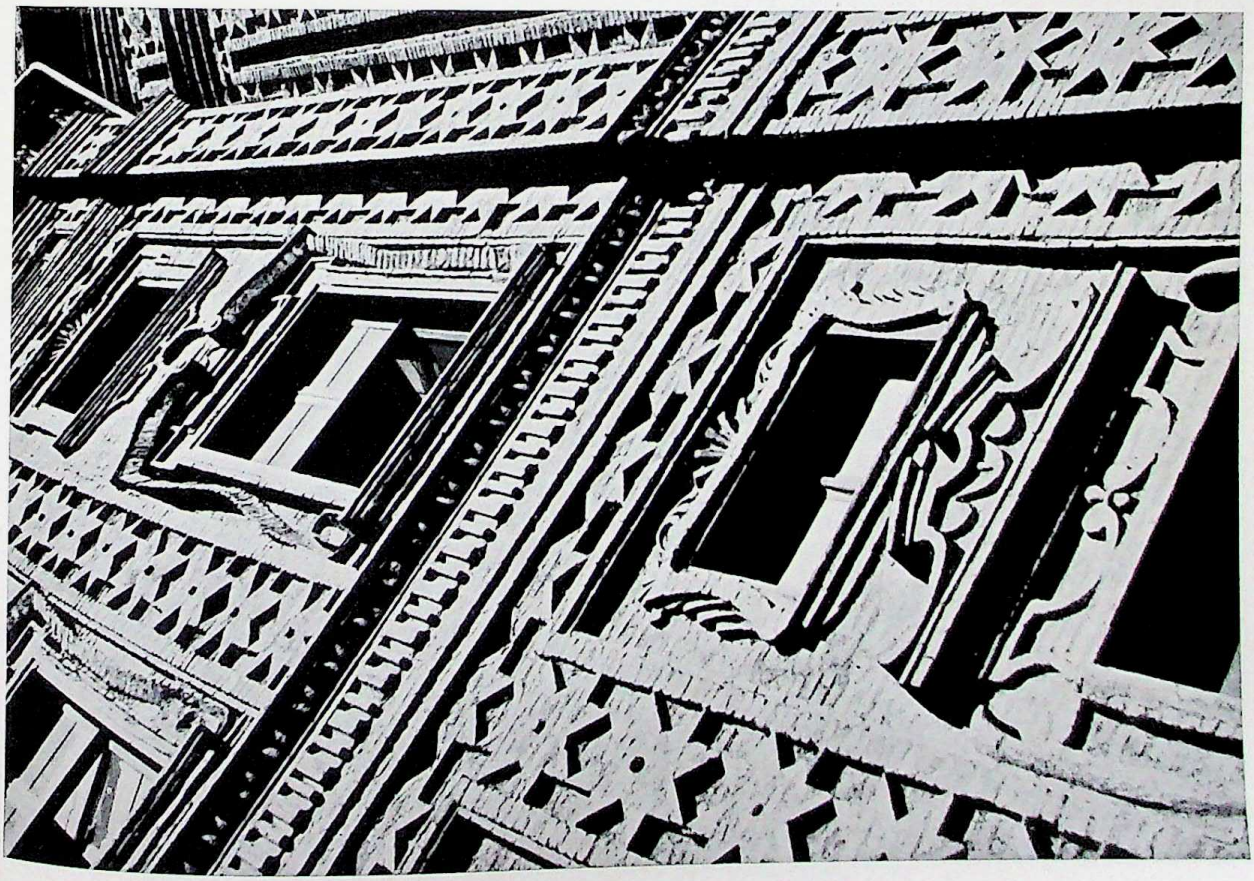

Pl. 105. *Left*: Turin, Palazzo Carignano, courtyard, detail. *Right*: Turin, Church of the Arcivescovado, detail of interior.

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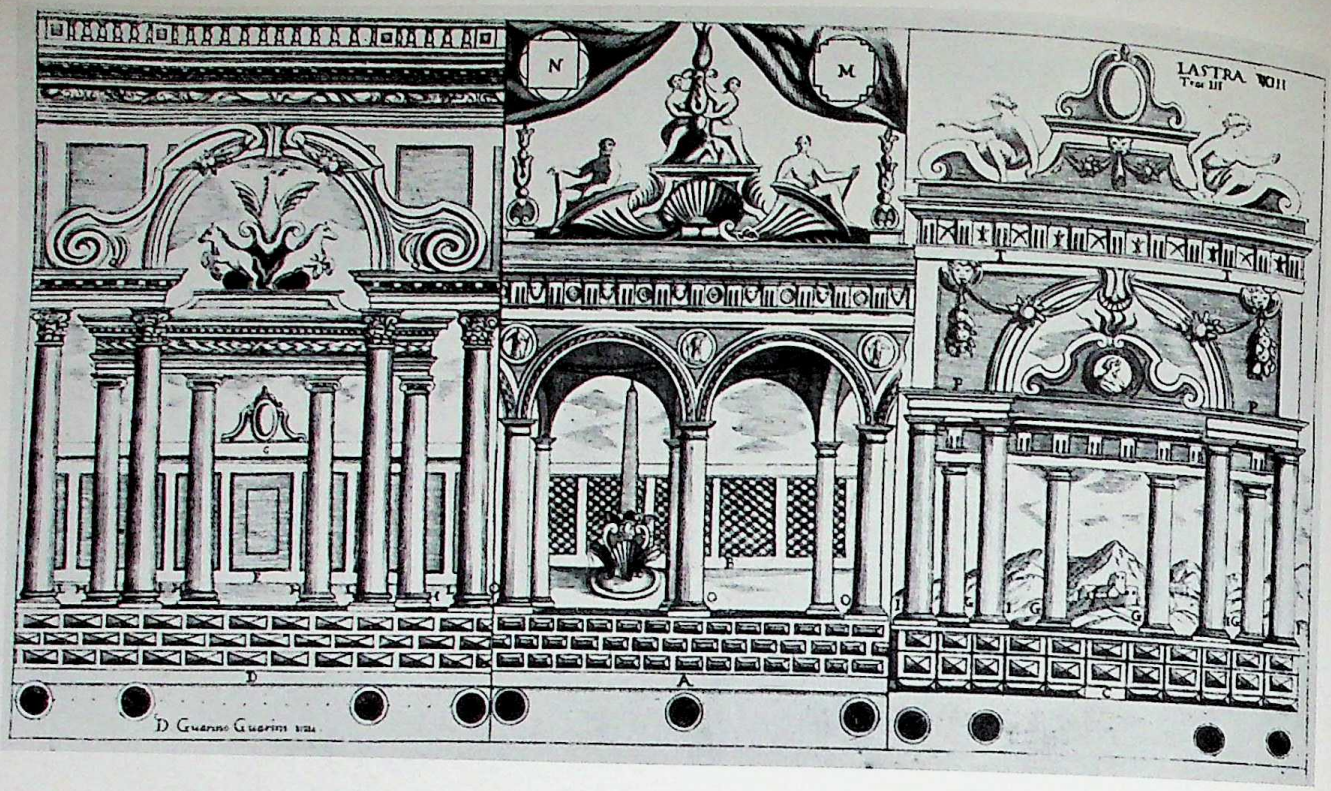


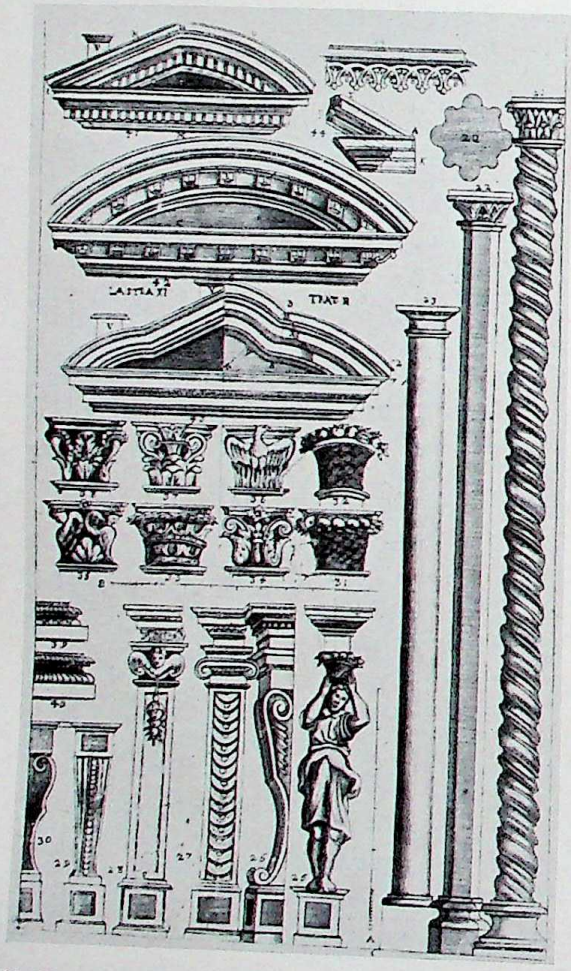

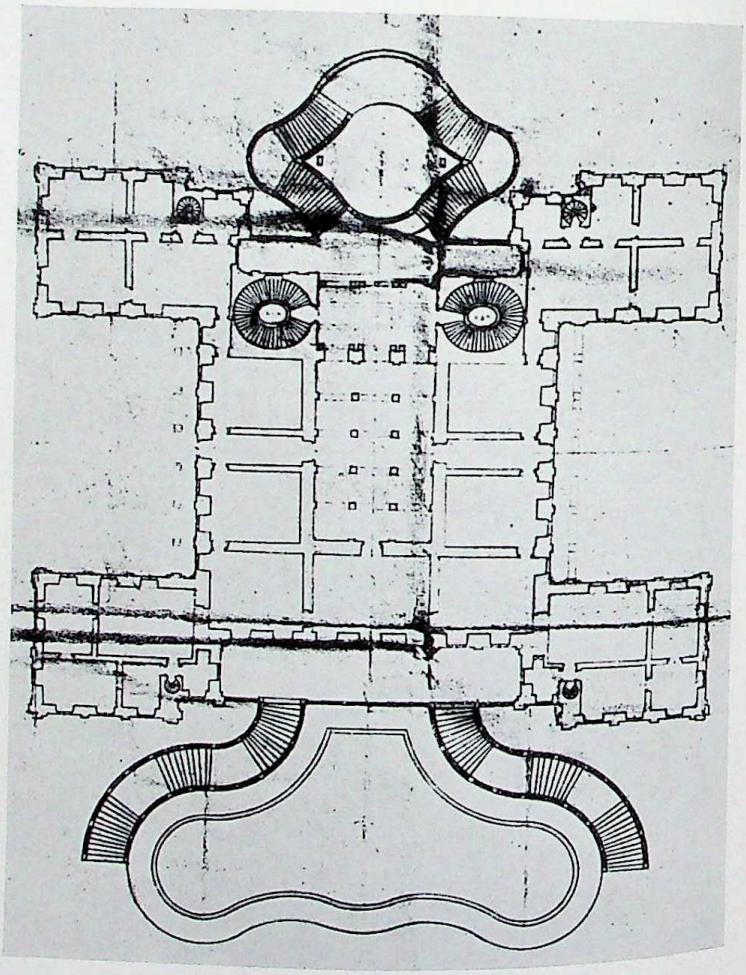

Pl. 106. *Above and below, left*: Engravings from *Architettura Civile*, 1737. *Below, right*: Plan for the castle at Racconigi. Turin, Archivio di Stato.

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Pl. 107. Bust in ceremonial costume, probably representing a king, from Ife, Nigeria, 11th–15th cent. (?). Bronze. Ife, Coll. of the Oni.

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Pl. 108. Female head called "Mia," from Ife, Nigeria, 11th–15th cent. (?). Clay, ht., 6¼ in. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.

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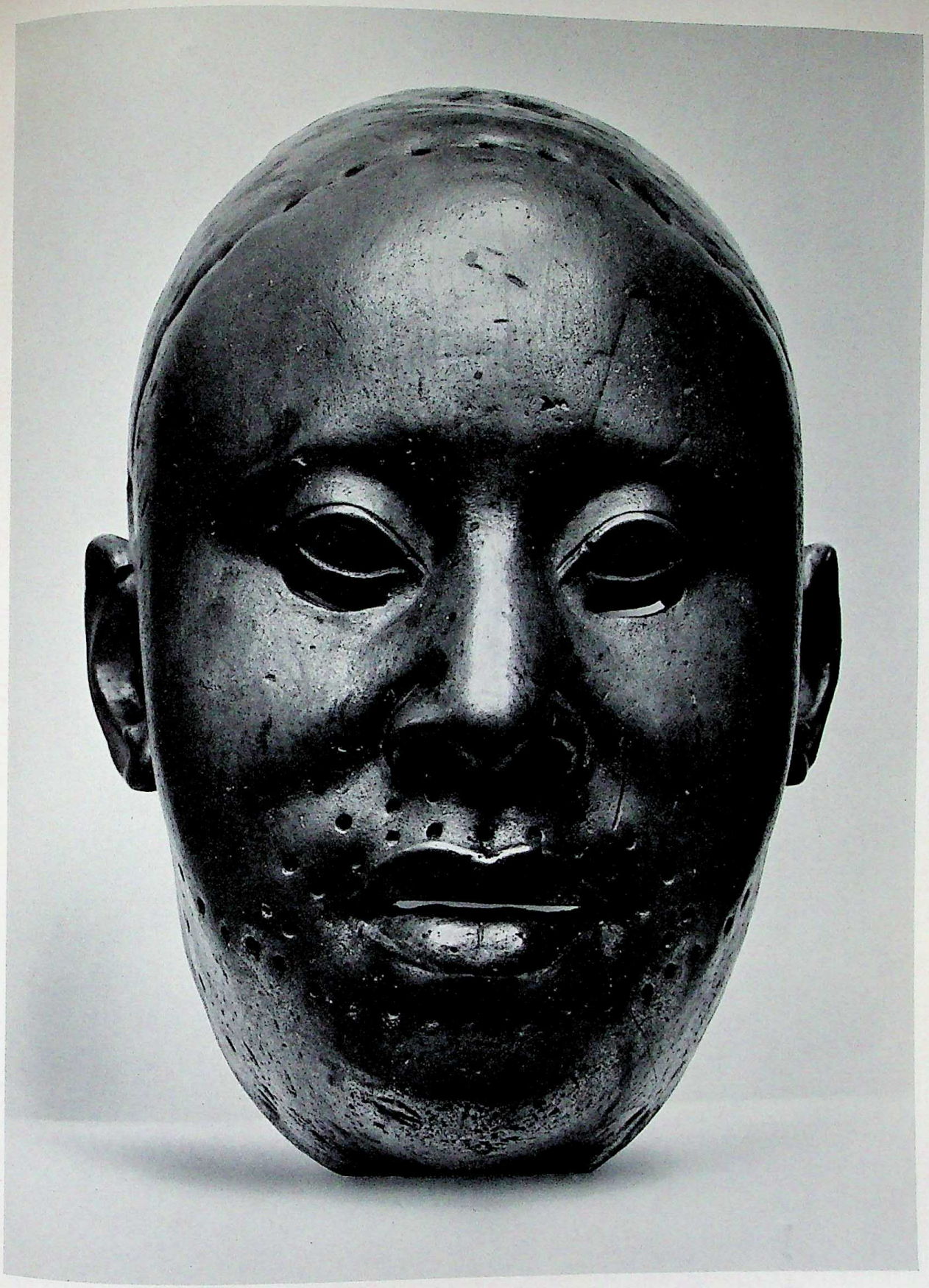

Pl. 109. The so-called "Obalufon" mask, from Ife, Nigeria, 11th–15th cent. (?). Bronze. Ife, Coll. of the Oni.

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Pl. 110. Female heads (front and profile views), from Ife, Nigeria, 11th–15th cent. (?). Clay. Ife, Coll. of the Oni.

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Pl. 111. Head known as "The Princess," from Benin, Nigeria, ca. mid-14th–16th cent. Bronze, life size. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 112. Mask with ceremonial headdress, from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 16th–17th cent. Ivory. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 113. Bronze plaques, from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 16th–17th cent. *Above, left*: Animal sacrifice. *Right*: Entrance to the Oba's palace. *Below, left*: The Oba with two attendants. *Right*: Two persons in ceremonial costume. All, London, British Museum.

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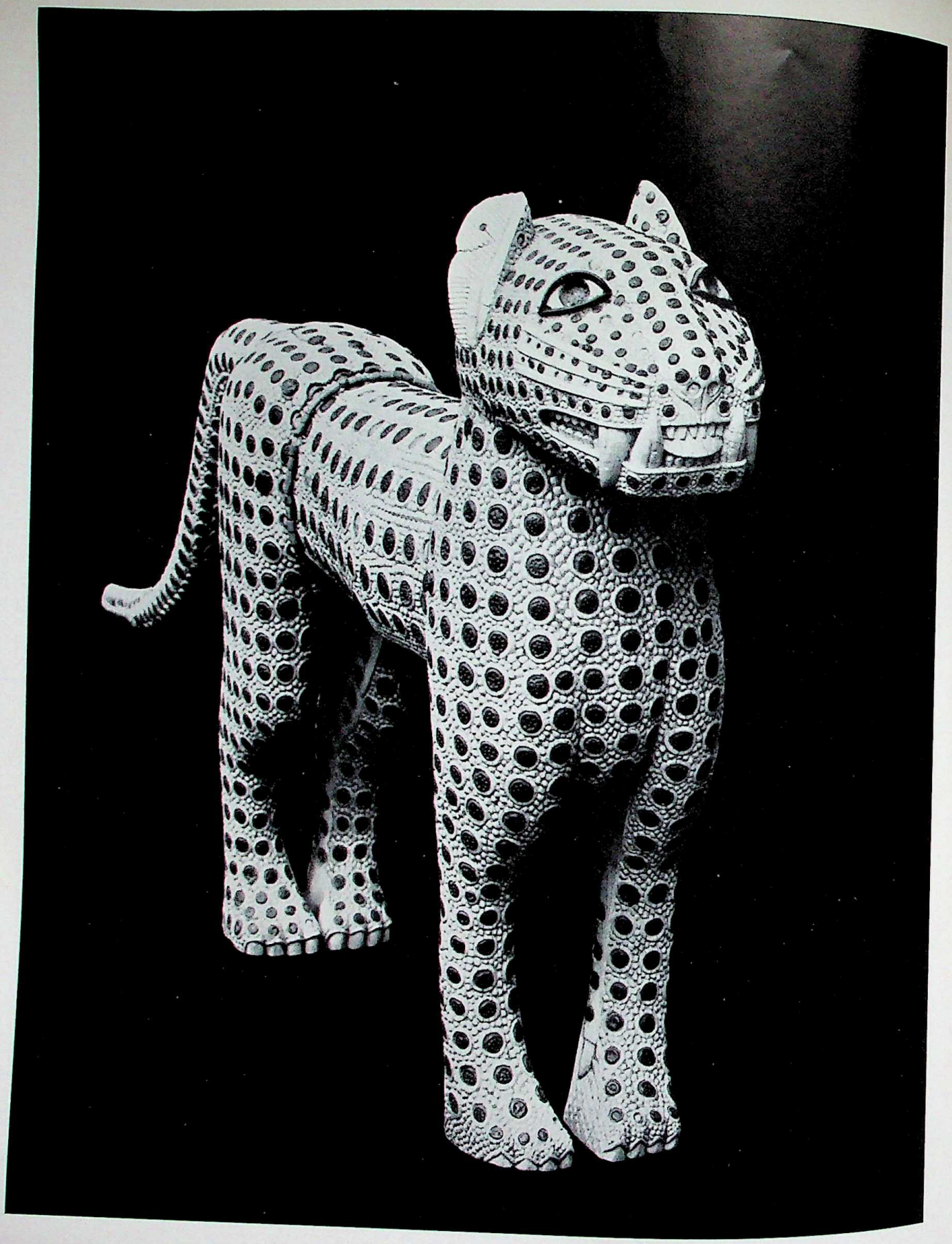

Pl. 114. Leopard, from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 16th–17th cent. Ivory, with inlay of metal disks. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 115. The so-called "Olokun" head, with characteristic headdress, from Ife, Nigeria, 11th–15th cent. (?). Bronze, ht., 14 3/8 in. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 116. Door decorated with reliefs, from the palace of King Glele at Abomey, Dahomey. Wood. Paris, Musée de l'Homme.

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Pl. 117. *Above*: Two mutilated heads with ceremonial headdress, discovered at Esie, Nigeria. Stone. *Below, left*: Head from an excavation near Kajebi, Ho district, Ghana. Clay. *Right*: Head from an excavation near Fomena, Adansi, Ghana, 18th cent. (?). Clay. Last two, London, British Museum.

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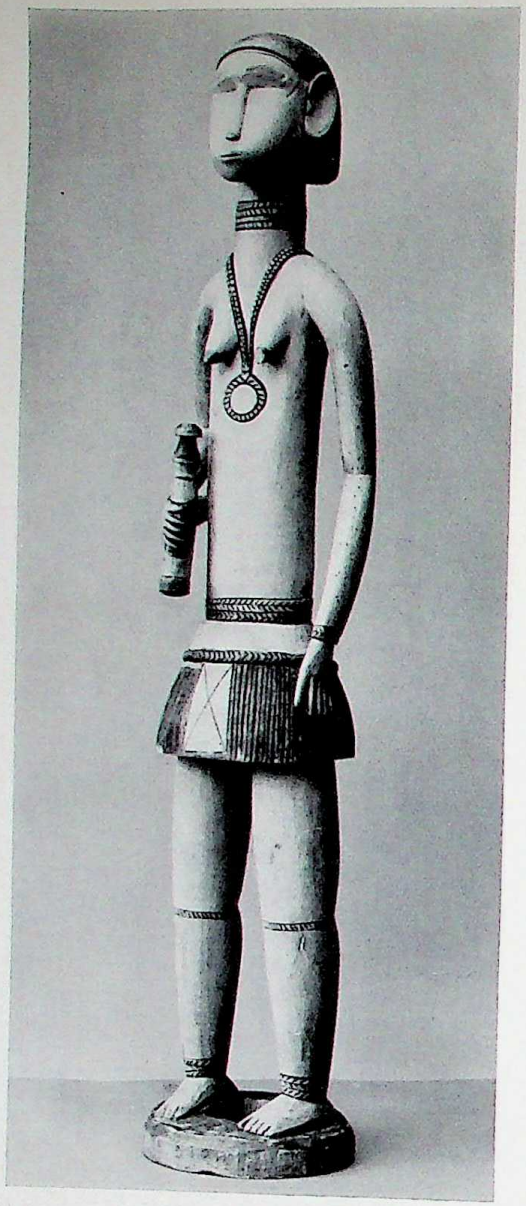

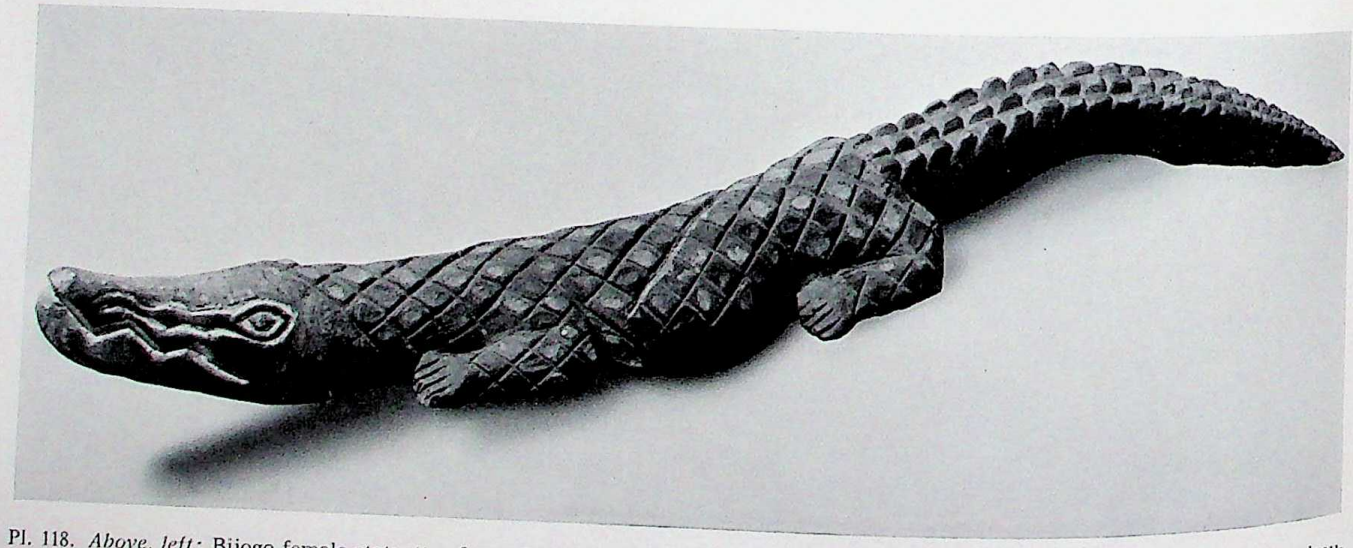

Pl. 118. *Above, left*: Bijogo female statuette, from Bissagos (Bijagos) Islands, Portuguese Guinea. Wood. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet. *Right*: Male figure of the Dan tribe, Liberia. Wood. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Below*: Sacred crocodile of the Ngere tribe, Ivory Coast. Wood. Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Museum.

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Pl. 119. Mmani wall painting, Mellacorée, Republic of Guinea.

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Pl. 120. *Above*: Vai dance masks, from Sierra Leone. Wood. Stockholm, Statens Etnografiska Museum. *Below, left*: Ngere mask, from Ivory Coast. Wood. London, British Museum. *Right*: Guro cult mask, from Ivory Coast. Wood. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde.

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Pl. 121. *Above, left*: Baga drum with sculptured support, from Republic of Guinea. Wood. London, British Museum. *Right*: Gio sculpture, mother and child, from Liberia. Brass. Cambridge, Mass., Peabody Museum. *Below, left*: Dan sculpture, seated woman, from Liberia. Wood. Brussels, Coll. J. Schwob. *Right*: Ajukru female figurine, from Ivory Coast. Wood. Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Museum.

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Pl. 122. *Above*: Baule ancestor statuettes, from Ivory Coast. Wood. *Below, left*: Abidji statuette of water carrier, from Ivory Coast. Wood. *Right*: Ajukru female cult figure, from Ivory Coast. All, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Museum.

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Pl. 123. Baule statuette of woman on seat of honor, from Ivory Coast. Wood. Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Museum.

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Pl. 124. Figurine representing a drummer, from Ghana. Bronze. Bern, Historisches Museum.

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Pl. 125. Dan mask representing Earth Mother, from Liberia. Wood. Cambridge, Mass., Peabody Museum.

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Pl. 126. Yoruba mask of Gelede society, from Nigeria. Polychromed wood. Paris, Musée de l'Homme.

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Pl. 127. *Above, left*: Helmet of antelope skin with ornaments of gold and silver foil, from Ghana. *Right*: Ashanti vessel decorated with frog and serpent, from Ghana. Clay. Both, London, British Museum. *Below, left*: Ashanti ceremonial vessel (*kuduo*), from Ghana. Bronze. Stockholm, Statens Etnografiska Museum. *Right*: Ashanti ceremonial vessel surmounted by fighting leopard and antelope, from Ghana. Brass. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 128. Ashanti gold weights, from Ghana. Brass. London, British Museum, and Rome, Lateran Museum.

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Pl. 129. *Above, left*: Post with equestrian figure, from the royal palace of Savé, Dahomey. Wood. *Right*: Portrait statue of King Behanzin represented as a shark, from Dahomey. Wood. Both, Paris, Musée de l'Homme. *Below, left*: Mask surmounted by figure of missionary, from Dahomey. Wood. Zurich, Sammlung für Völkerkunde der Universität. *Right*: Yoruba statuette of mother goddess Odudua with wooden offering receptacle in shape of a hen, from Nigeria. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde.

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Pl. 130. *Above*: Yoruba figures called "Ibeji," from Nigeria. Wood. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Below*: Equipment for the Yoruba *mankala* game, from Nigeria. Wood. London, British Museum.

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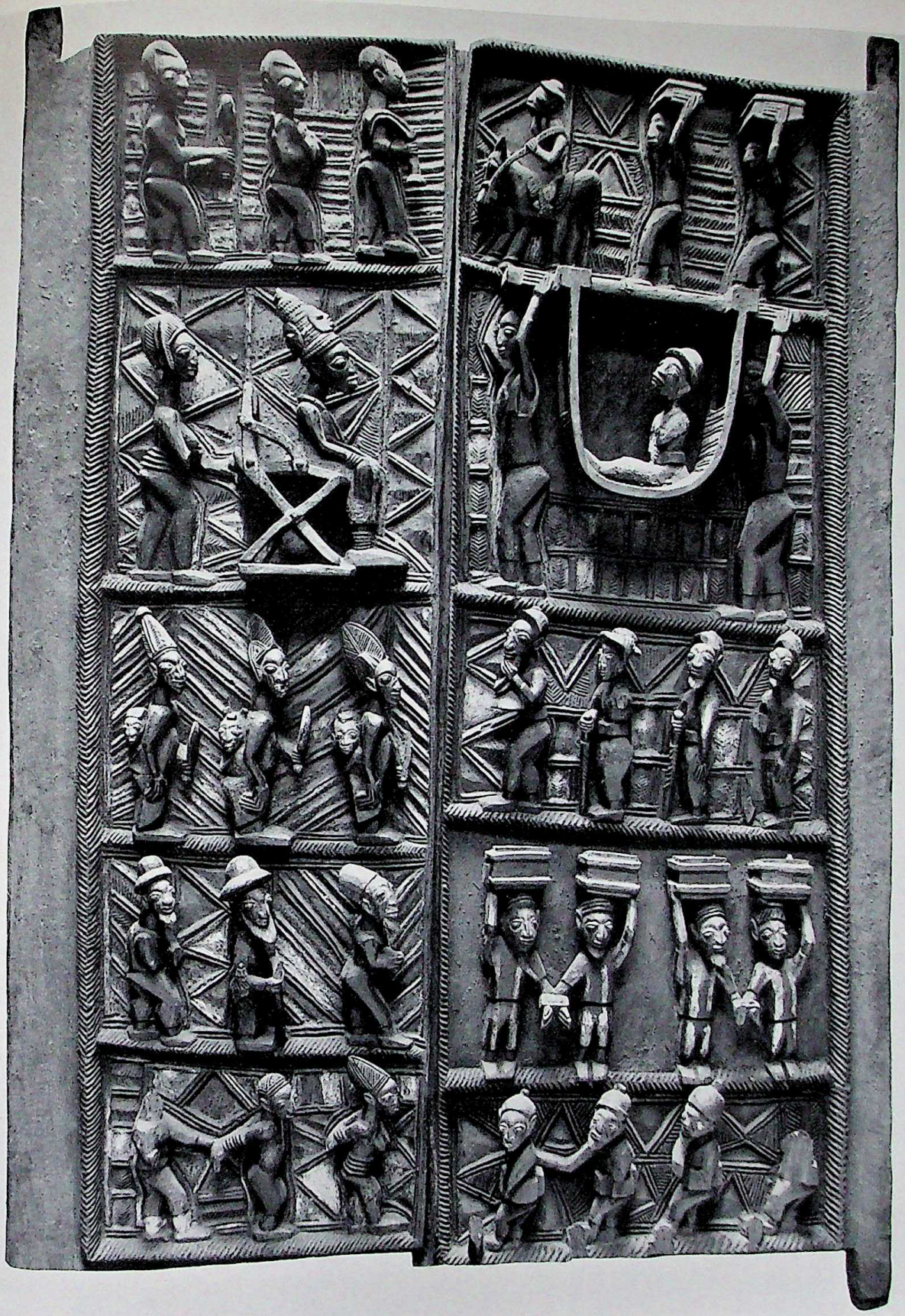

Pl. 131. Yoruba door carved with genre scenes, from Ikerre, Nigeria. Wood. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 132. *Above*: Yoruba masks of the Egun secret society, used in the cult of the dead, from Nigeria. Wood. *Below, left*: Ibibio cult mask, from Nigeria. Wood. All three, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right*: Ekoi horned head, from Cross River region, Nigeria. Wood covered with skin. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

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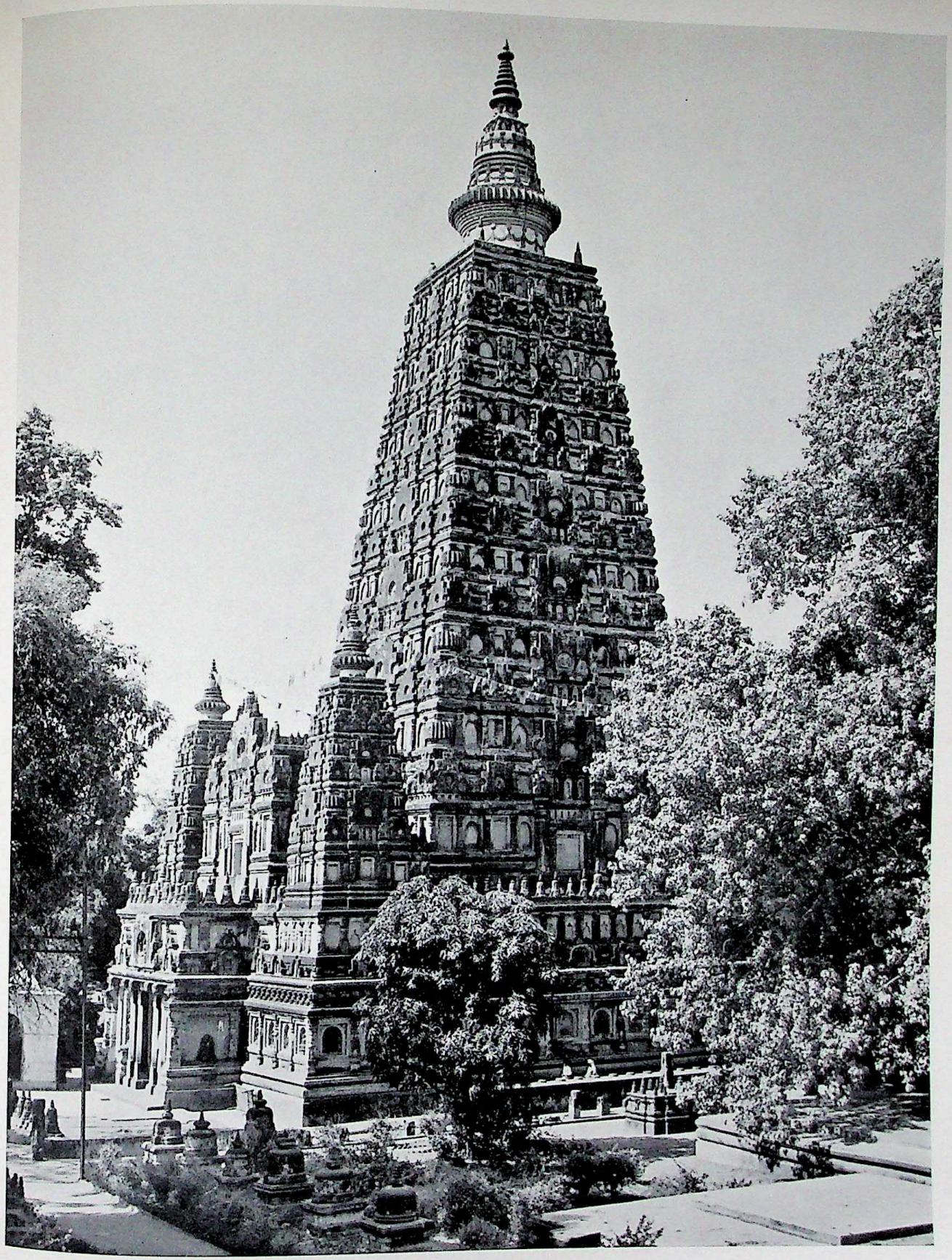

Pl. 133. Bodhgaya, Bihar, the Mahābodhi temple, founded 2d-3d cent., rebuilt in the Gupta period, with restorations up to 19th cent.

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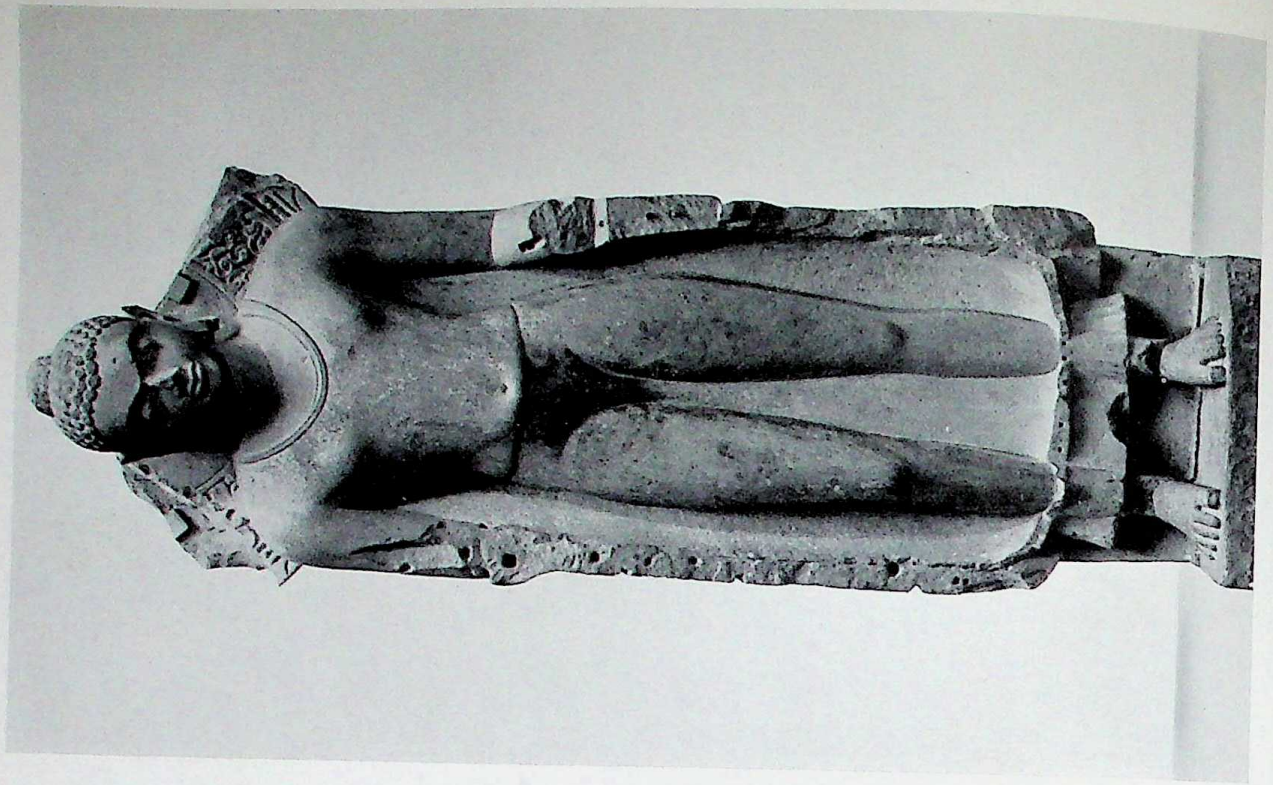

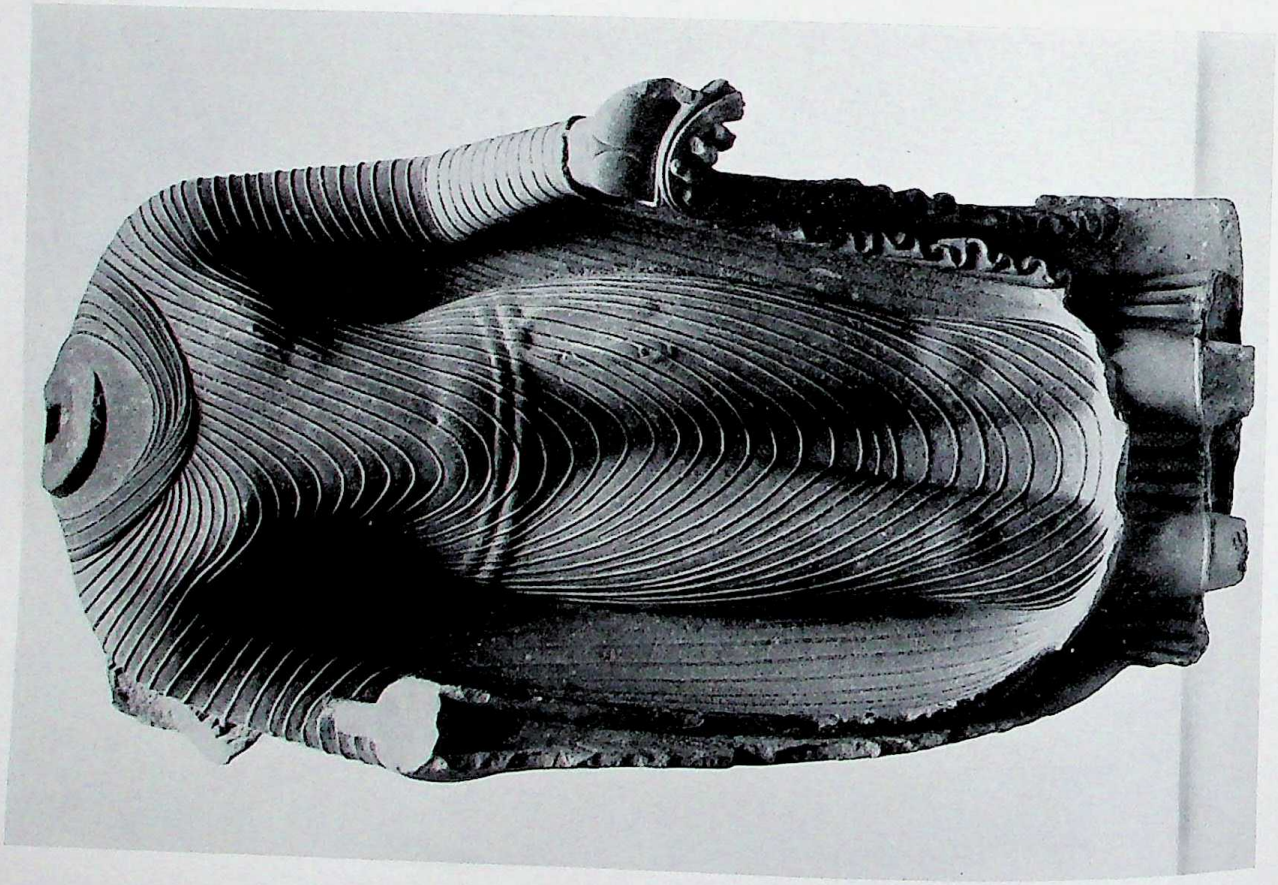

Pl. 134. *Left*: Standing Buddha, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 5th cent. Red sandstone, ht., 43¾ in. Mathura (Muttra), Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Standing Buddha, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 5th cent. Sandstone, ht., 4 ft., 9⅞ in. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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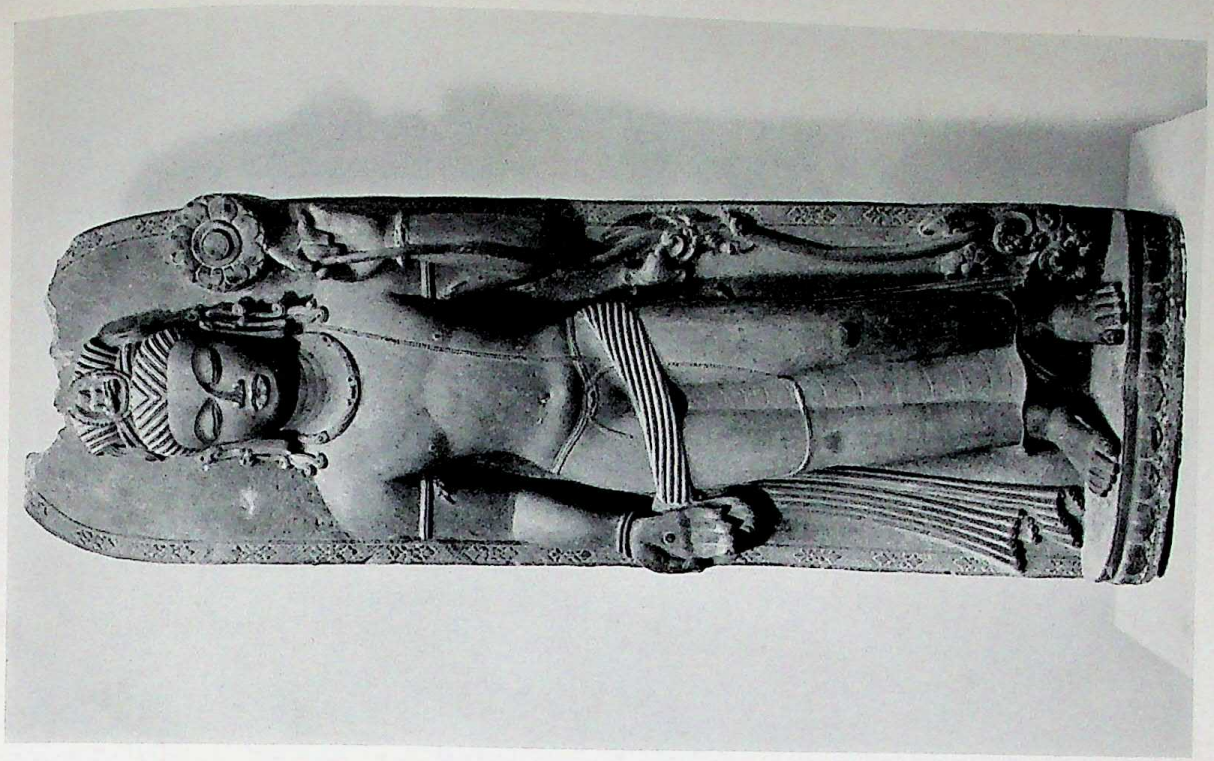

Pl. 135. *Left:* Fragment of a frieze, with lion and two warriors, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 5th cent. Pink sandstone, ht., 35 7/8 in. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum. *Right:* The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, from Nalanda, Bihar, ca. 5th–6th cent. Sandstone, ht., 4 ft., 8 3/4 in. New Delhi, National Museum of India.

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Pl. 136. Śiva and Pārvati, from Aihole, Mysore, 5th-6th cent. Stone. Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum.

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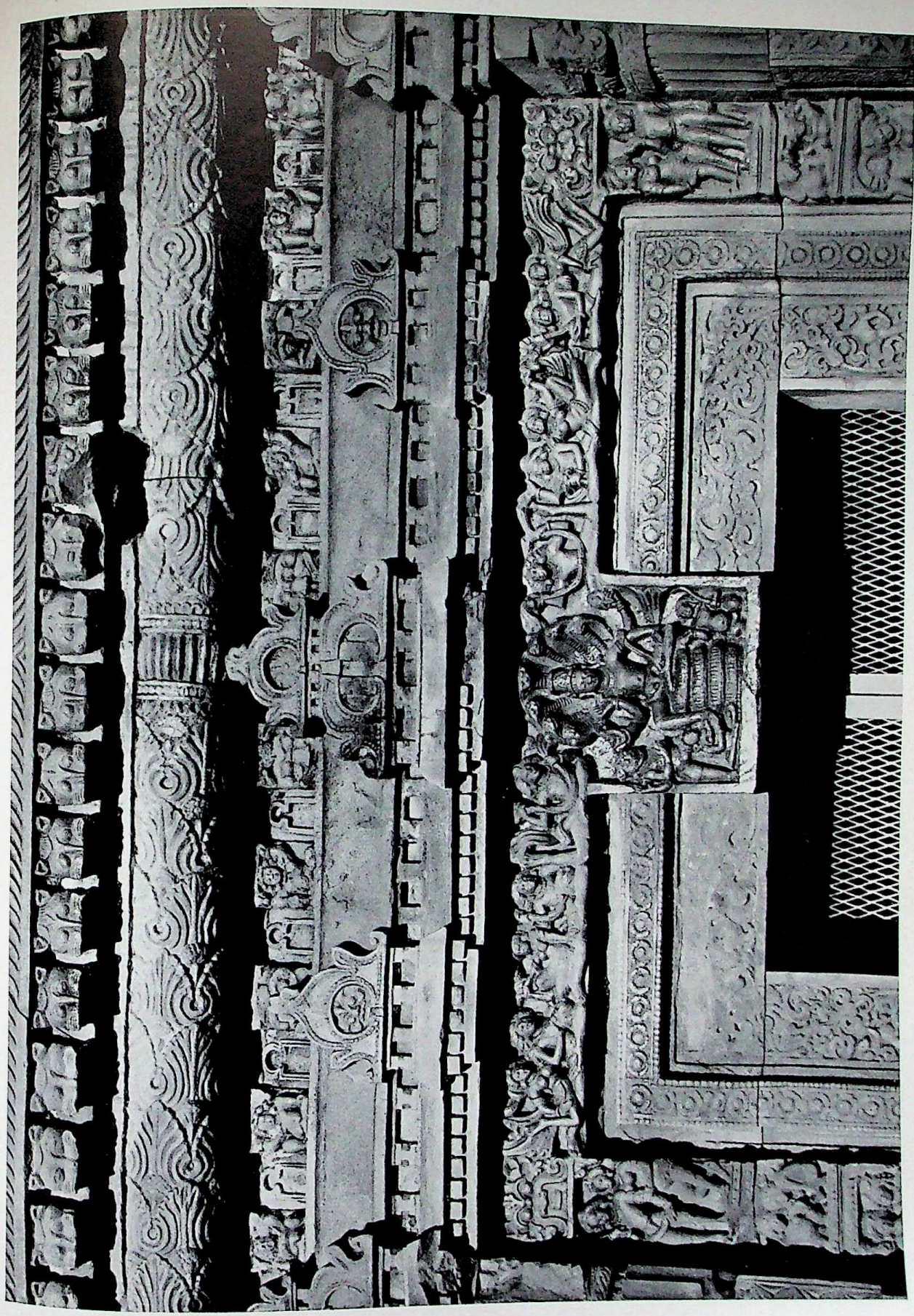

Pl. 137. Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh, temple of Viṣṇu Daśāvatāra, detail of portal, ca. 5th–6th cent.

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Pl. 138. Head of Buddha, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 5th cent. Stone. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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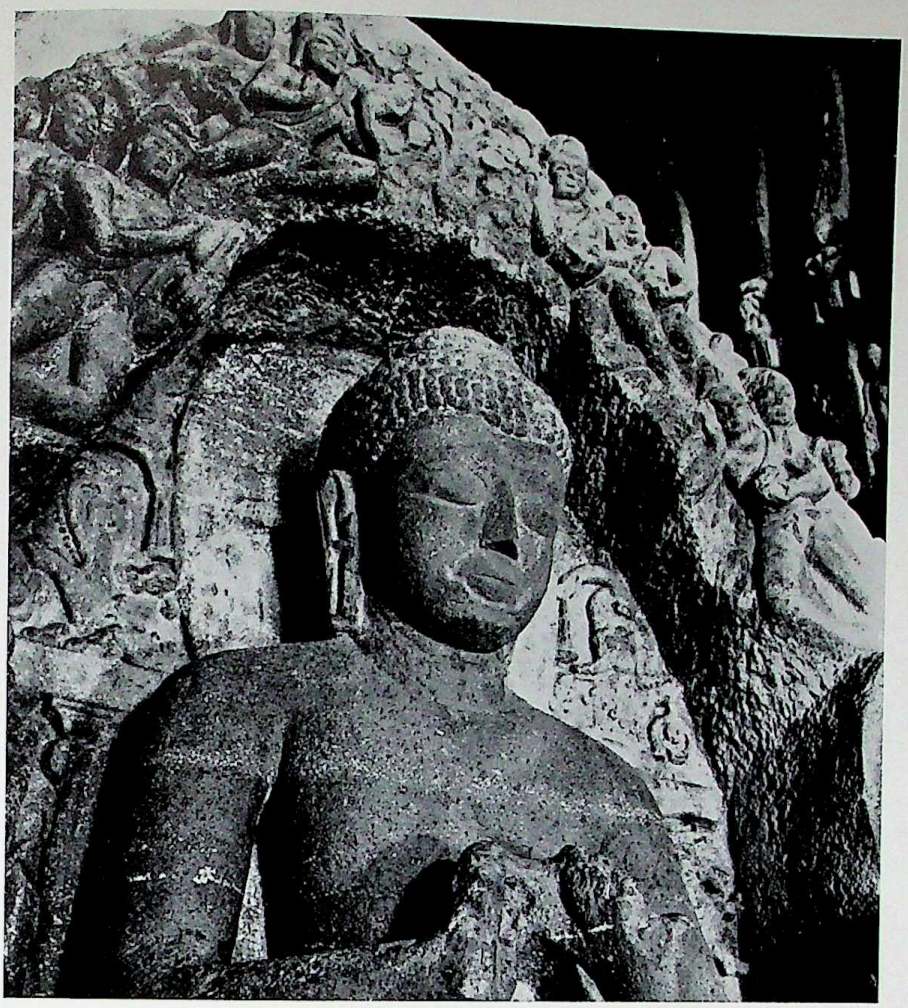

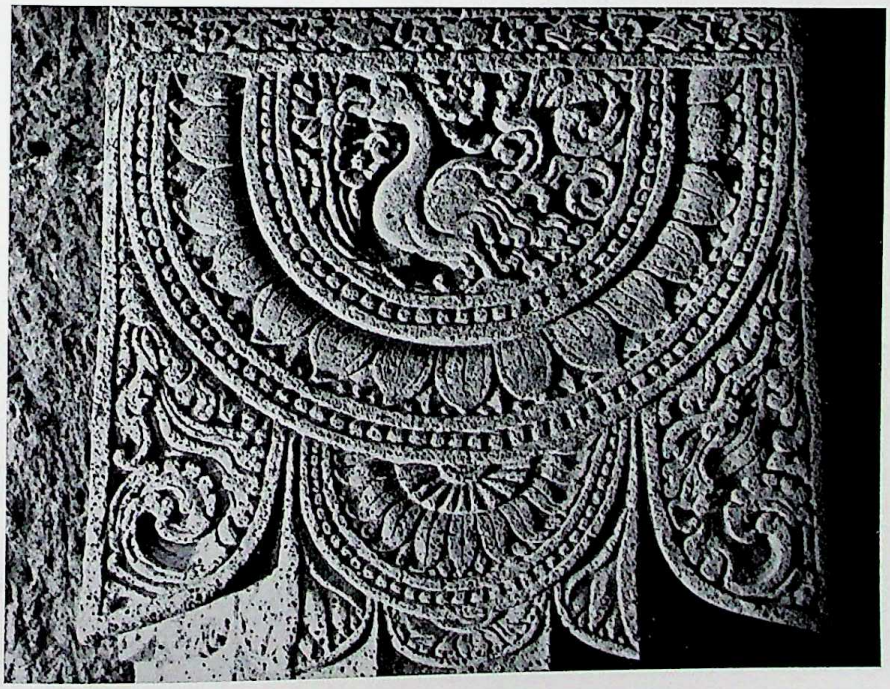

Pl. 139. Ajanta, Bombay. *Above*: Detail of the great Buddha, Cave XXVI, 6th cent. *Below*: Detail of the decoration, Cave XXIII, 5th cent.

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Pl. 140. *Above*: Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, Temple XVII, ca. 5th cent. *Below*: Ajanta, Bombay, Cave XIX, detail of the façade, ca. 6th cent.

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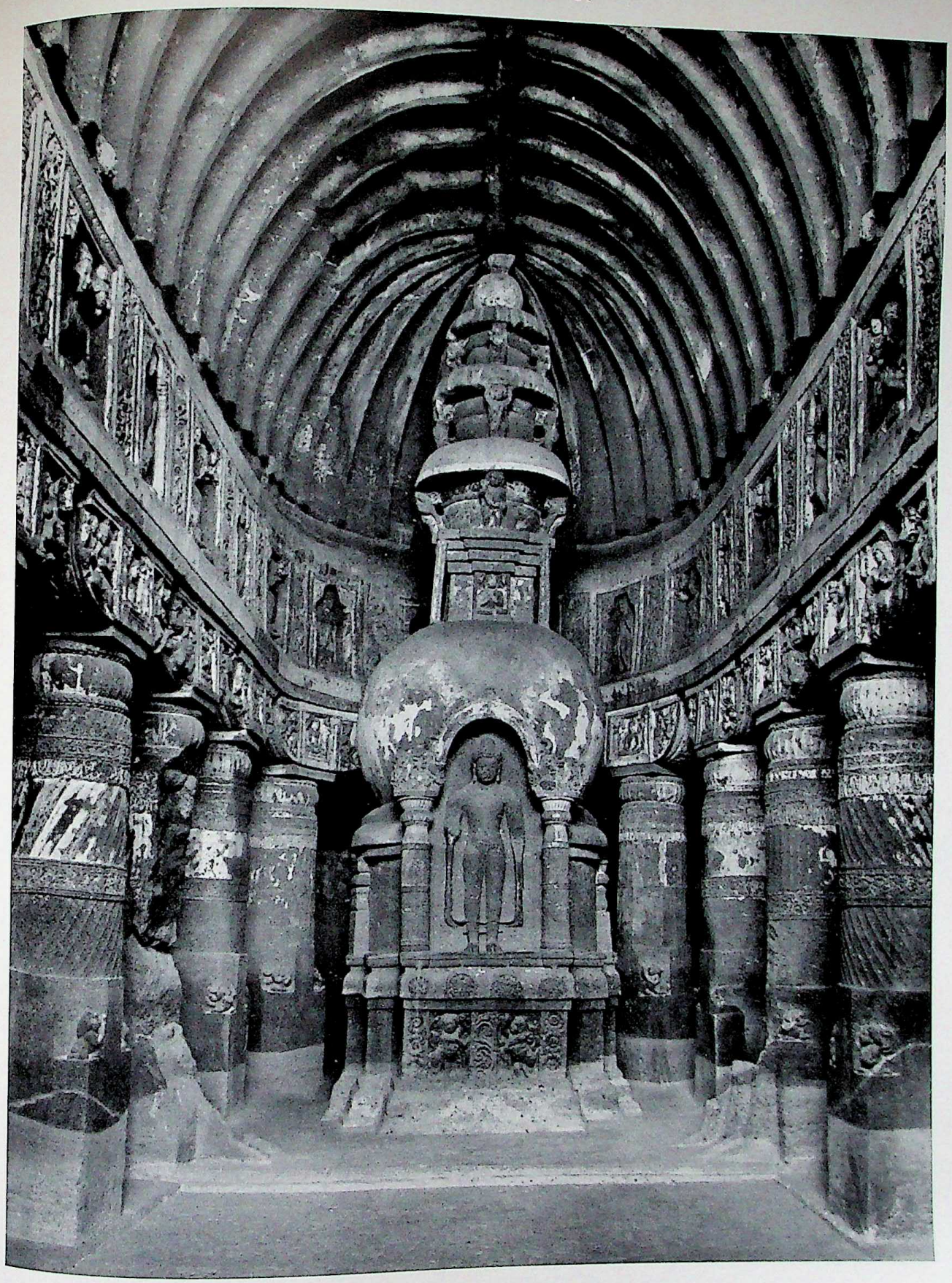

Pl. 141. Ajanta, Bombay, Cave XIX, interior of the chaitya hall, ca. 6th cent.

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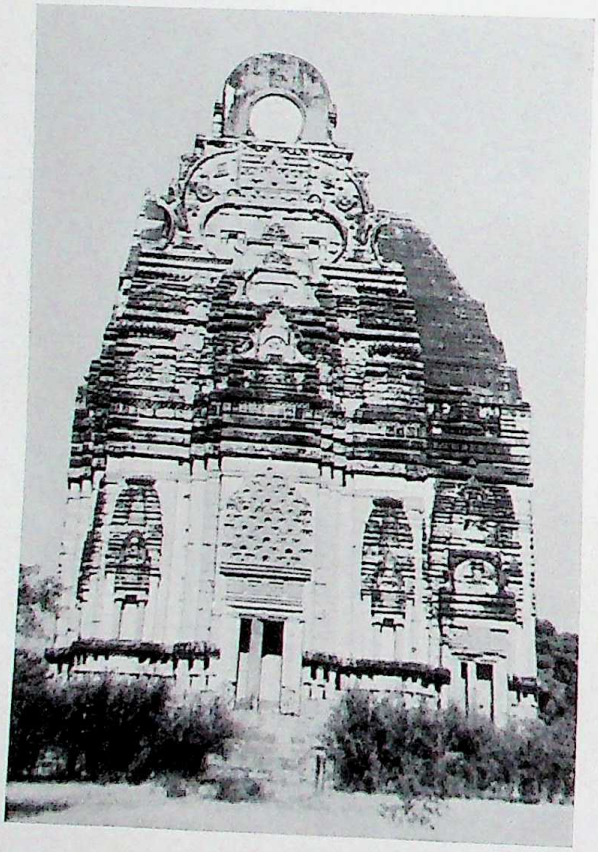

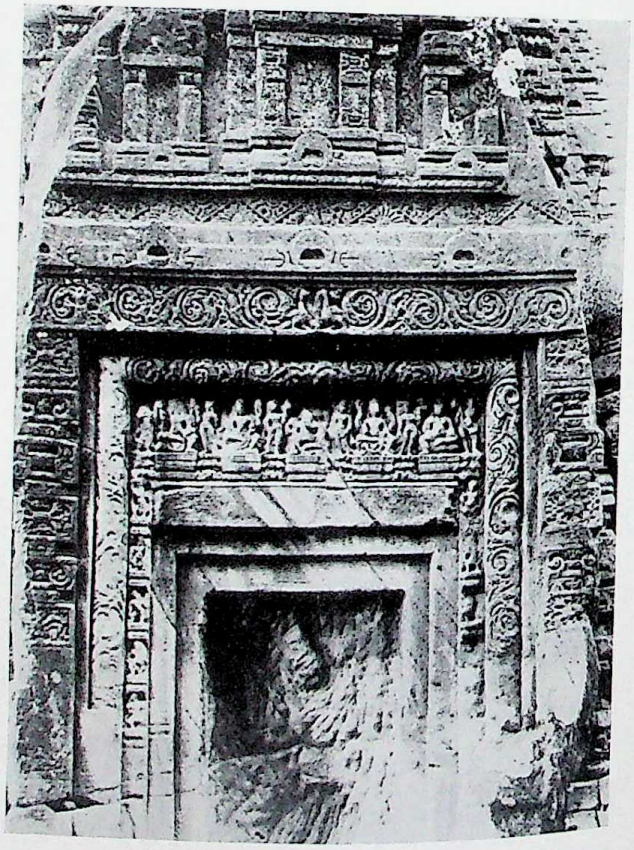

Pl. 142. *Above, left*: Jagesvar, Uttar Pradesh, Navadurgā temple, 5th–6th cent. *Right*: Bajaura, Himachal Pradesh, Śiva temple, 7th–8th cent. *Below, left*: Fort of Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, temple of Yaśovarman, ca. mid-8th cent. *Right*: Masrur, Himachal Pradesh, rock-cut temple, detail, 7th–8th cent.

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Pl. 143. The Merry Toper. Canvas, 31 7/8 × 26 1/4 in. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

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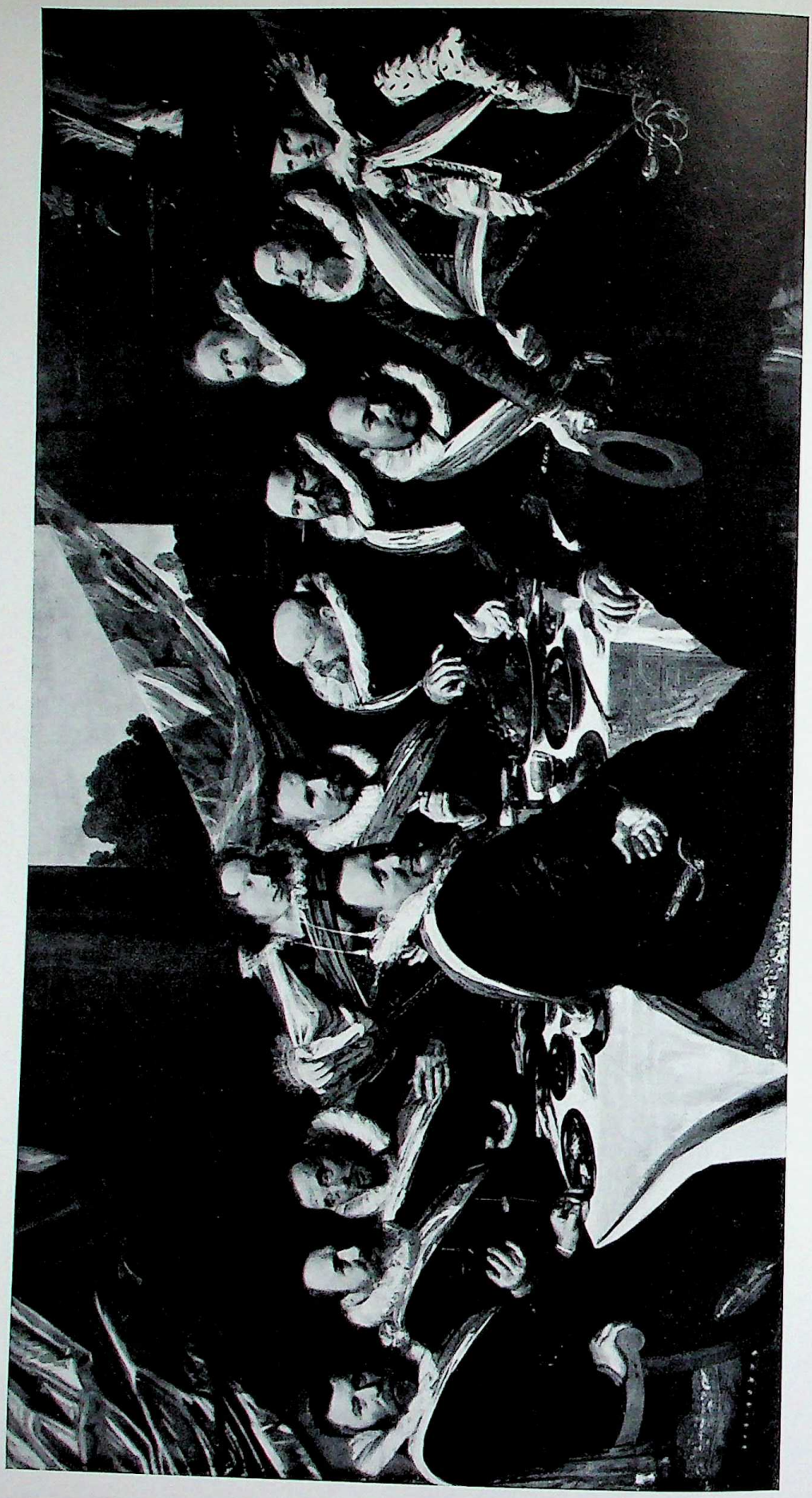

Pl 144. Banquet of the Officers of the Guild of Archers of St. George. Canvas, 5 ft., 8 7/8 in. × 10 ft., 7 1/2 in. Haarlem, *Frans-Hals-Museum.*

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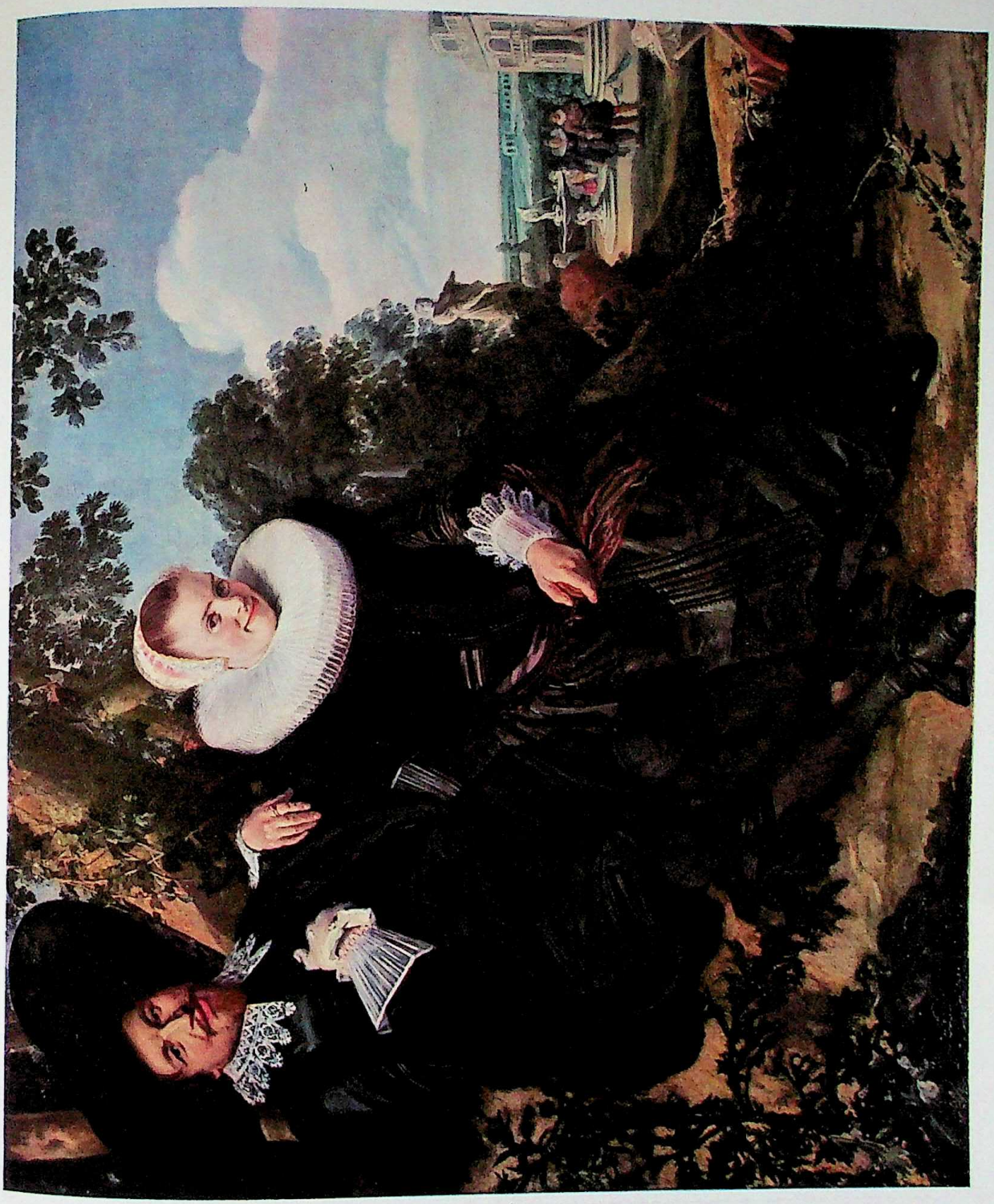

Pl. 145. Portrait of a married couple. Canvas, 4 ft., 7 1/8 in. × 5 ft., 5 5/8 in. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

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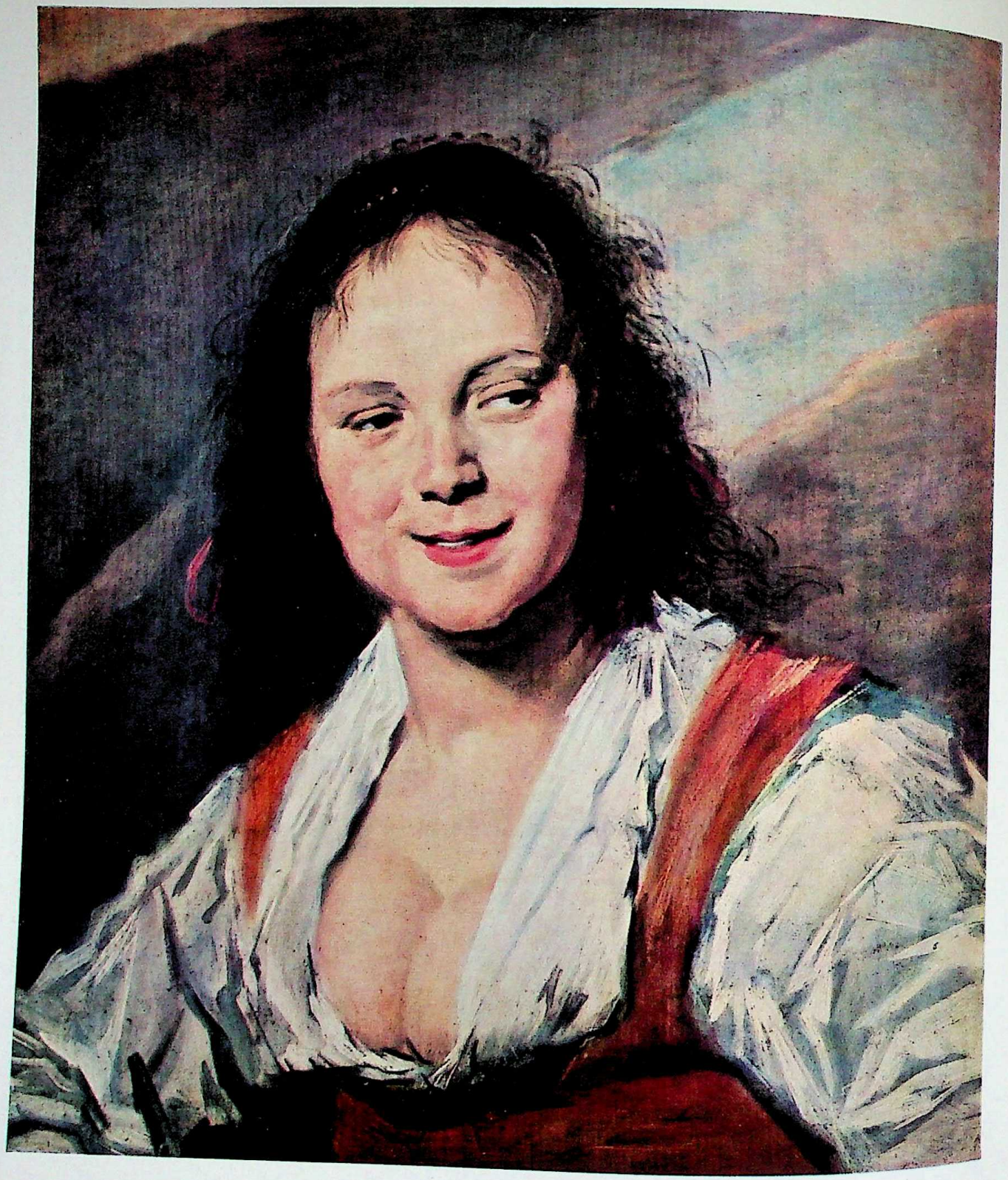

Pl. 146. The Bohemian Girl. Canvas, 22 7/8 × 20 1/2 in. Paris, Louvre.

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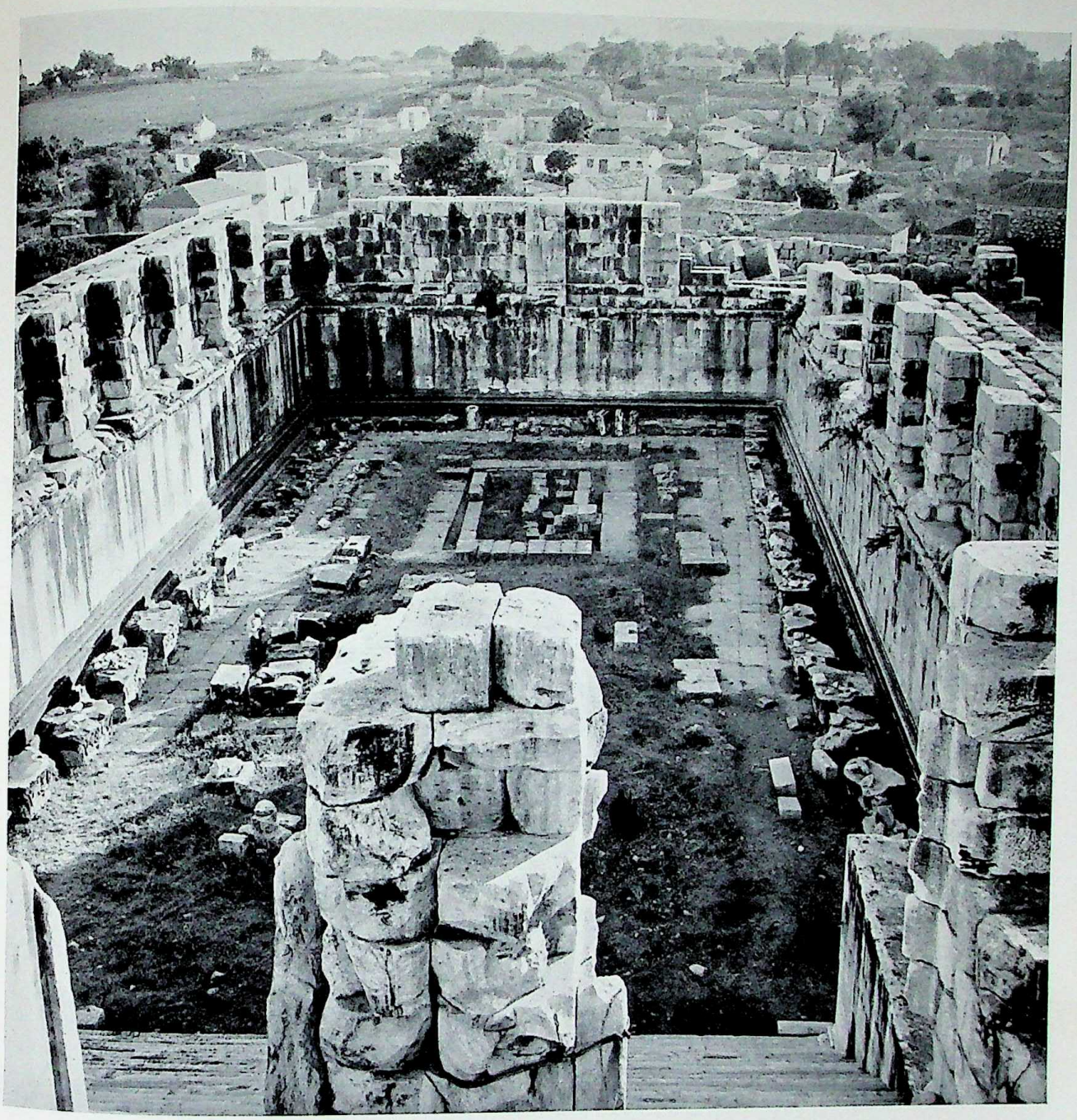

Pl. 147. Didyma, near Miletos, Temple of Apollo, begun last quarter of 4th cent. B.C.

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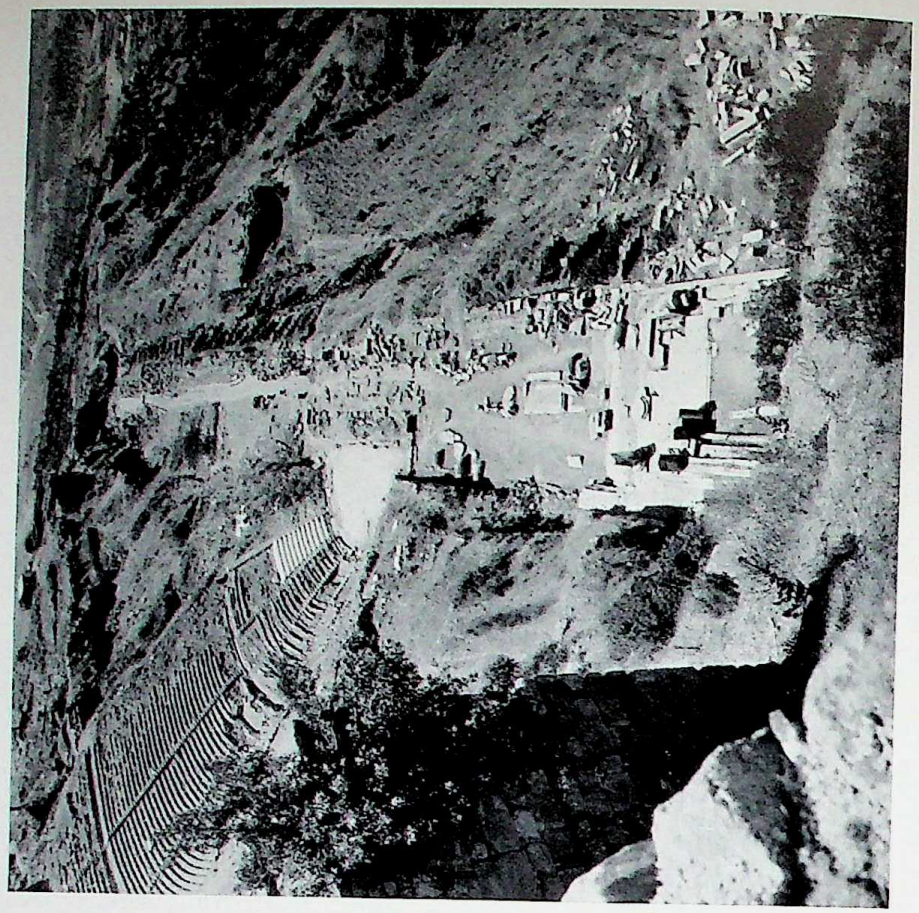

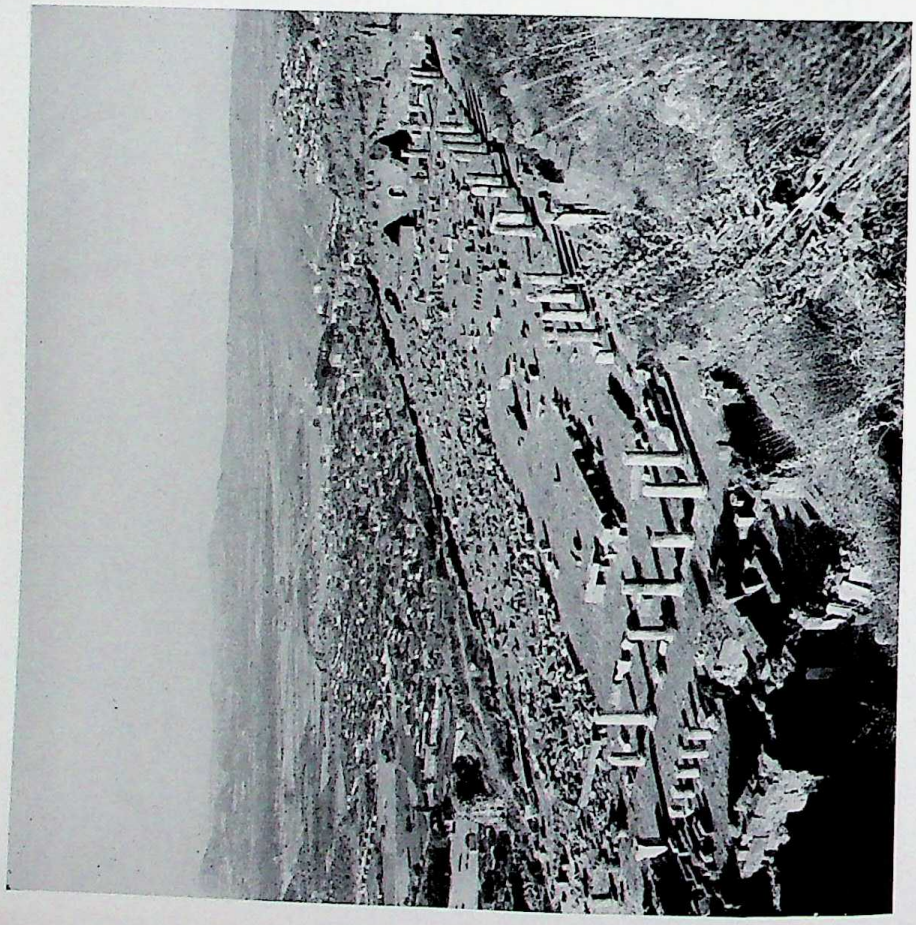

Pl. 148. Pergamon. *Left*: Lower market. *Right*: Theater and terrace beneath it, 2d cent. B. C.

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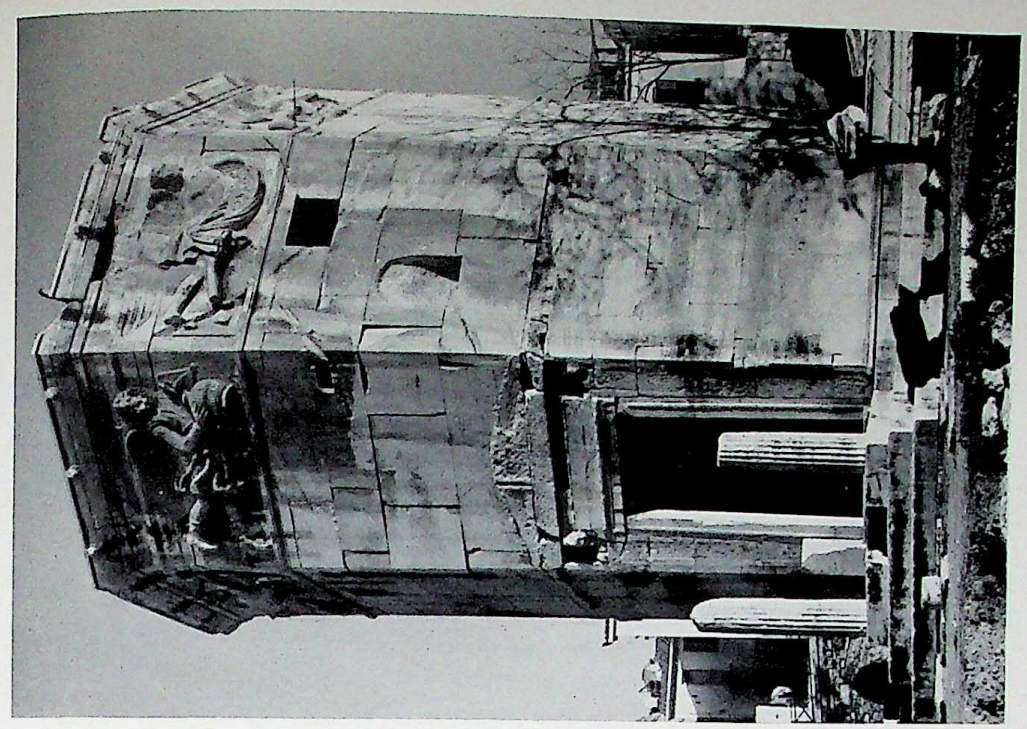

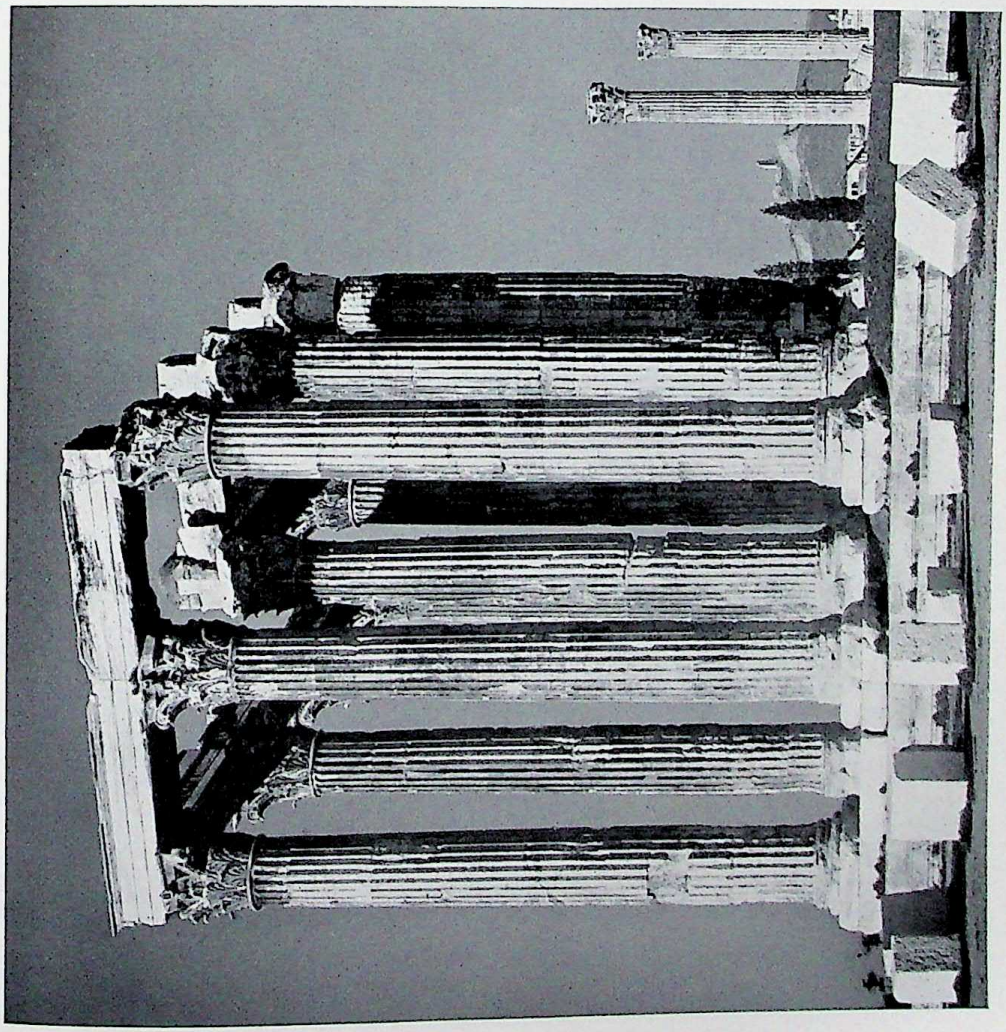

Pl. 149. Athens. *Left:* Temple of Zeus Olympeios from the east, first half of 2d cent. B. C., with additions of the Roman imperial era. *Right:* Andronicus Cyrrhestes, "Tower of the Winds," at southeast corner of Roman market, ca. mid-1st cent. B. C.

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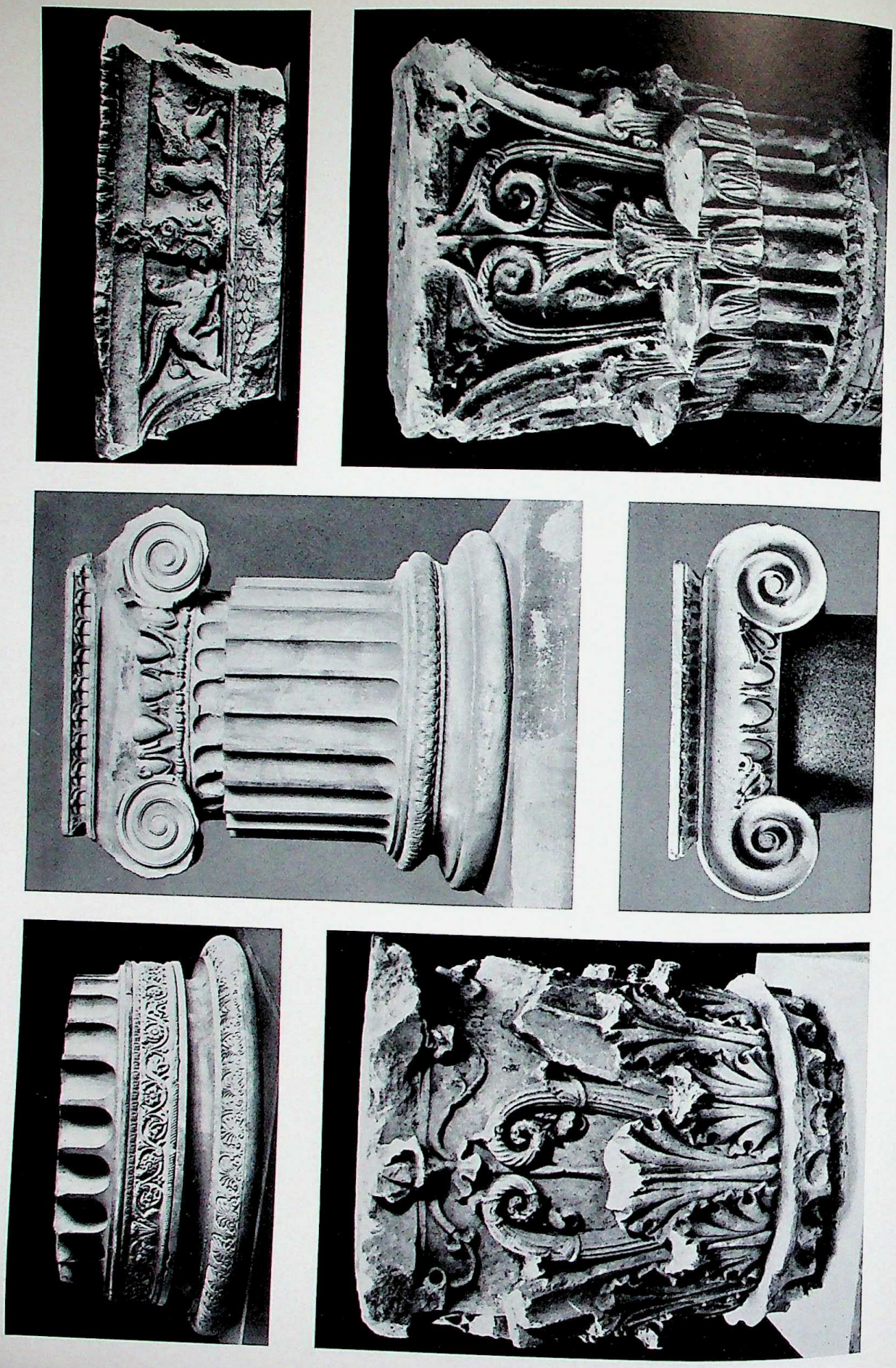

Pl. 150. *Above, left and right*: Column base and anta capital (plaster cast), from the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, Paris, Louvre. *Center*: Capital and column base, from the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. *Below, left*: Corinthian capital, from the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Hermoupolis. *Center*: Ionic capital, from Alexandria. *Right*: Composite capital, from Alexandria. Last three, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.

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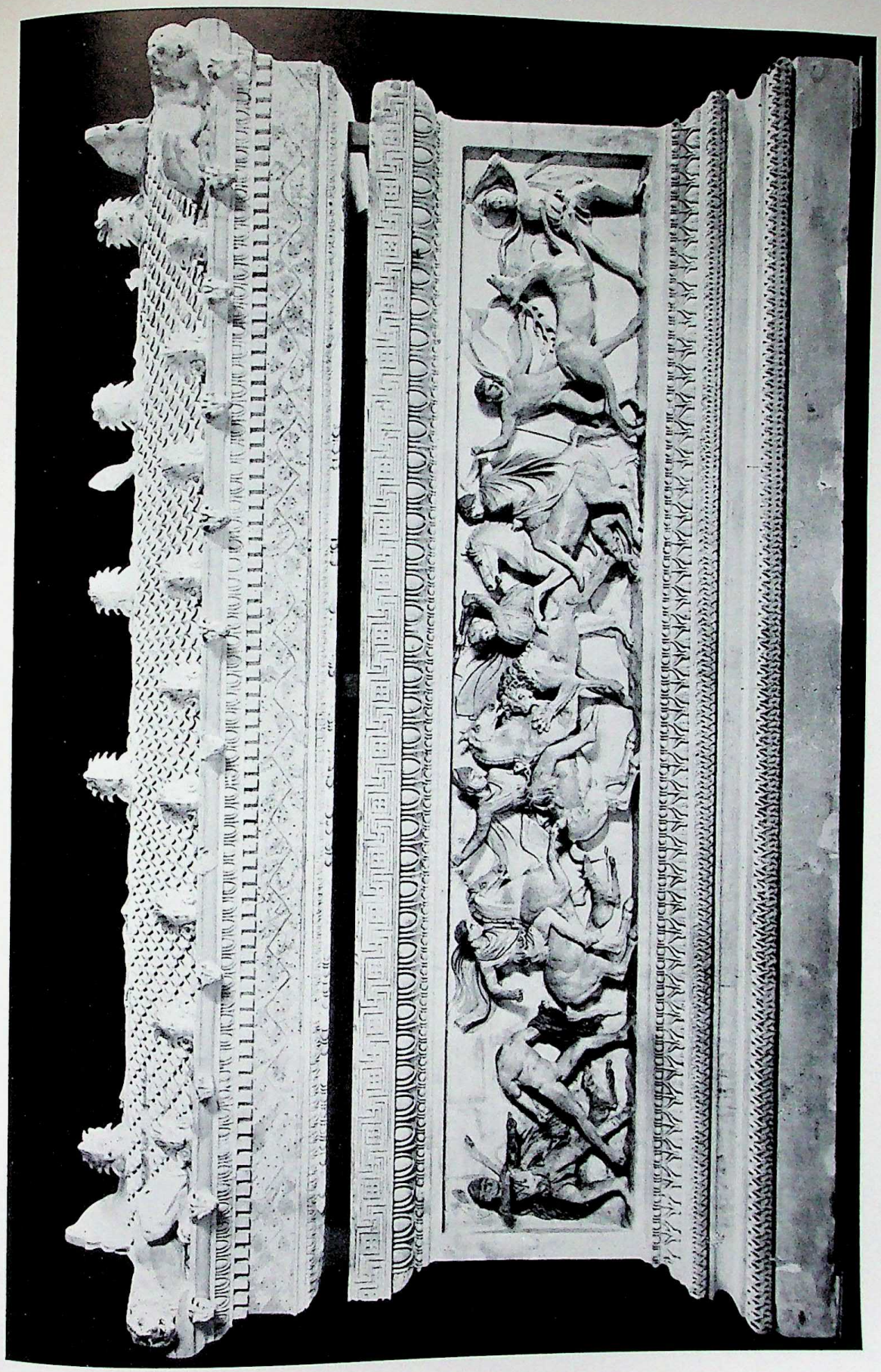

Pl. 151. So-called "Alexander Sarcophagus," from Sidon, 325–310 B.C. Painted marble, ht., 6 ft., 4¼ in., L., 10 ft., 5¼ in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 152. Alexander on horseback, detail of PL. 151.

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Pl. 153. Portrait of Alexander, from Pergamon, first half of 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 16 1/8 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

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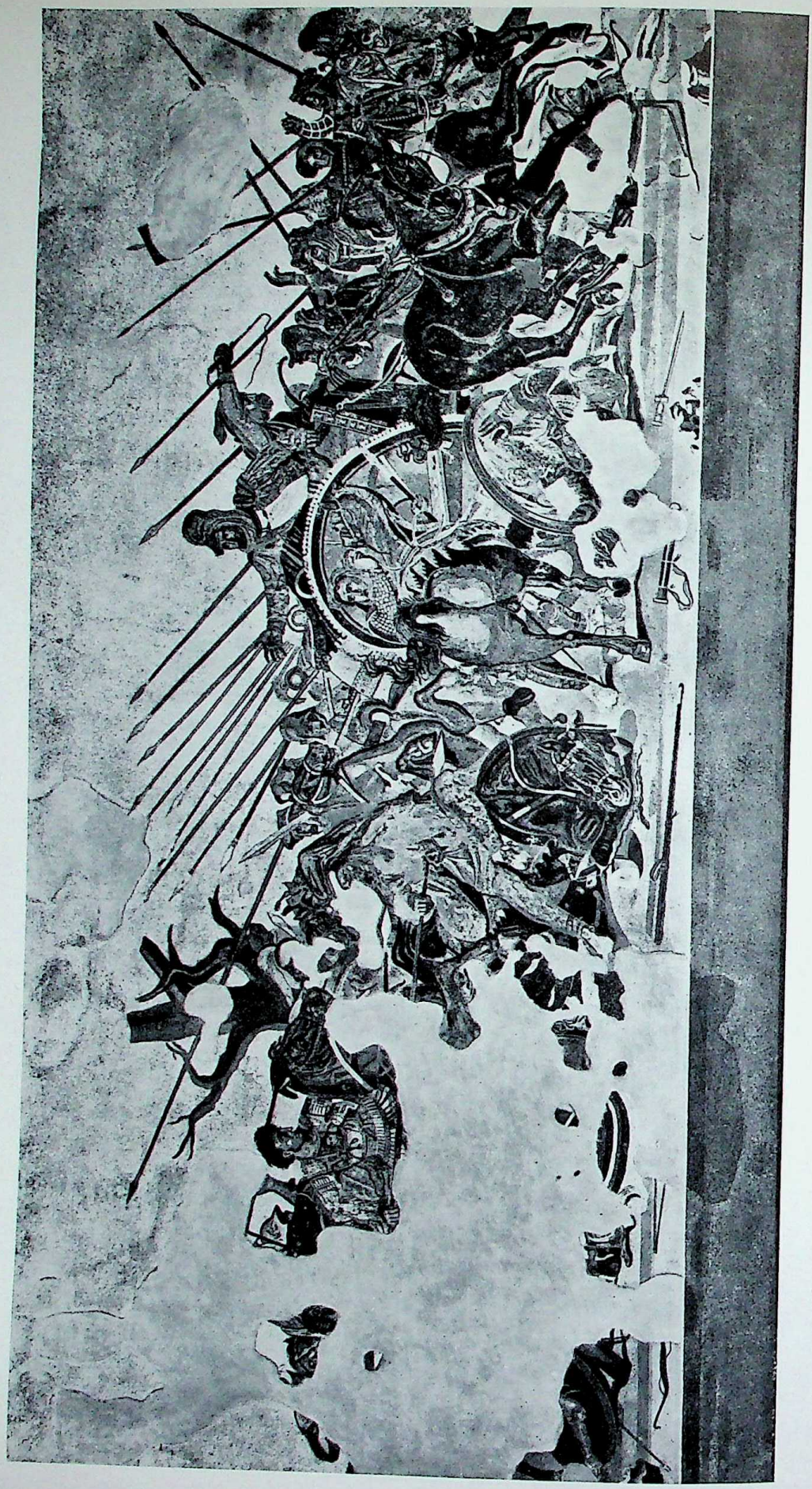

Pl. 154. The Battle of Alexander, from the House of the Faun, Pompeii, 3d–2d cent. B.C., after an original painting of the late 4th–early 3d cent. B.C. Mosaic, 8 ft., 10¼ in. × 16 ft., 9⅝ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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PL. 155. Detail of PL. 154.

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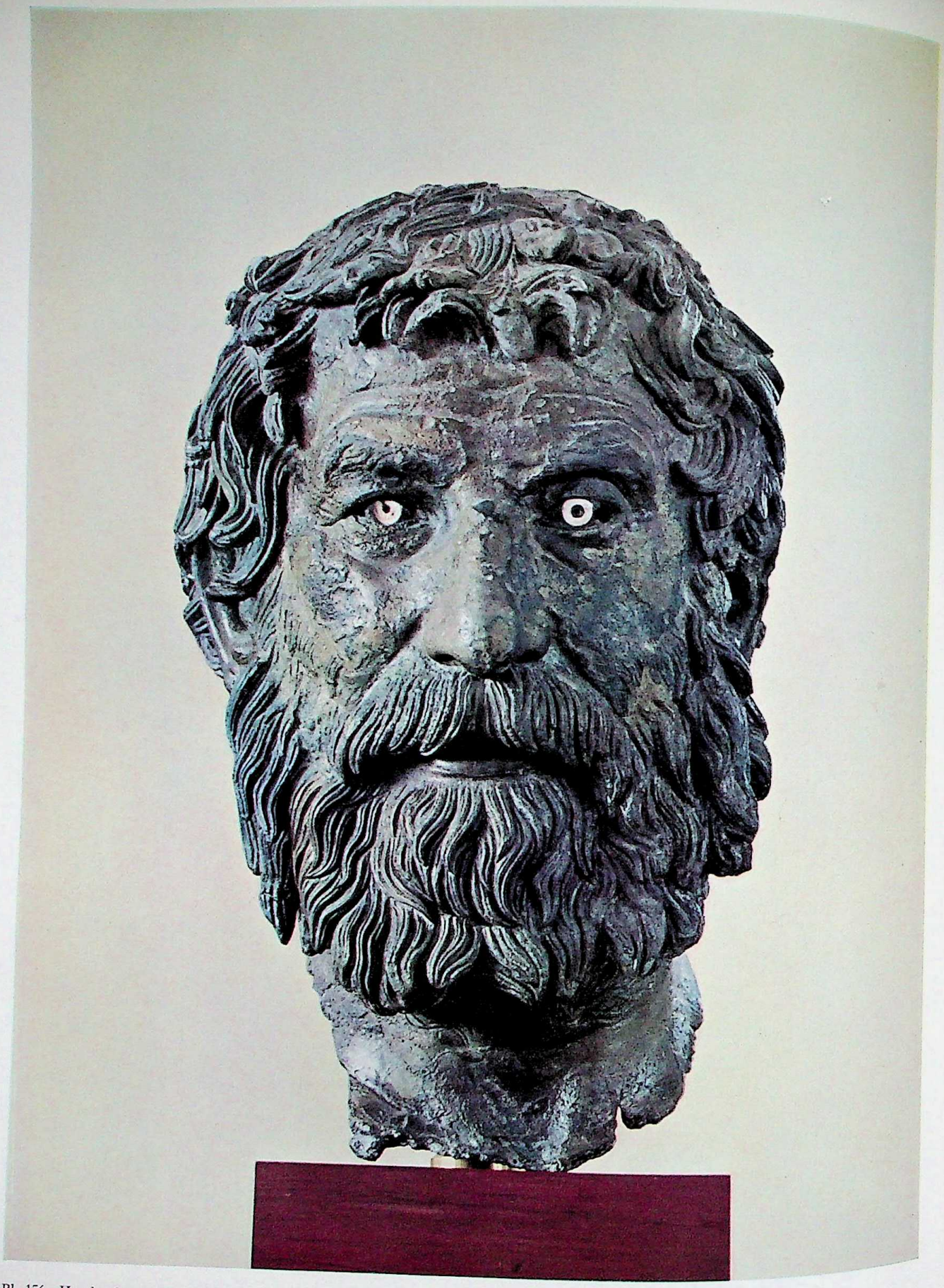

Pl. 156. Head of a philosopher (?), found in the sea at Antikythera, late 3d–early 2d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 11 3/8 in. Athens, National Museum.

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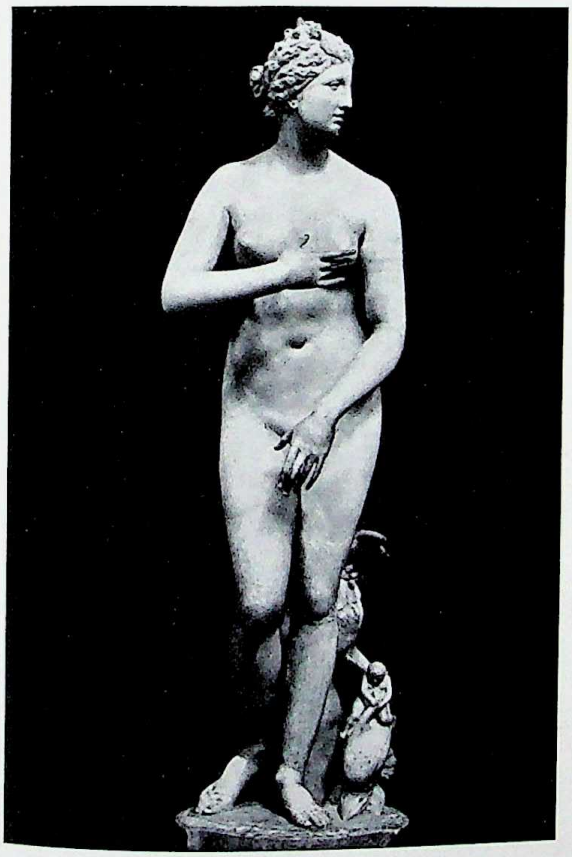

Pl. 157. Roman copies of Greek statues. Marble. *Above, left*: Eutychides, "Tyche of Antioch"; original, ca. 300 B.C. Ht., 43¹/₄ in. Rome, Museo del 37³/₄ in. Rome, Vatican Museums. *Right*: Seated girl; original, early 3d cent. B.C. Ht., 5 ft., ¹/₄ in. Florence, Palazzo dei Conservatori. *Below, left*: The Medici Aphrodite; original, early 3d cent. B.C. Ht., 32¹/₄ in. Rome, Uffizi. *Right*: Doidalsas of Bithynia, Crouching Aphrodite; original, ca. mid-3d cent. B.C. Ht., Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 158. Detail of Crouching Aphrodite, PL. 157.

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Pl. 159. The "Anzio Girl," first half of 3d cent. B. C. Marble, ht., 5 ft , 6 7/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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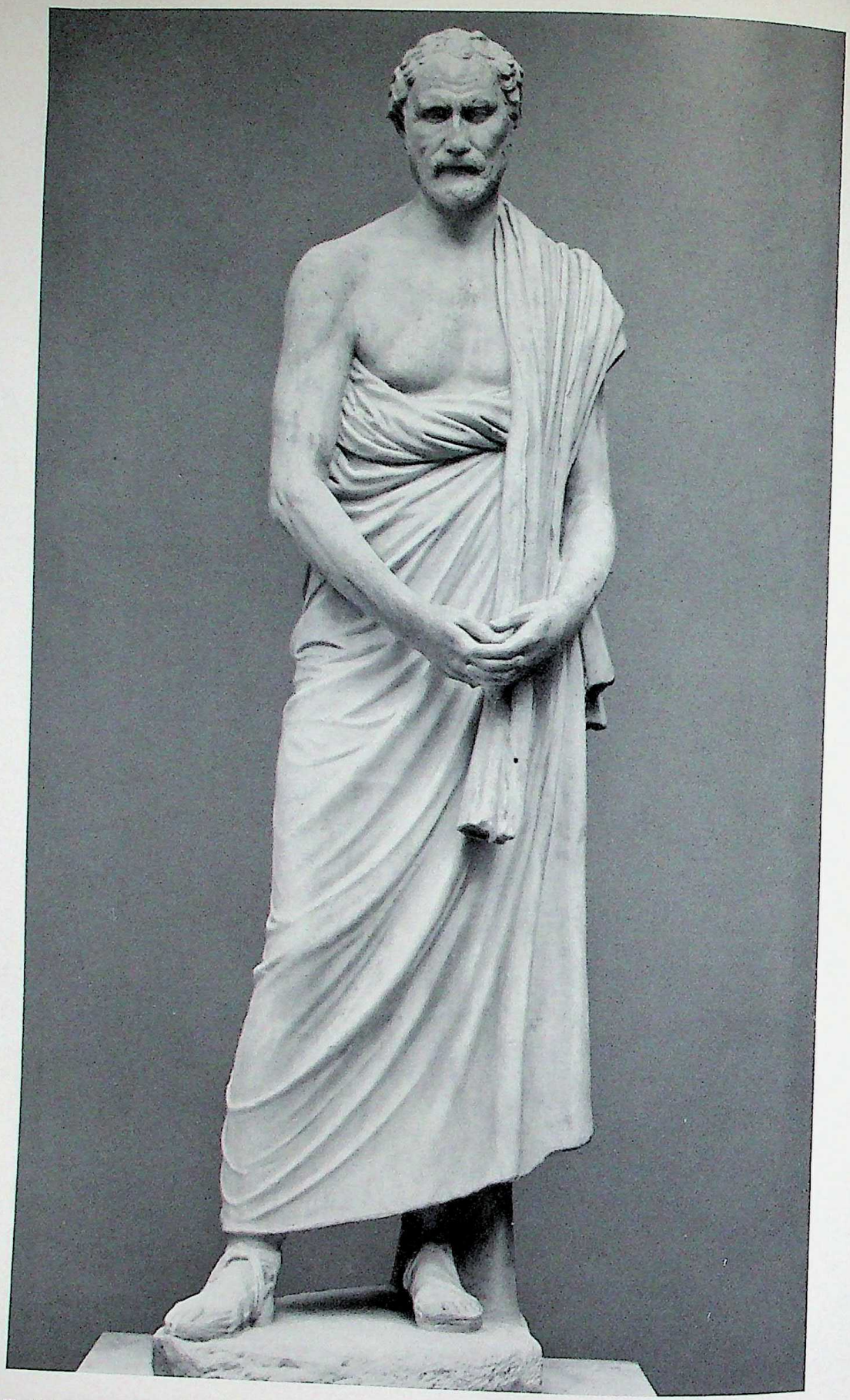

Pl. 160. Polyeuktos, Demosthenes, Roman copy of a bronze original of ca. 280 B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 9½ in. (hands and lower arms restored in plaster). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

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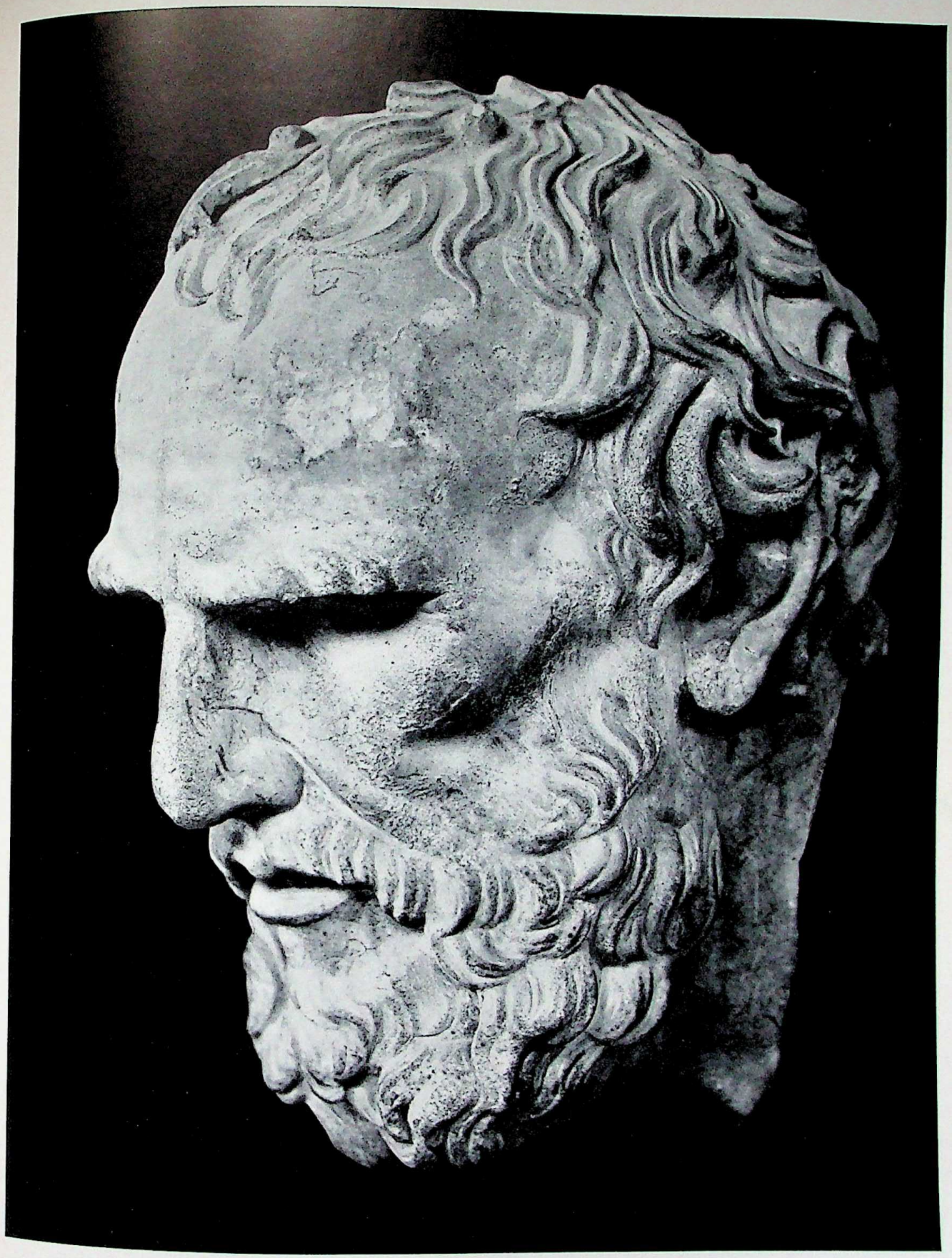

Pl. 161. Head of a philosopher, fragment, early 3d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 9 1/8 in. Rome, Museo Barracco.

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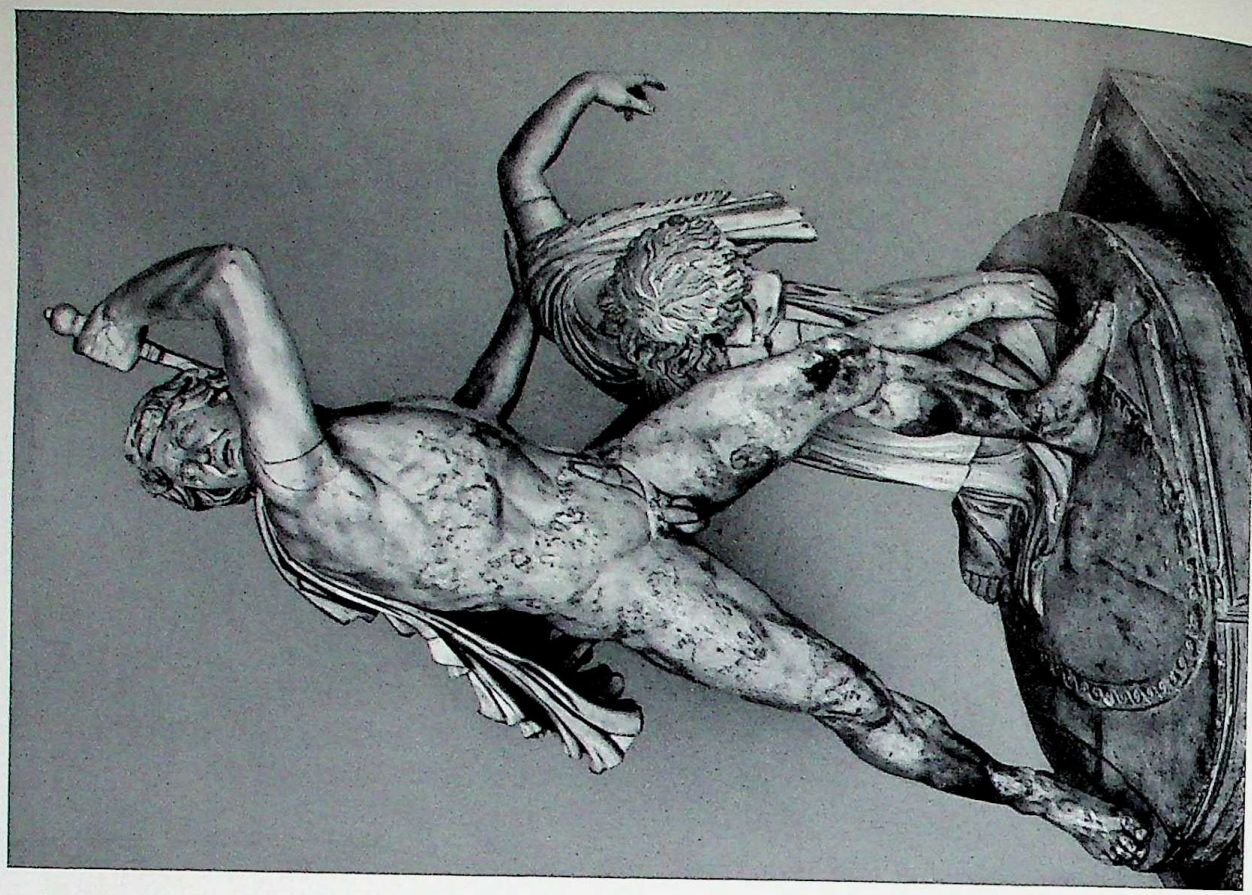

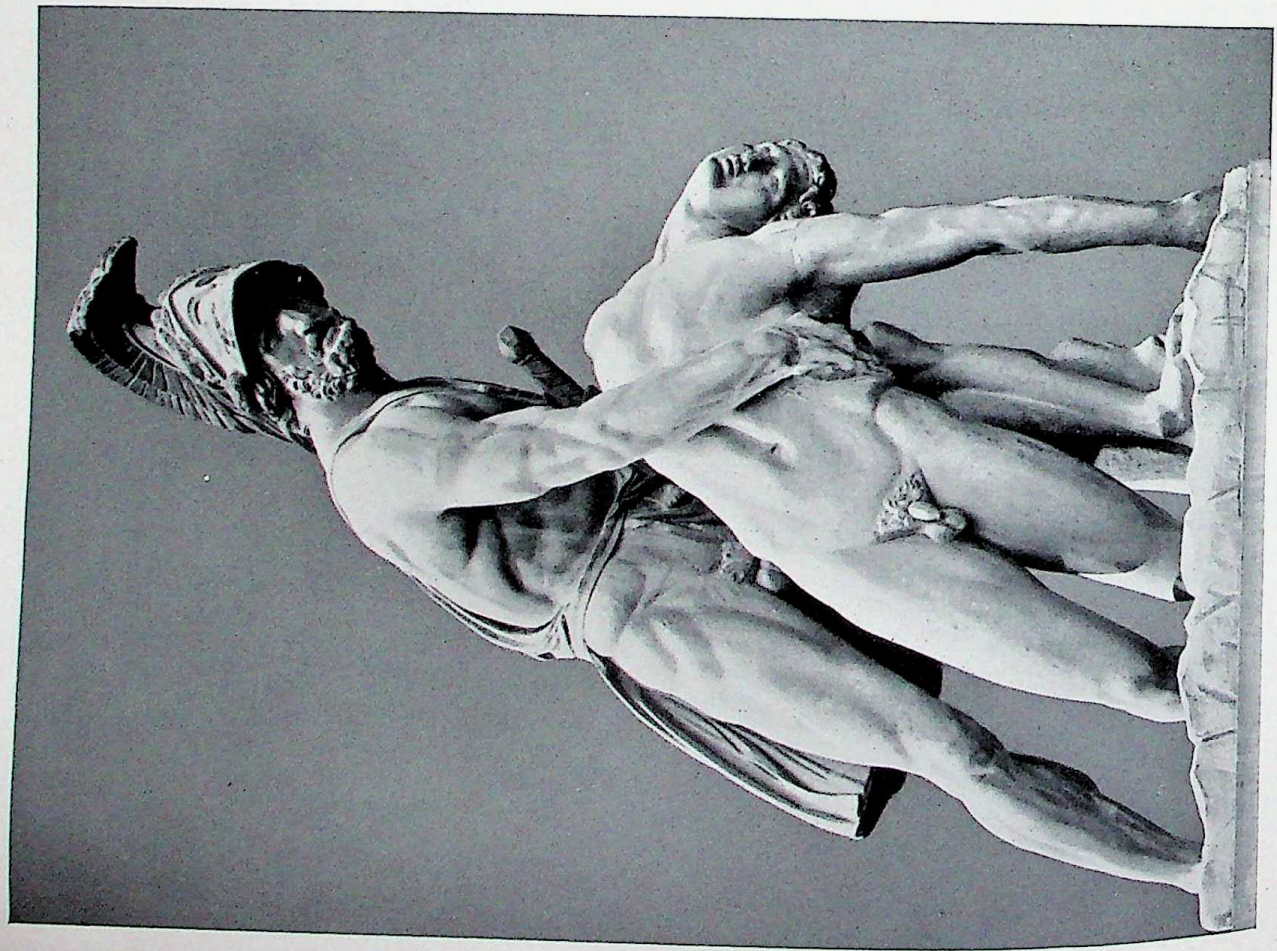

Pl. 162. Roman copies of Greek originals of ca. 230 B.C. Marble. *Left:* Menelaos with the body of Patroclus. Ht., 7 ft., 11¼ in. Florence, Loggia della Signoria. *Right:* The "Ludovisi Gaul." Ht., 6 ft., 11⅛ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 163. *Left:* Detail of the "Ludovisi Gaul," PL. 162. *Right:* The so-called "Gaul of Giza," Fayum (?), late 3d–early 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 15 in. Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

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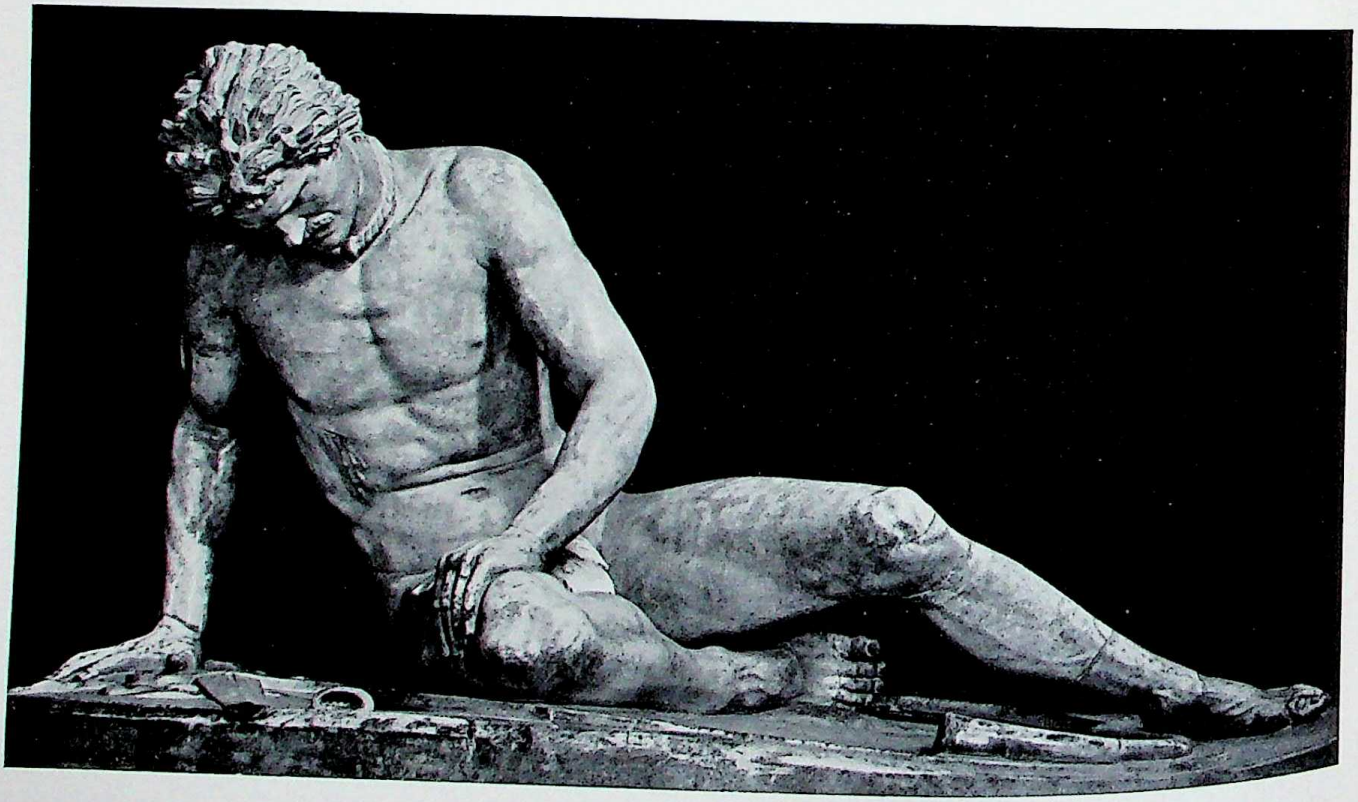

Pl. 164. Roman copies of Greek statues. Marble. *Above*: "The Knife Grinder," ca. mid-3d cent. B.C. Ht., 41 3/8 in. Florence, Uffizi. *Below*: "The Dying Gaul," ca. 230 B.C. Ht., 28 3/4 in. Rome, Capitoline Museum.

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Pl. 165. Portrait head, from Delos, second half of 2d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 12 3/4 in. Athens, National Museum.

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Pl. 166. Dioskourides of Samos, comedy scene, from Pompeii, late 2d cent. B.C., after an original painting of the first half of 3d cent. B.C. Mosaic, 17 3/8 × 16 1/2 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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Pl. 167. Detail of "The Knife Grinder," PL. 164.

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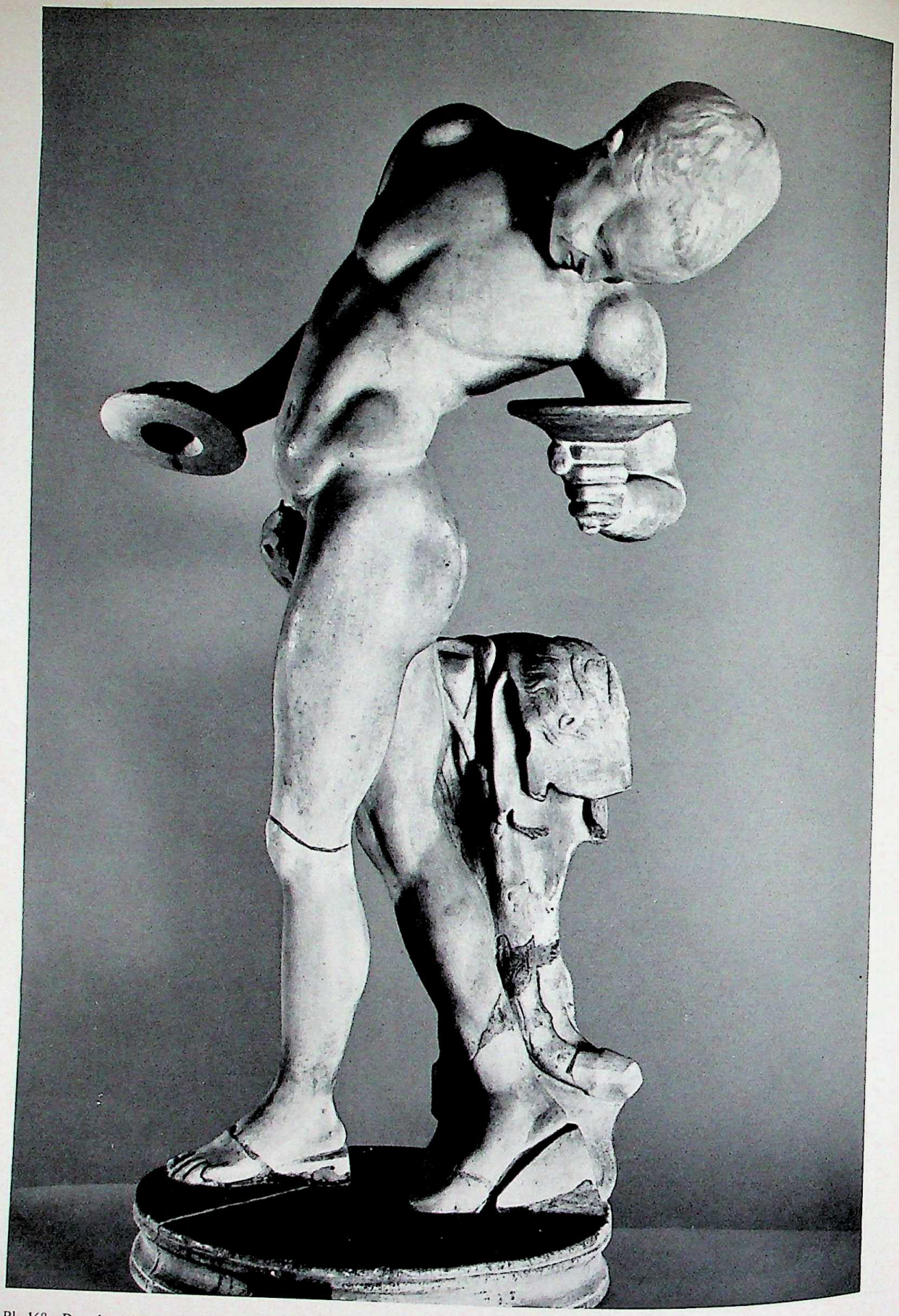

Pl. 168. Dancing satyr, Roman copy of a Greek original of the first half of 3d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 20 7/8 in. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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Pl. 169. The "Barberini Faun," Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. mid-3d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 7 ft., 5/8 in. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

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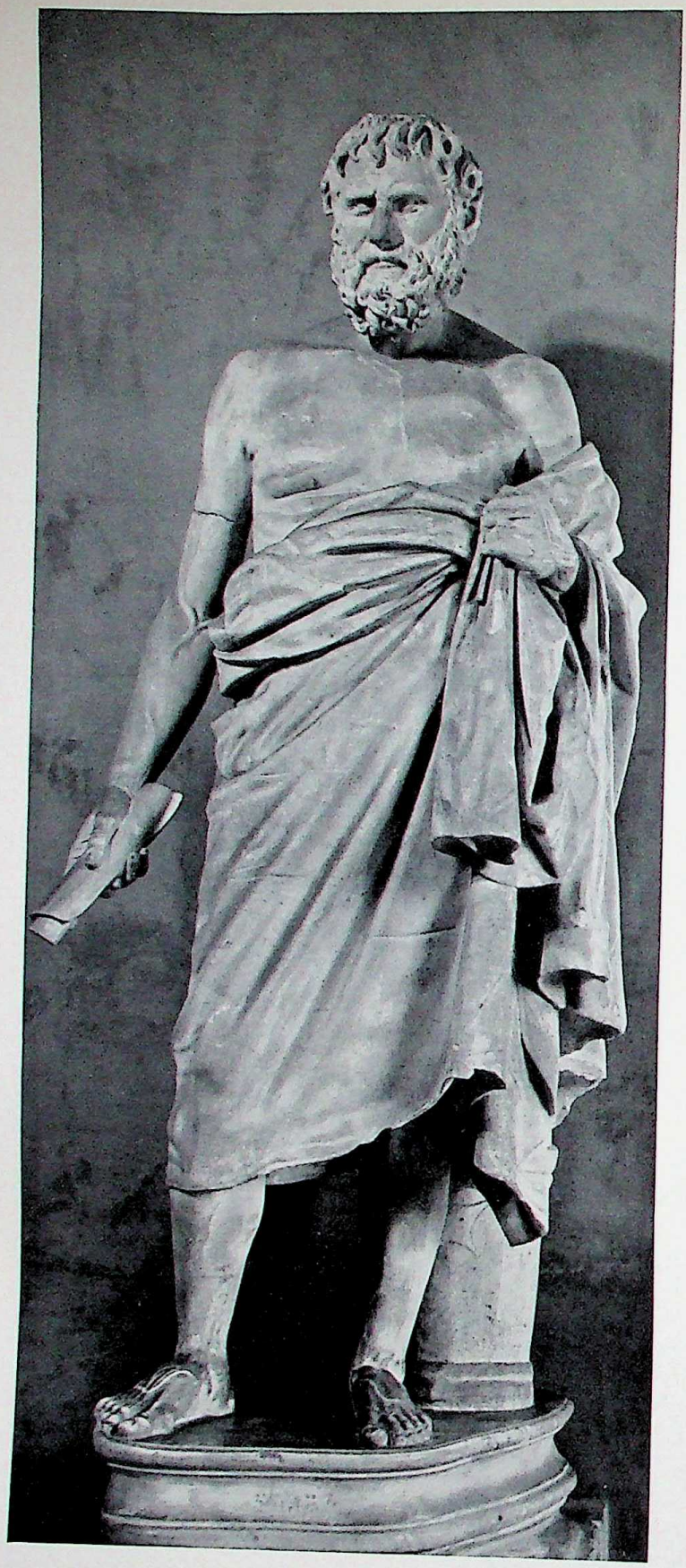

Pl. 170. Roman copies of Greek statues. *Left*: So-called "Zeno"; original, early 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 7 3/8 in. Rome, Capitoline Museum. *Right, above*: Head of a philosopher or poet, called the "pseudo-Seneca," from Herculaneum; original, late 3d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 13 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Chrysippos; original, ca. 200 B.C. Marble, ht., 17 3/4 in. Rome, Capitoline Museum.

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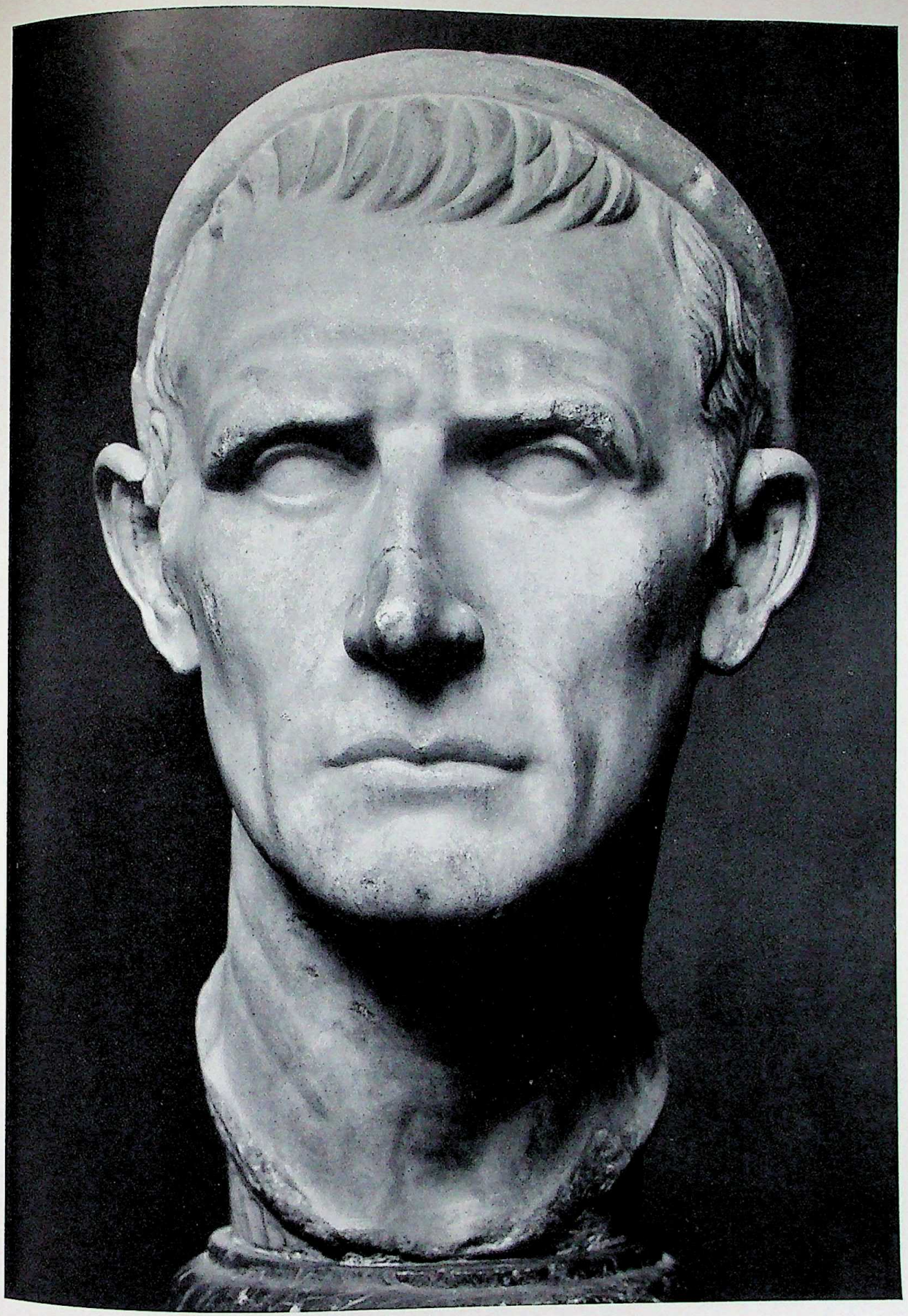

Pl. 171. Antiochos III of Syria, Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 200 B.C. Marble, ht., 13 3/4 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 172. Reconstruction of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 173. The great frieze of the Pergamon altar, details, 190/80–160 B.C. Marble, ht., 7 ft., 6½ in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Above*: Alkyoneos, Athena, Ge, and Nike, from the eastern frieze. *Below, left*: Nyx, the personification of Night, from the northern frieze. *Right*: Giants, from the eastern frieze.

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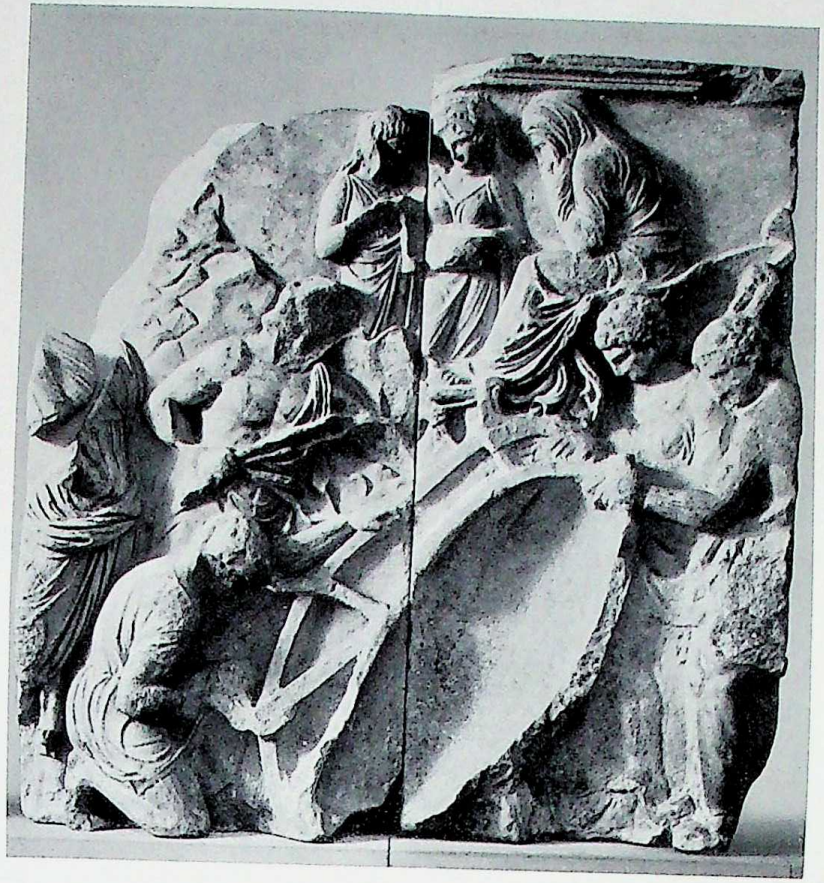

Pl. 174. *Left and center*: The small frieze of the Pergamon altar, details with scenes from the myth of Telephos, ca. 165–150 B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 2¼ in. *Right*: "Tragedy," from Pergamon, first half of 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 10⅞ in. All, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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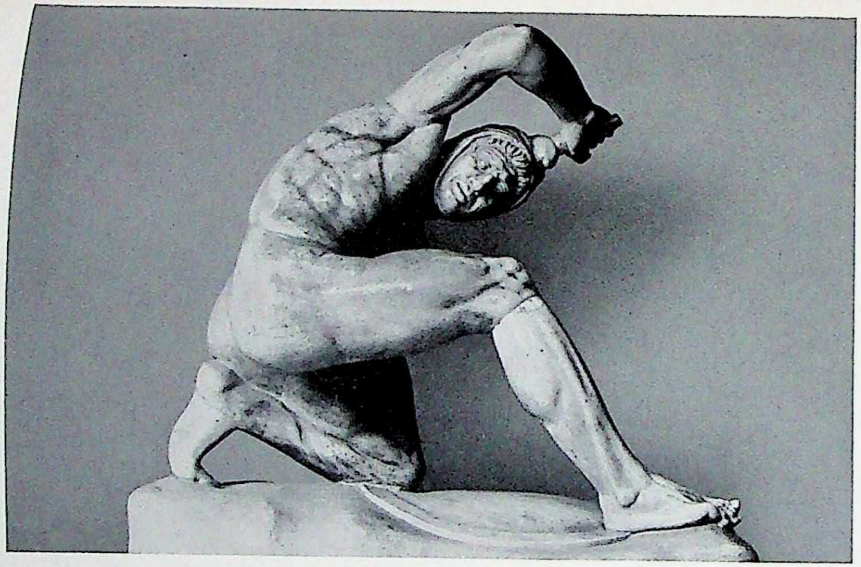

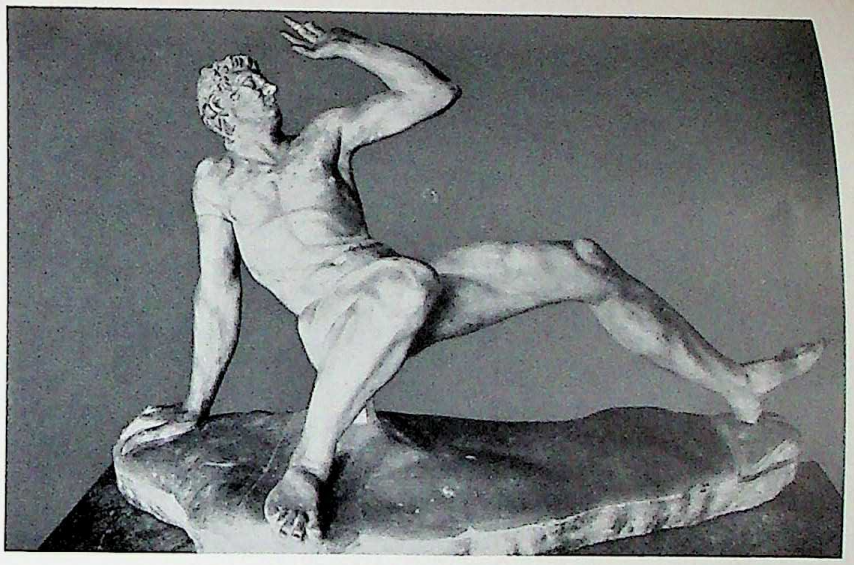

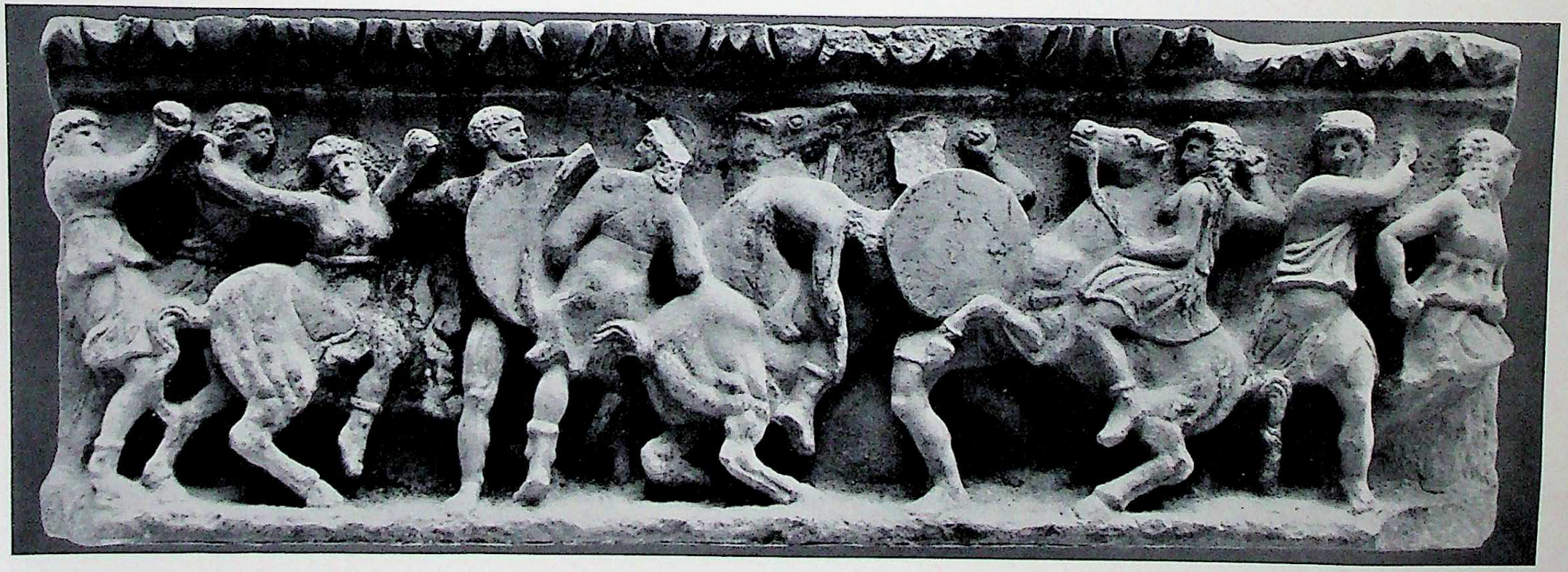

Pl. 175. *Above*: Statues dedicated by Attalos I of Pergamon on the Acropolis of Athens, second half of 2d cent. B.C., Roman copies (with modern restorations). *Left*: Fighting Persian. Marble, ht., 28 3/4 in. Rome, Vatican Museums. *Right*: Fallen Gaul. Marble, ht., 25 5/8 in. Venice, Museo Archeologico. *Below*: Amazonomachy, from the frieze of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia ad Maeandrum, ca. mid-2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 27 5/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 176. Aphrodite, from Melos ("Venus de Milo"), ca. 150 B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 8¼ in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 177. The Victory of Samothrace, 220–190 B.C. Marble, ht., 8 ft., 1/2 in. Paris, Louvre.

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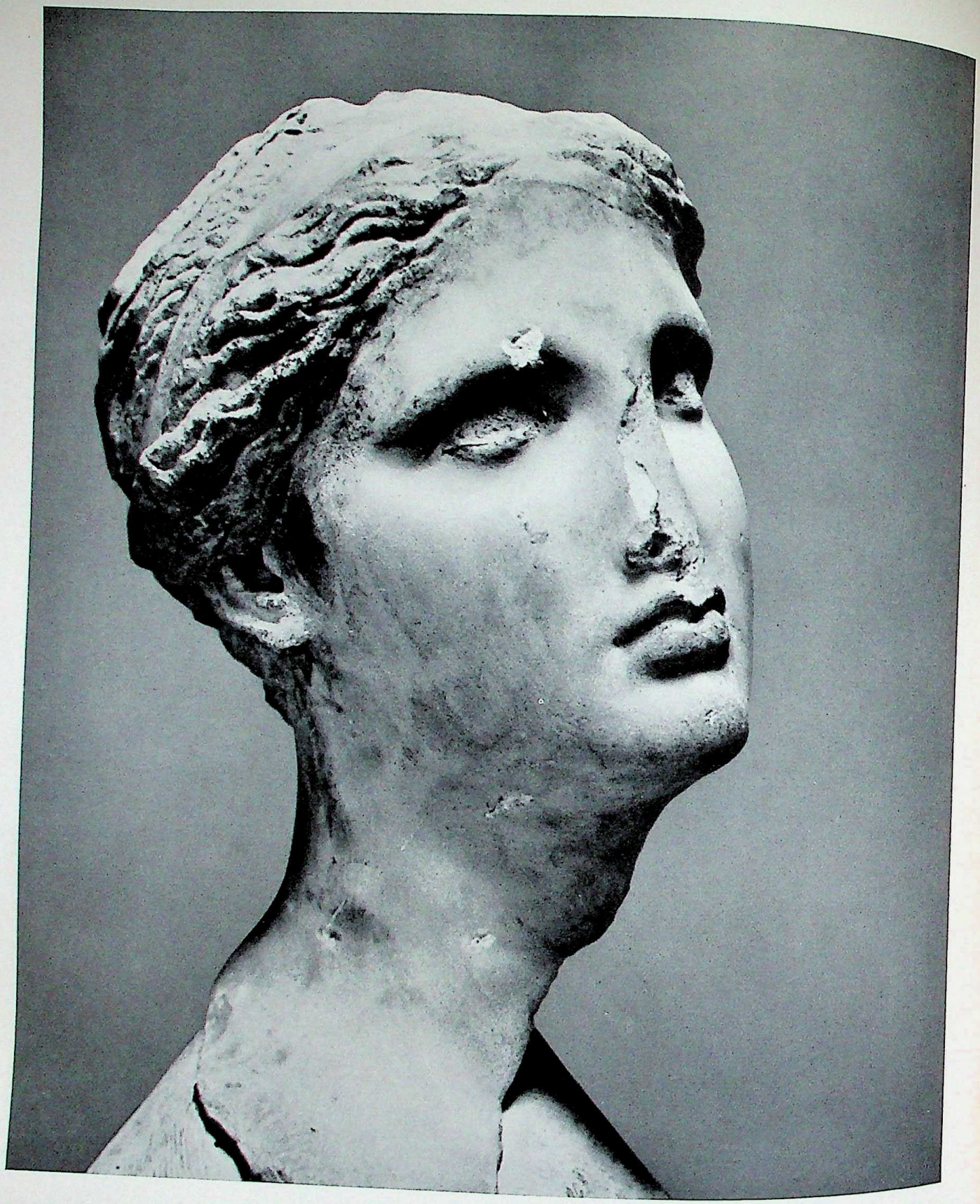

Pl. 178. Female head, from the Serapeion of Alexandria, first half of 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 18 1/8 in. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.

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Pl. 179. Fish mosaic, from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, 2d cent. B.C. Side, ca. 33 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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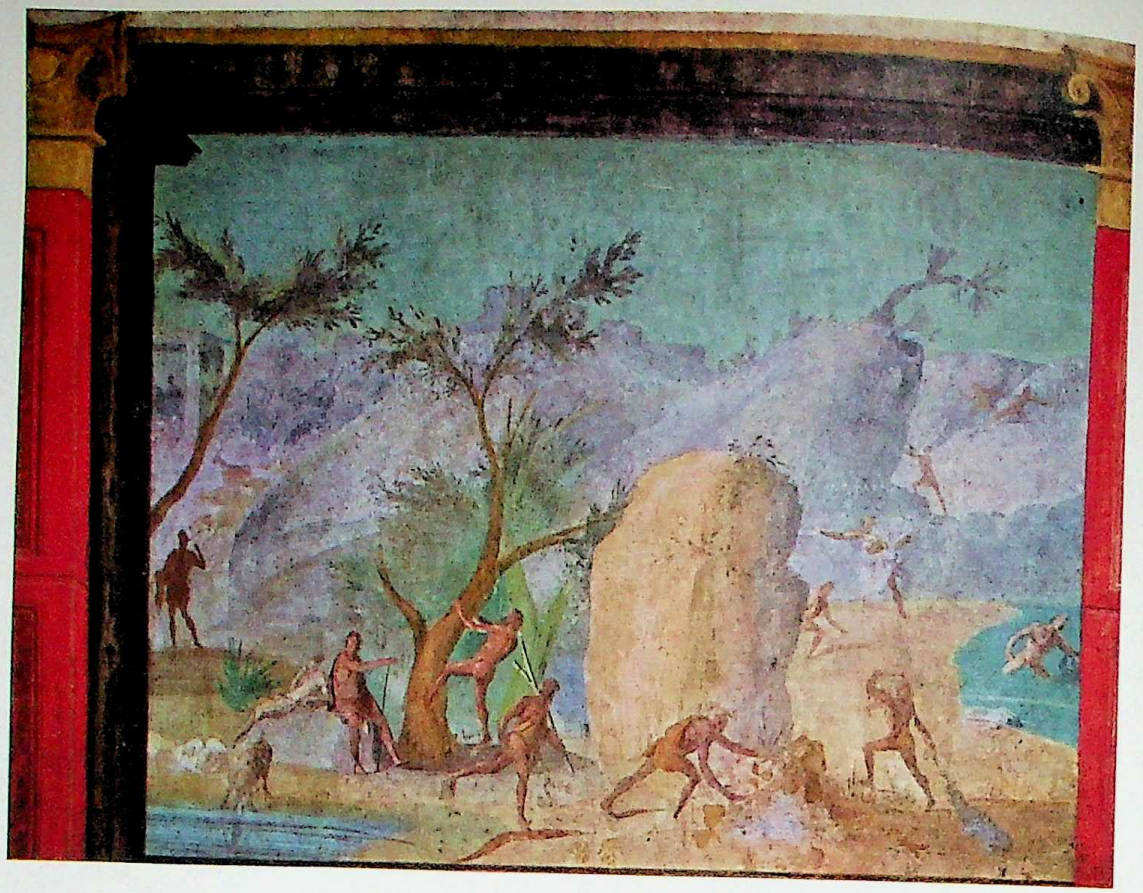

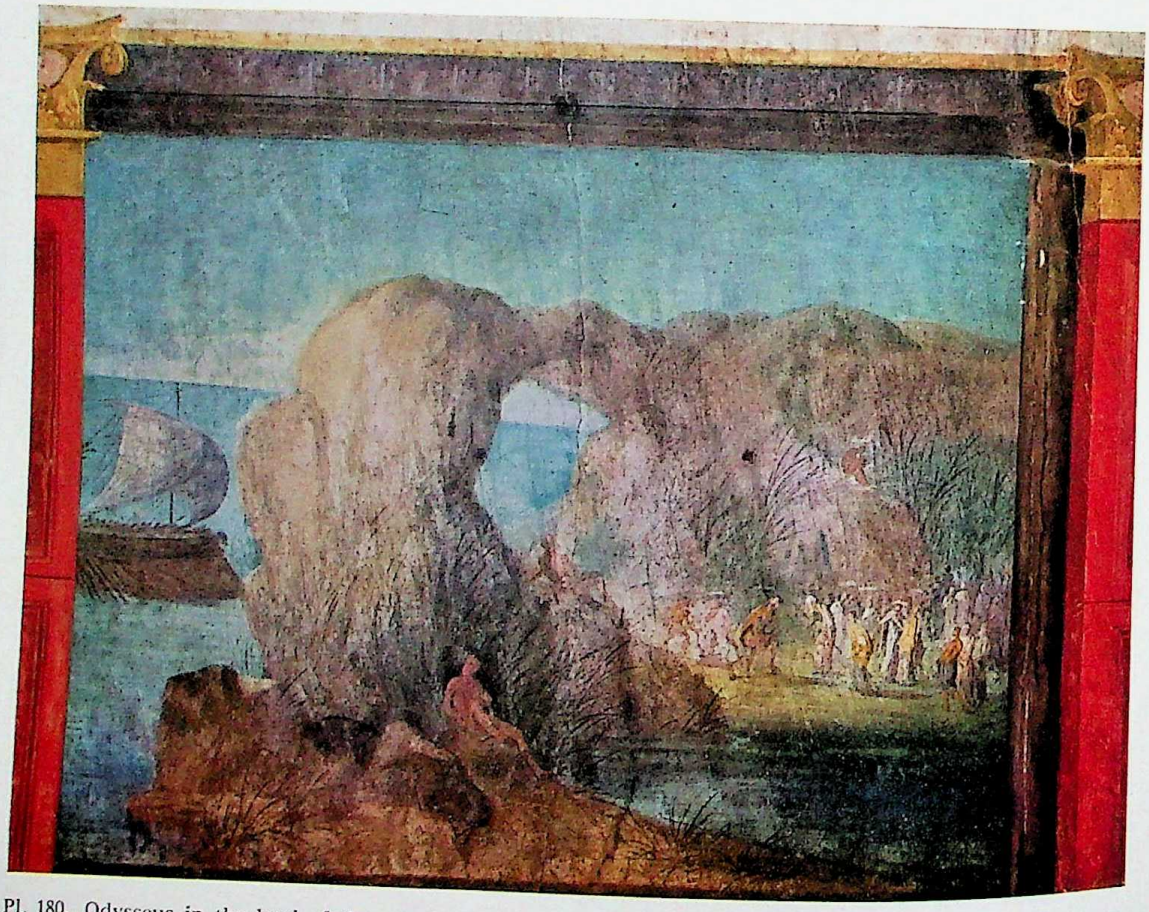

Pl. 180. Odysseus in the land of the cannibals and in the underworld. Wall paintings, from Rome, ca. 50 B.C., after originals of ca. mid-2d cent. B.C. Ca. 4 ft., 11 in. × 4 ft., 3 in. Rome, Vatican Library.

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Pl. 181. Ptolemy VI, ca. mid-2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 16 1/8 in. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.

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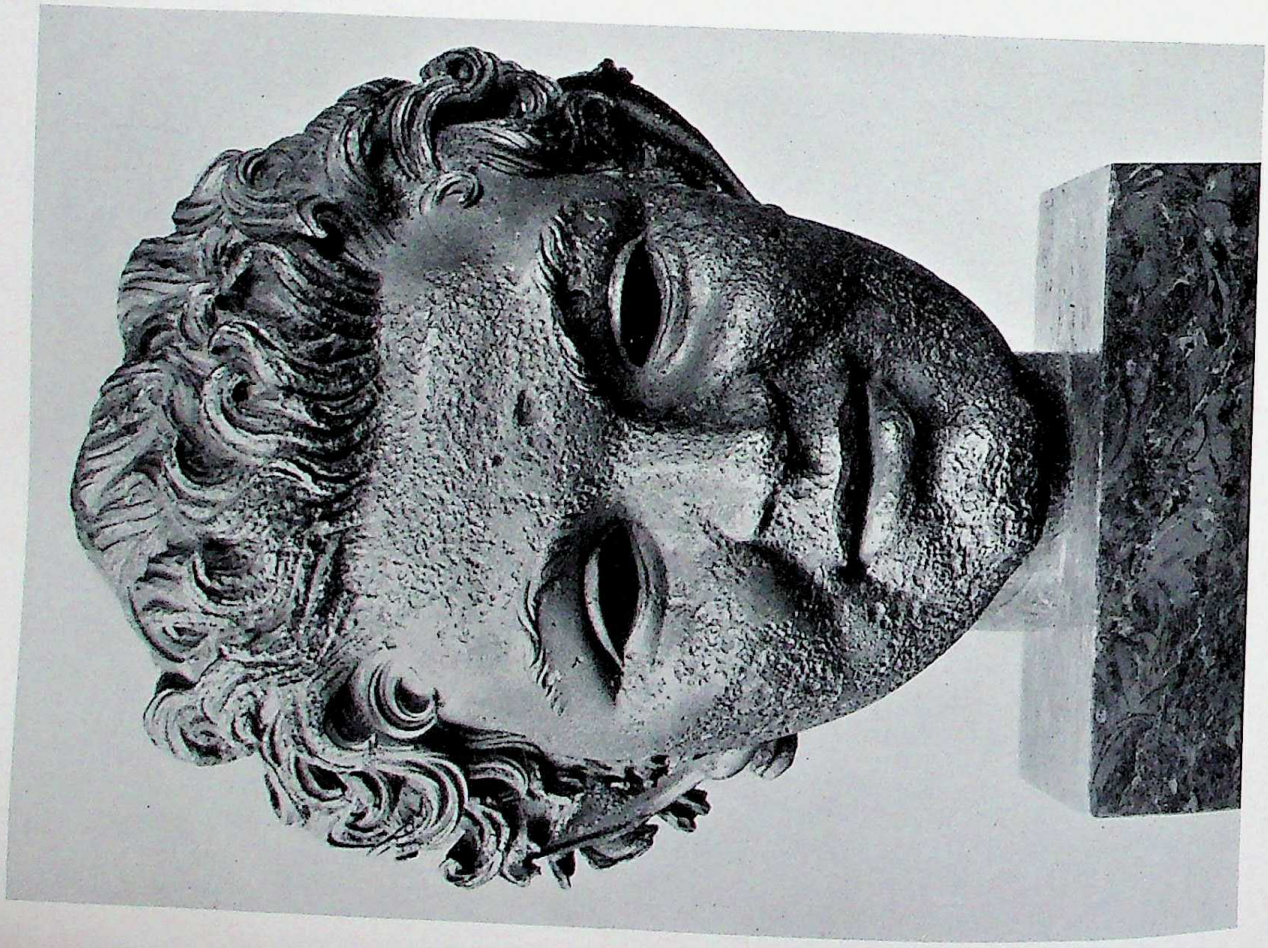

Pl. 182. *Left*: Smiling satyr, 2d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 18 1/8 in. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen. *Right*: Detail of PL. 183.

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Pl. 183. "Jockey," found in the sea off Cape Artemision near Athens, late 2d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 33 1/8 in. Athens, National Museum.

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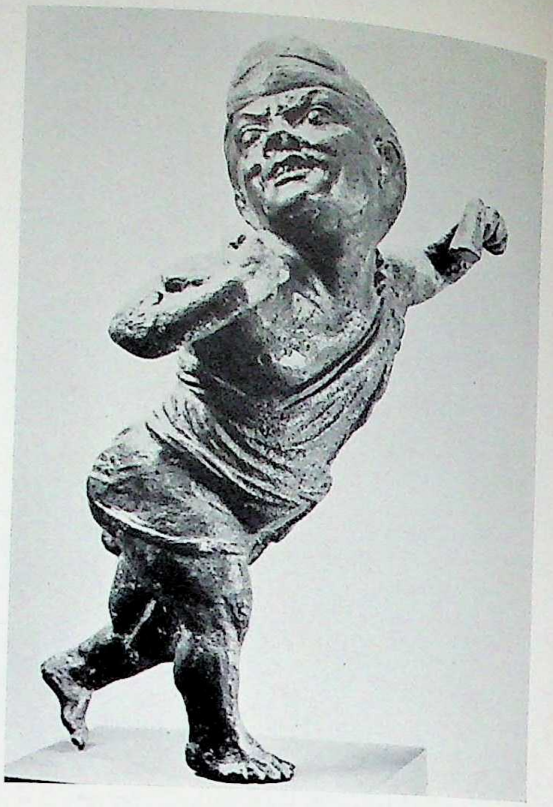

Pl. 184. *Left*: Nubian musician, 2d–1st cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 7 7/8 in. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. *Right, above*: Dancing pygmy, 2d–1st cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 12 5/8 in. Tunis, Bardo, Musée Alaoui. *Below*: Grotesque figurine, 2d–1st cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 4 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

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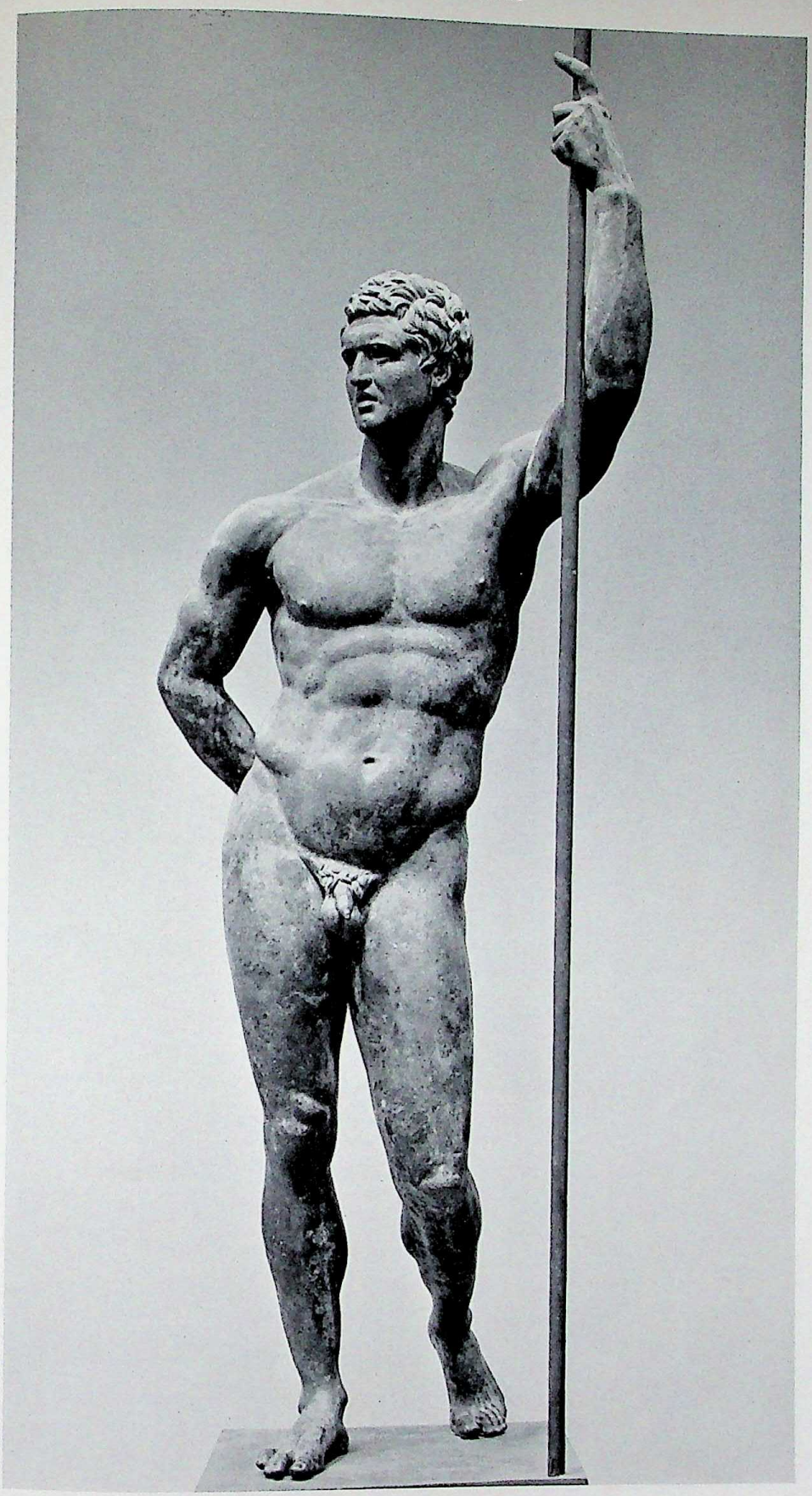

Pl. 185. "Hellenistic ruler," ca. 150–140 B. C. Bronze, ht., 7 ft., 3 3/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 186. "The Muse Polyhymnia," Roman copy of an original from a group formerly attributed to Philiskos of Rhodes, second half of 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 2¼ in. Rome, Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori.

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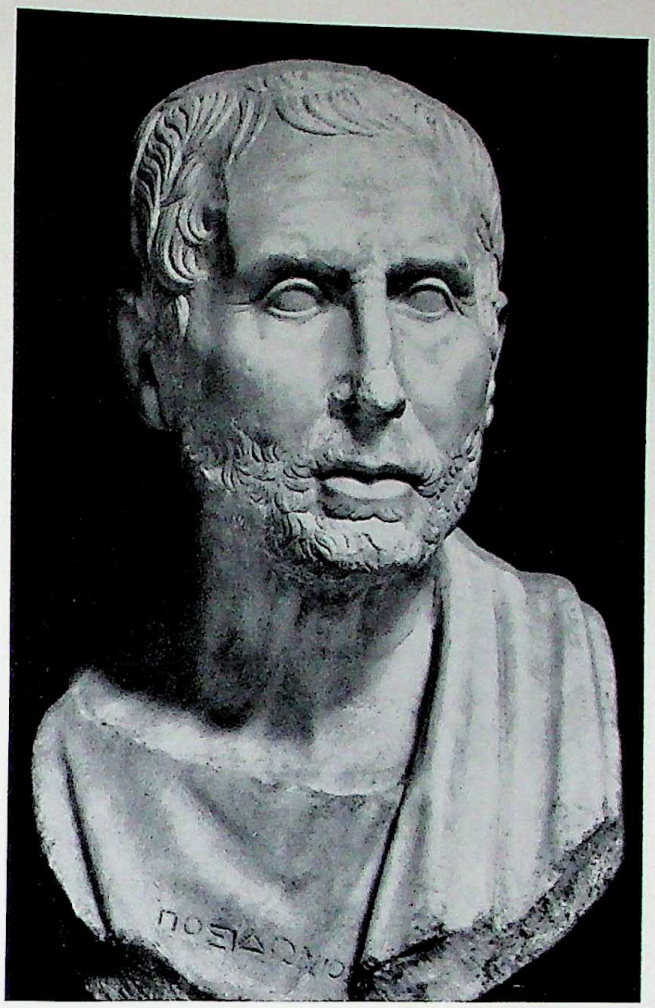

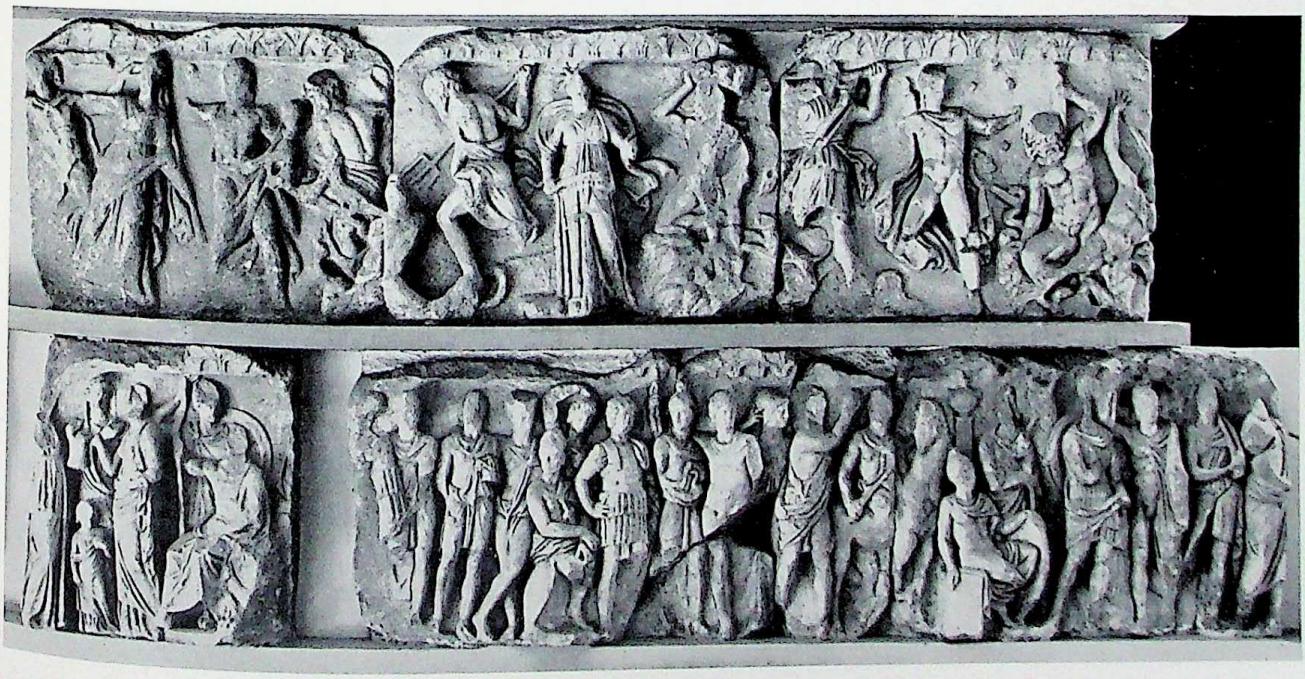

Pl. 187. *Above, left*: Damophon, head of Anytos, from a group in the Temple of Despoina in Lykosoura, first half of 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 31 1/8 in. Athens, National Museum. *Right*: Poseidonios, Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 80–70 B.C. Marble, ht., 17 3/8 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Gigantomachy and symbolical representations from the frieze of the Hekateion at Lagina, Caria, late 2d–early 1st cent. B.C. Marble, ht. of slabs, 36 5/8 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

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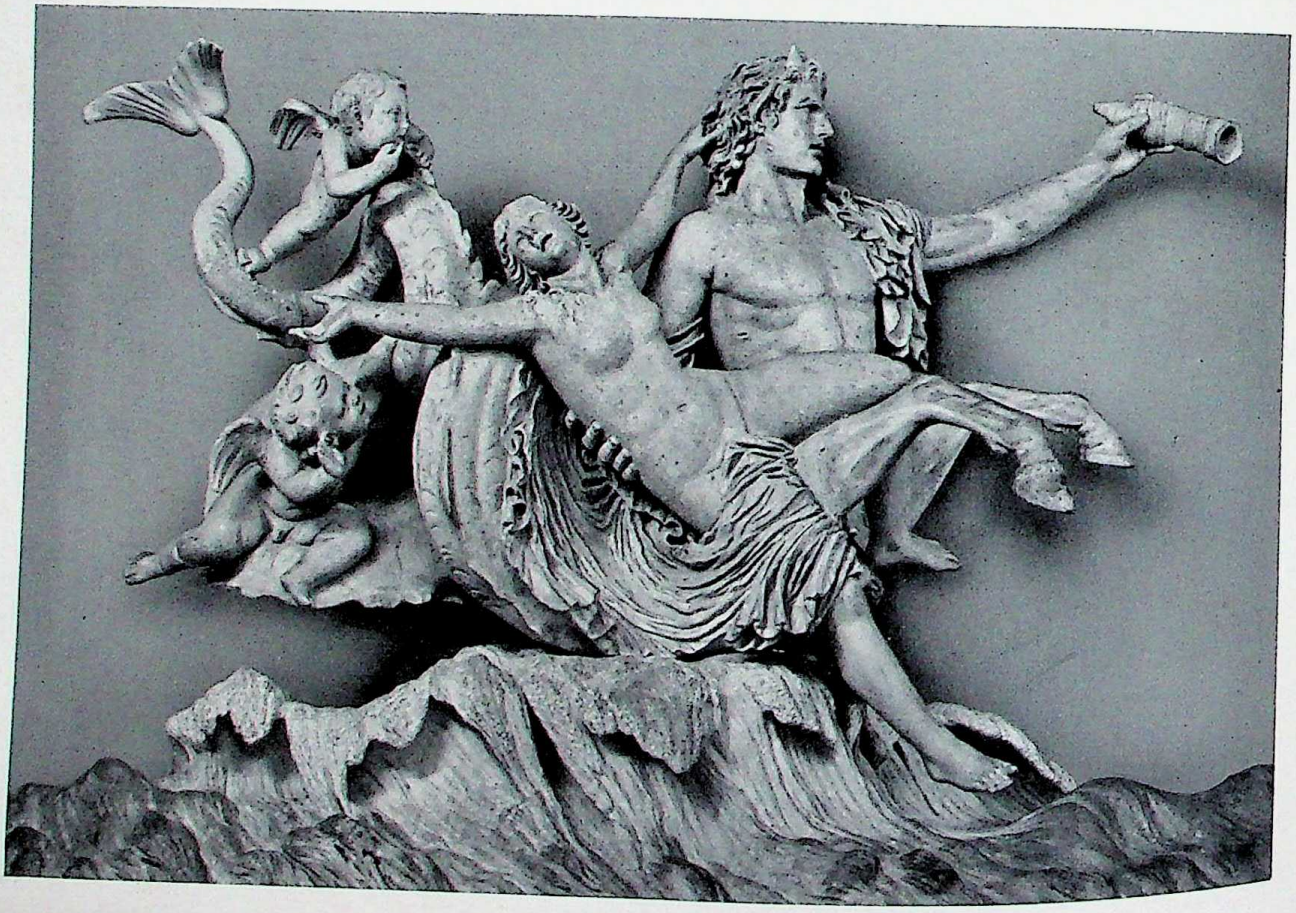

Pl. 188. Roman copies of Greek statues of 2d–1st cent. B.C. Marble. *Above*: Pan drawing a thorn from the foot of a satyr. Ht., 20 1/8 in. *Below*: Triton carrying off a Nereid. Ht., 15 3/4 in. Both, Rome, Vatican Museums.

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Pl. 189. Hagesandros, Athenodoros, and Polydoros, the Laocoön Group, Roman copy (restored by Montorsoli and others) of a Greek original of ca. 50 B.C. Marble, ht., 7 ft., 11¼ in. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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Pl. 190. *Left*: Grave stele, from the Alexandrian necropolis of Shatby, first half of 3d cent. B.C. Painting on stone, ht., 15 1/4 in. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum. *Right*: Wall paintings from the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii, 1st cent. B.C., 13 3/4 × 19 3/4 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Above*: Wedding of Ariadne. *Below*: Still life.

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Pl. 191. "The ex-voto of the tragic actor," from Herculaneum, detail, after an original of the first half of 3d cent. B.C. Painting on stucco; full size, 11 3/8 × 14 1/8 in. *Right, above:* Parody of the Judgment of Solomon, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Wall painting, 17 3/4 × 61 in. *Below:* Mosaic, from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, after an original painting of the first half of 2d cent. B.C. Ht., 20 7/8 in. All, Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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Pl. 192. So-called "philosopher," detail of frieze from the Villa of Boscoreale, near Pompeii, ca. 40 B.C., after a Hellenistic original of the 3d cent. B.C. Wall painting, ht., ca. 5 ft., 11 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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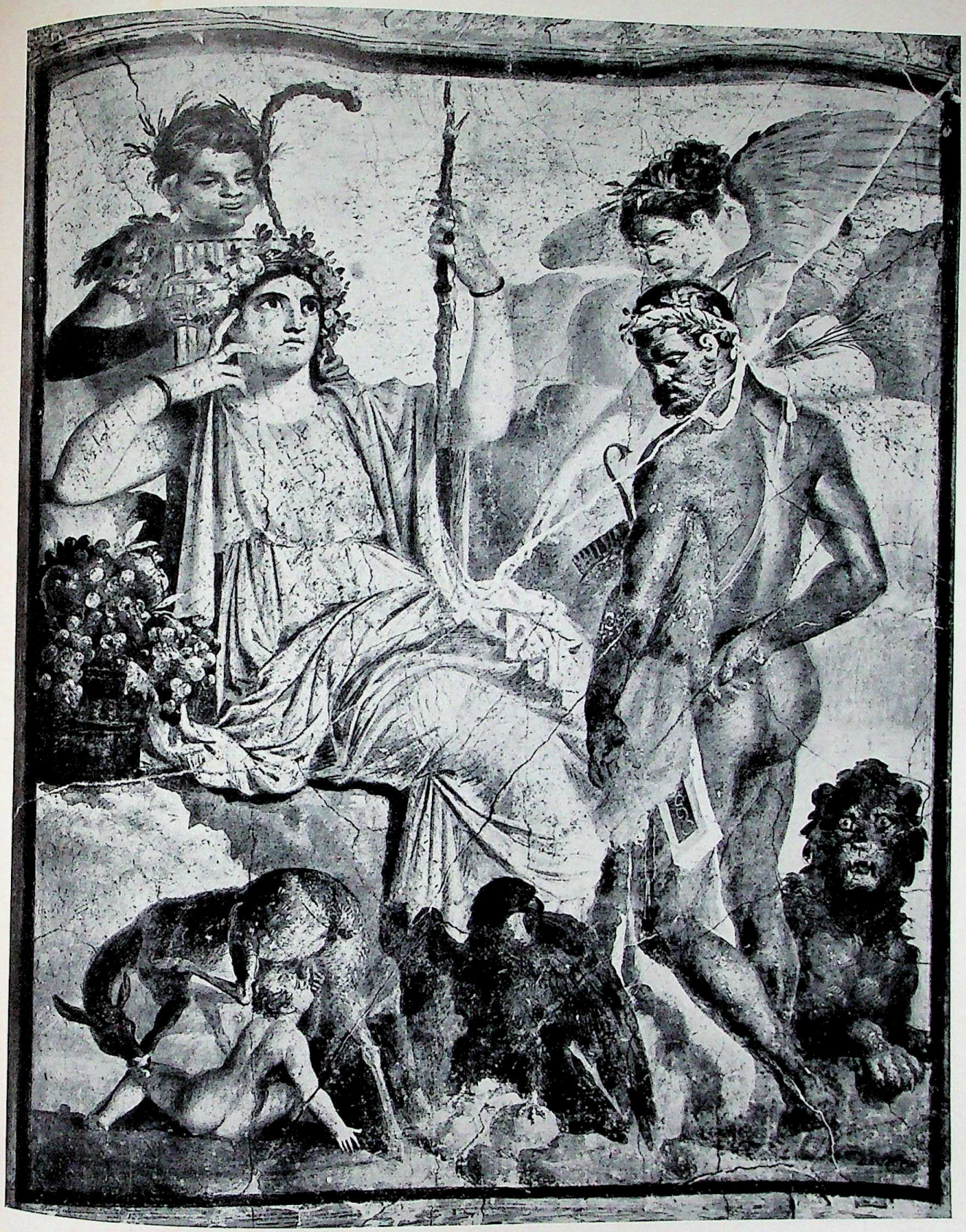

Pl. 193. Herakles and Telephos before the personification of Arcadia, from Herculaneum, after an original of the early 2d cent. B.C. Wall painting, 5 ft., 7 3/8 in. × 3 ft., 4 1/8 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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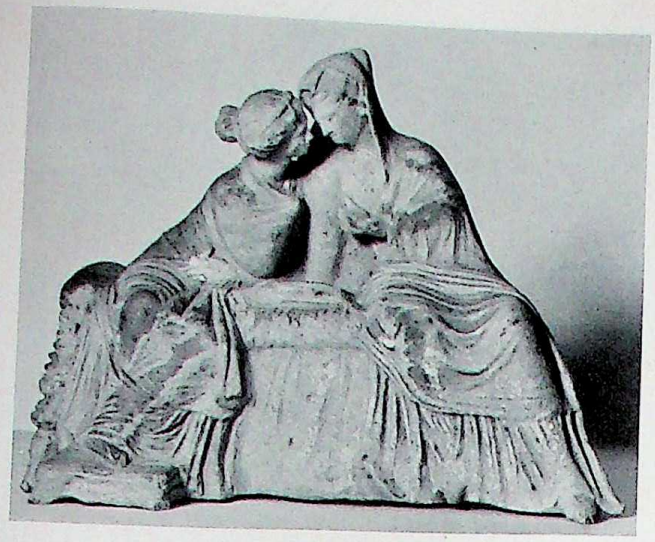

Pl. 194. *Above*: Figurines of Tanagra type, 3d–2d cent. B.C. *Left*: London, British Museum. *Center*: Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen. *Right*: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum. *Below, left*: Crater of Gnathia type, early 3d cent. B.C. Ht., 21¼ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Center*: "Megarian" bowl, ca. 2d cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., ca. 3 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. *Right*: Kalpis, from Hadra near Alexandria, 3d cent. B.C. Paris, Louvre.

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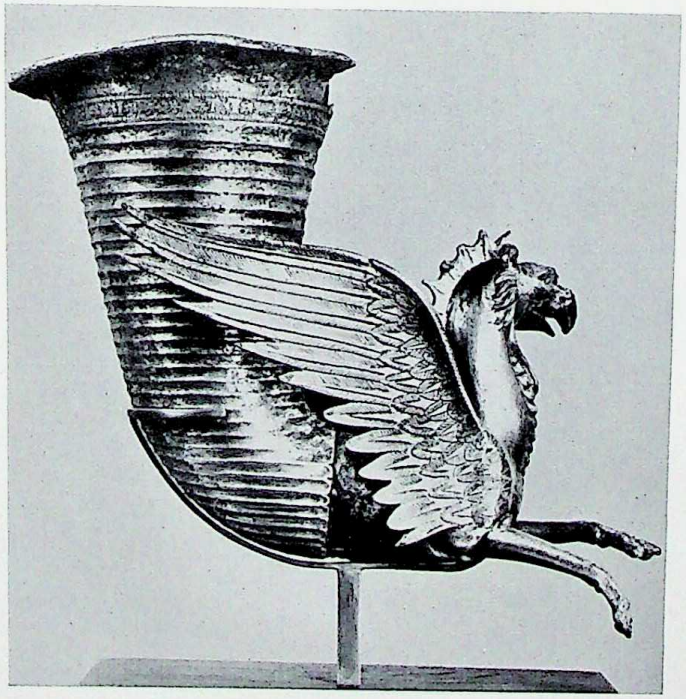

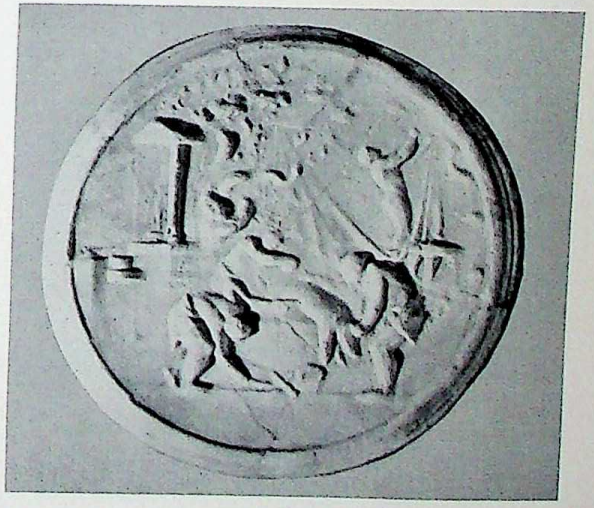

Pl. 195. *Above, left*: Cup with scene in relief, 3d cent. B.C. (?). Bronze, ht., 3 in. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum. *Center*: Bowl with scenes in relief, from the House of Menander in Pompeii, 2d cent. B.C. (?). Silver, ht., $2^{1}/_{8}$ in. *Right*: Cup with Triton and Nereids, from Pompeii, 2d–1st cent. B.C. Silver, ht., $5^{1}/_{8}$ in. Both, Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below, left*: Medallion with Aphrodite, from Thessaly, 3d cent. B.C. Gold, diam., $3^{1}/_{8}$ in. Athens, National Museum. *Center*: Rhyton with griffin protoma, early 3d cent. B.C. Silver, ht., $6^{3}/_{4}$ in. Cairo, Egyptian Museum. *Right*: Cast of medallion, from Begram, 1st cent. B.C. (?). Plaster, diam., 6 in. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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Pl. 196. *Above*: Interior of the "Tazza Farnese," showing celebration of the fertility of the Nile, 2d cent. B.C. Sardonyx, diam., 7 7/8 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Silver tetradrachmas, diam., ca. 1 1/8 in. *Left*: Antiochos II (Theos) of Syria, 261–246 B.C. *Right*: Philip V of Macedon, 220–179 B.C. Both, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 197. Mosaic of the Nile (the "Barberini" mosaic), detail, from the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, Italy, ca. 80 B.C. Full size, 20 ft., 2 1/8 in. × 16 ft., 7 1/4 in. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Prenestino.

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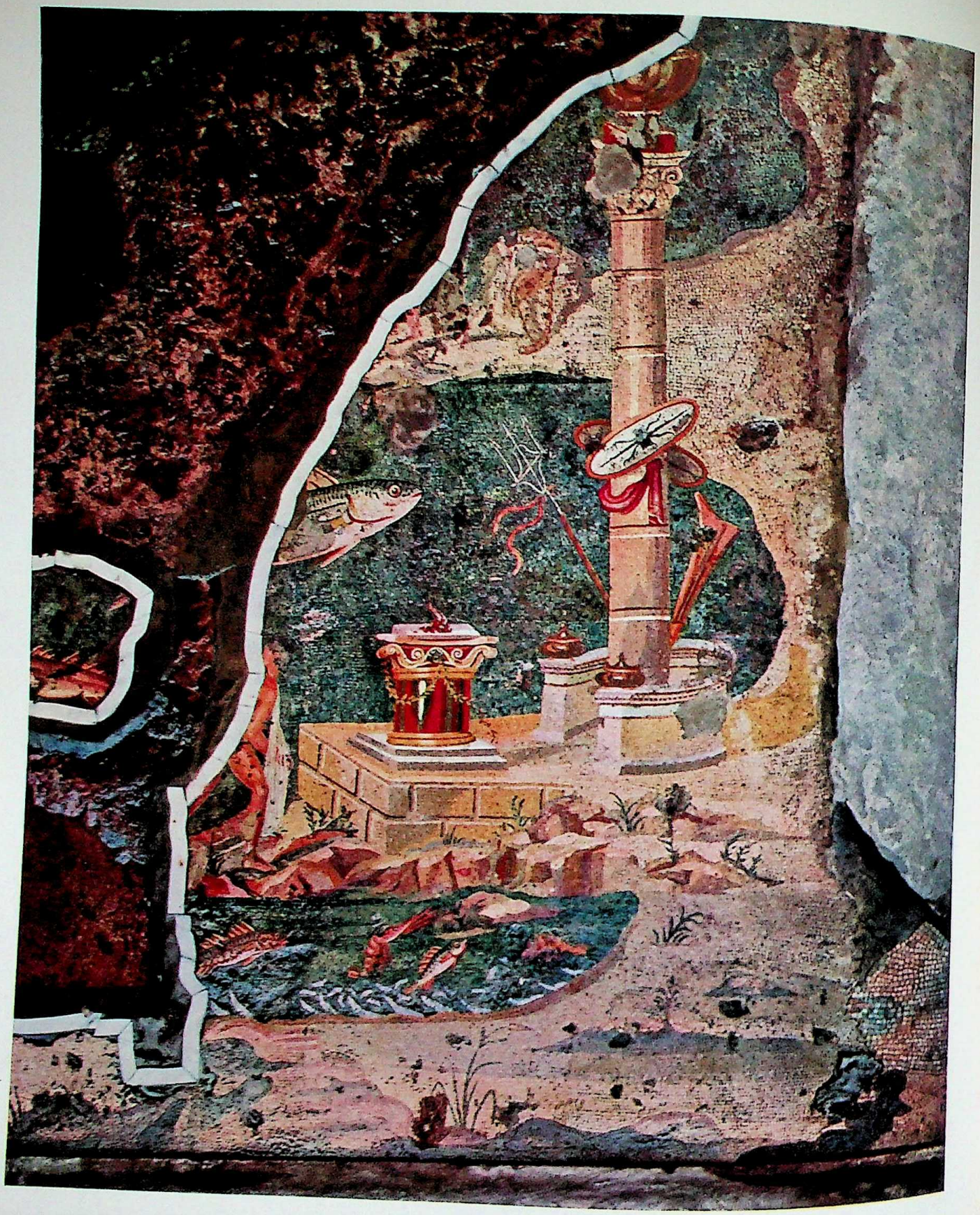

Pl. 198. Fragment of a mosaic in the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, Italy, late 2d–early 1st cent. B.C., after a Hellenistic original of the second half of 2d cent. B.C. Ht. of fragment, 25 5/8 in.

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Pl. 199. Palestrina, Italy, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, terrace of the hemicycles, detail of right side.

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Pl. 200. Pompeii, House of the Faun, view of the atrium, tablinum, and peristyle, second half of 2d cent. B.C.

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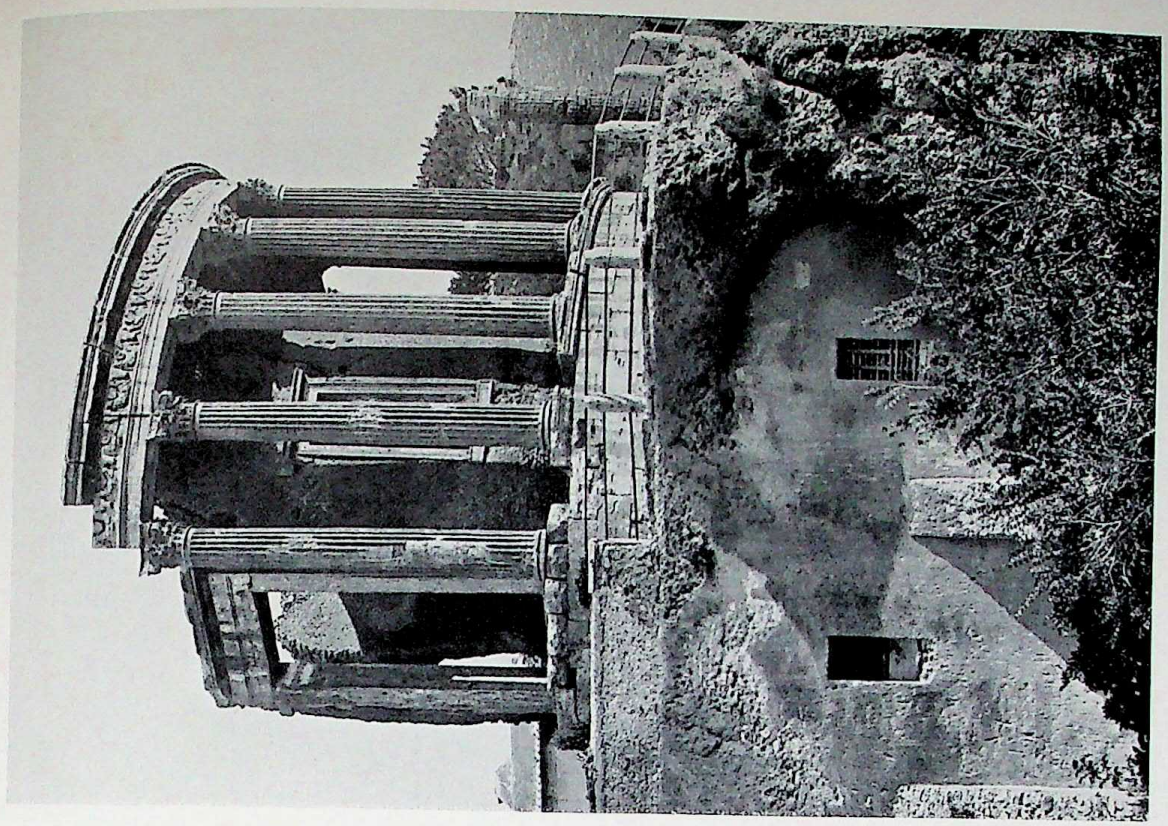

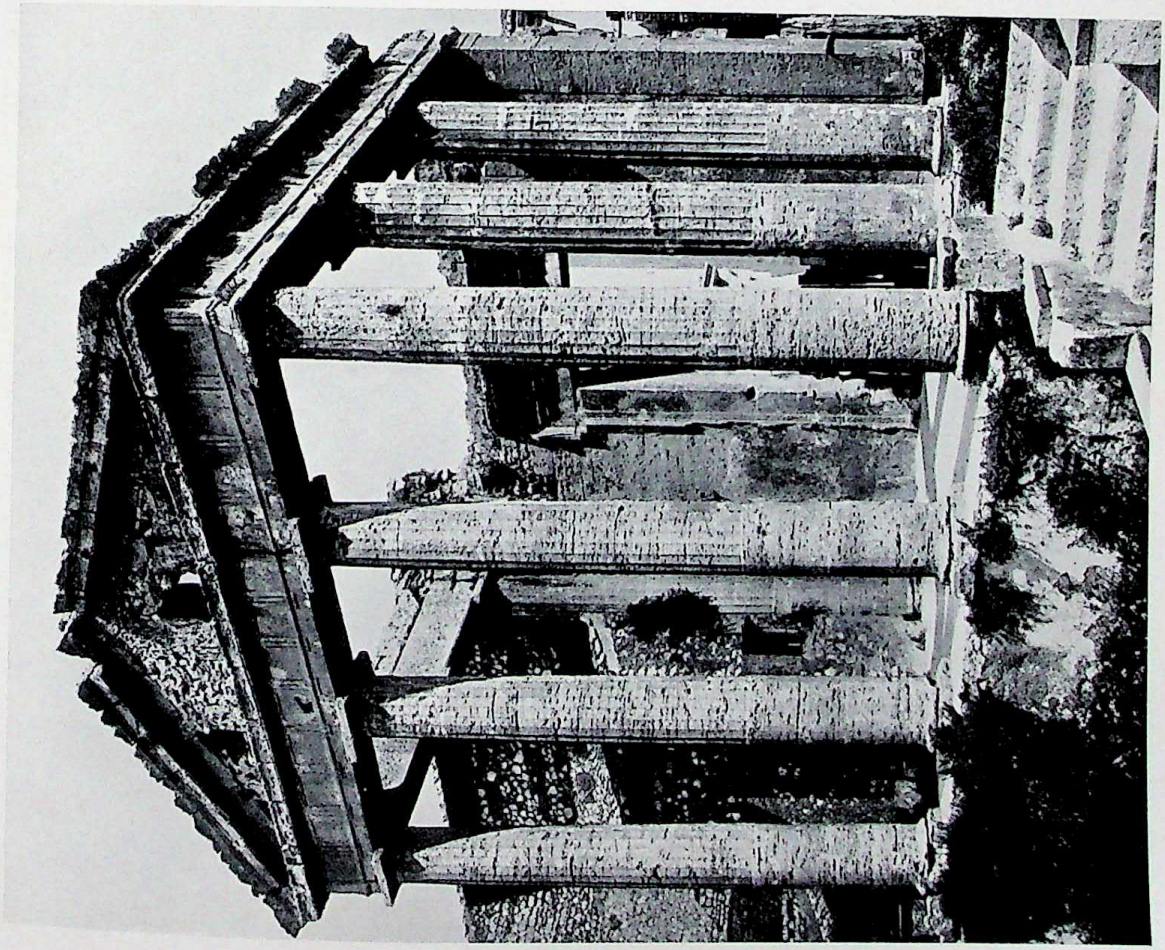

Pl. 201. Temples of the period of Sulla (138–78 B.C.). *Left*: Cori, Italy, the so-called "Temple of Hercules." *Right*: Tivoli, Italy, the so-called "Temple of the Sibyl" ("Temple of Vesta").

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Pl. 202. Figure from a pediment, found in Via S. Gregorio, Rome, late 2d cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 4 ft., 9 1/8 in. Rome, Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori.

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Pl. 203. Initiation into the mysteries of Dionysos, detail showing an initiate and a bacchante (perhaps a flagellation scene), ca. mid-Ist cent B.C., after a Hellenistic original of the 3d-2d cent. B.C. Wall painting, ht., 5 ft., 3¾ in. Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Item), Pompeii.

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Pl. 204. Portrait of a baker and his wife, from Pompeii, ca. mid-1st cent. Wall painting, 19¼ × 16⅛ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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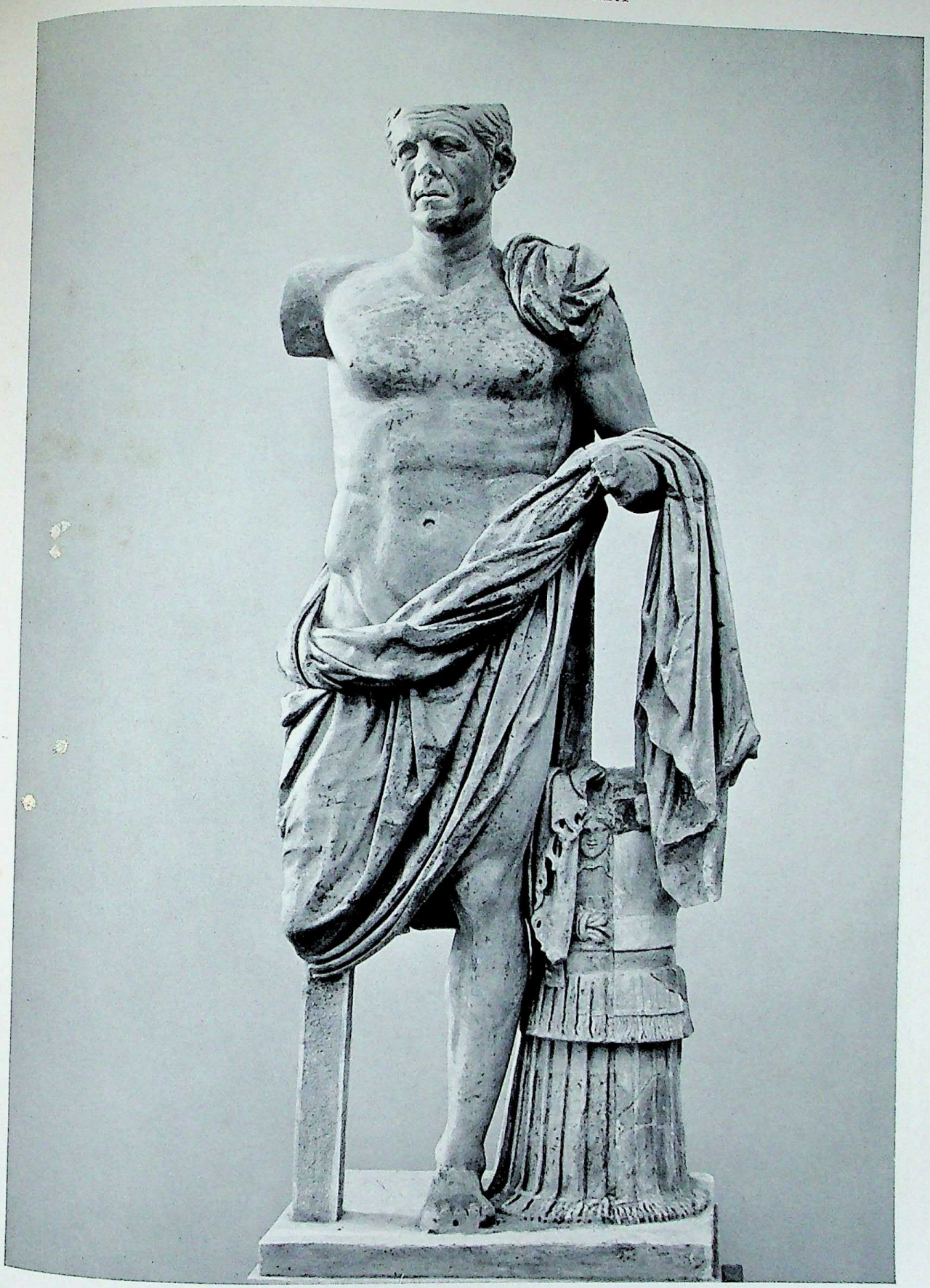

Pl. 205. Heroic portrait statue, from Tivoli, Italy, 100–75 B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 4 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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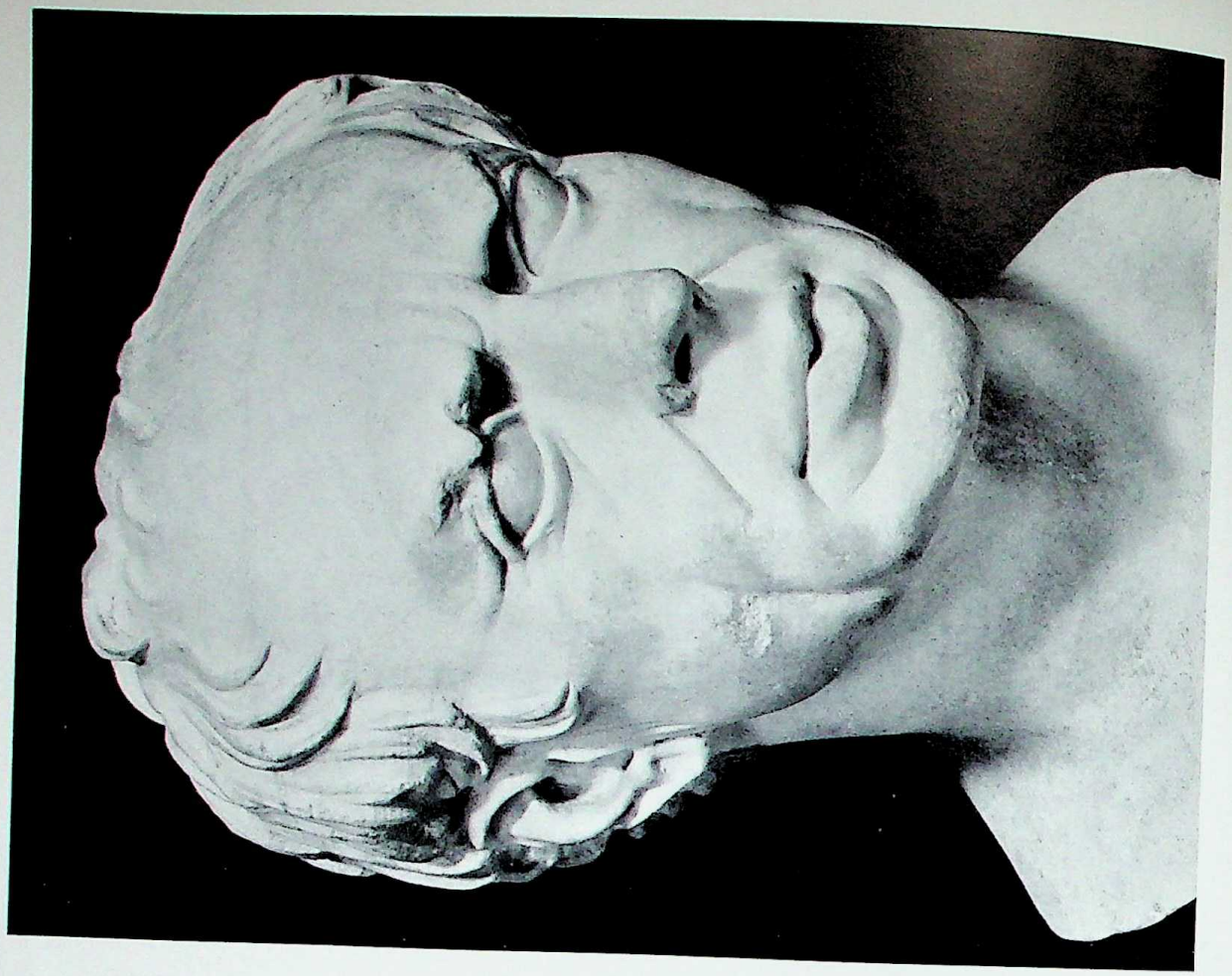

Pl. 206. Marble portrait busts, ca. mid-1st cent. B.C. *Left*: Ht. of head, 9 1/6 in. Rome, Lateran Museum. *Right*: Ht., 13 3/4 in. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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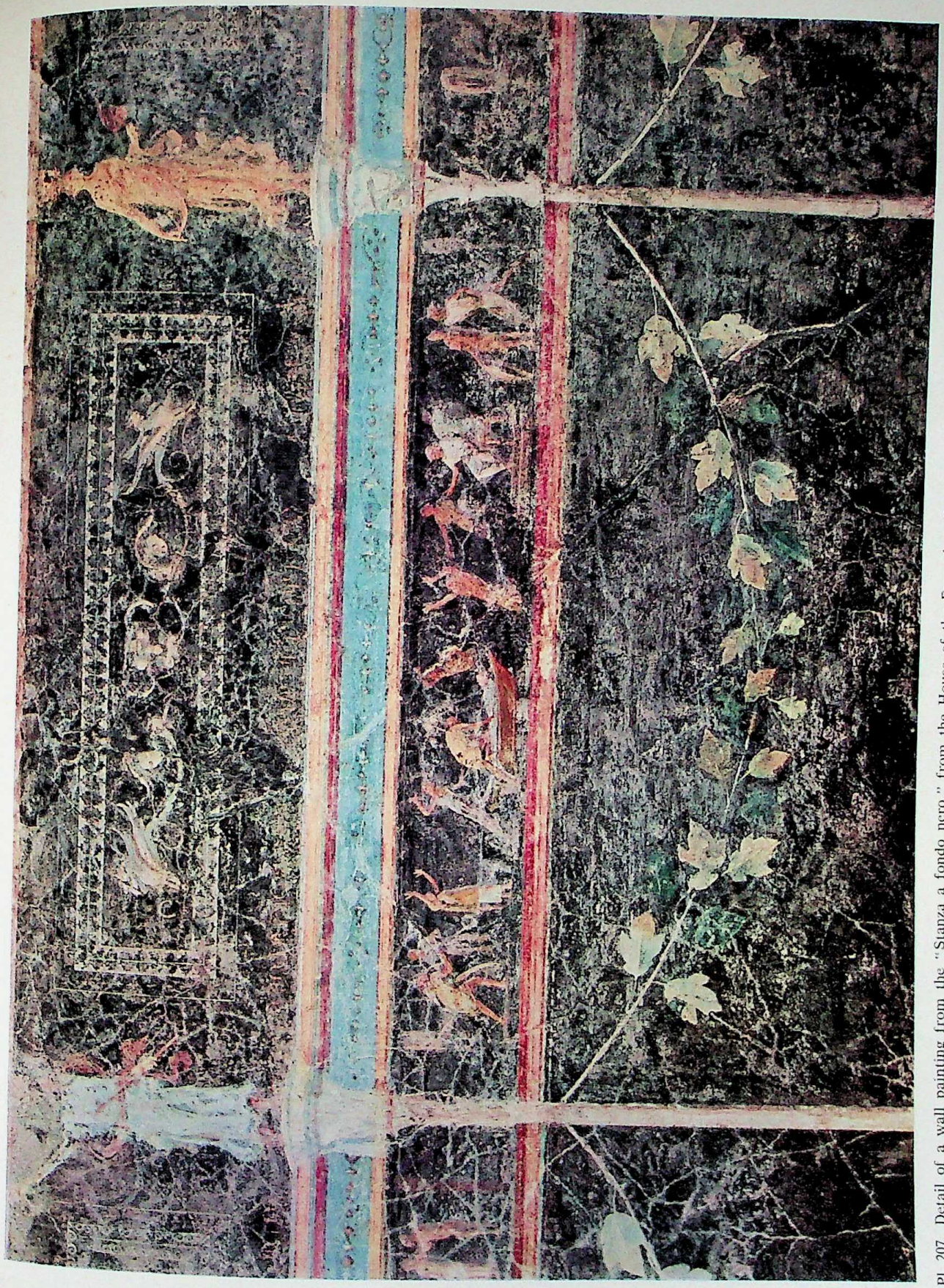

Pl. 207. Detail of a wall painting from the "Stanza a fondo nero," from the House of the Farnesina, Rome, period of Augustus (31 B.C. – A.D. 14). Full ht., 6 ft., 6¼ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 208. Garden, detail of a wall painting from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, near Rome, ca. mid-1st cent. Ht of wall, 9 ft., 10 1/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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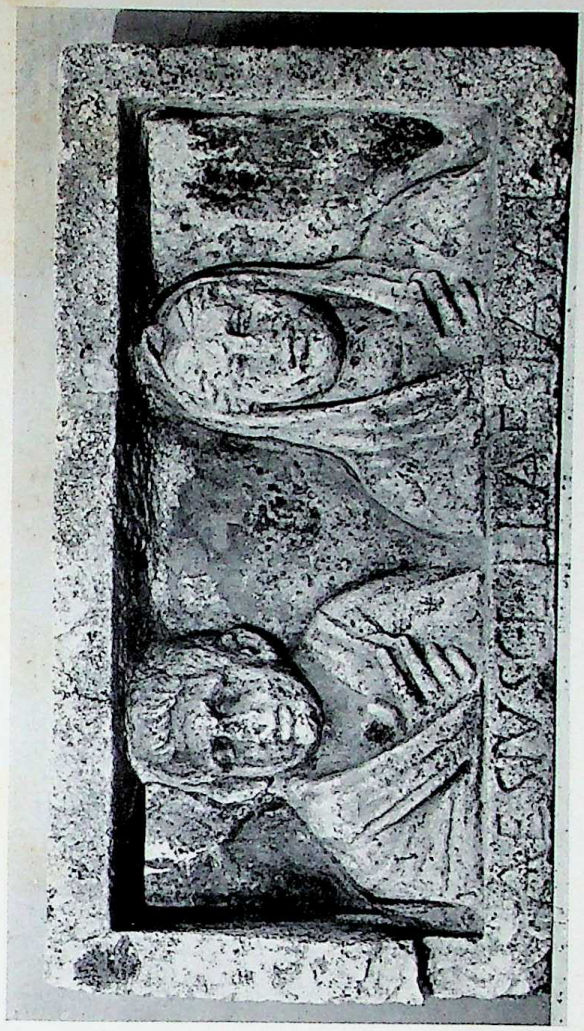

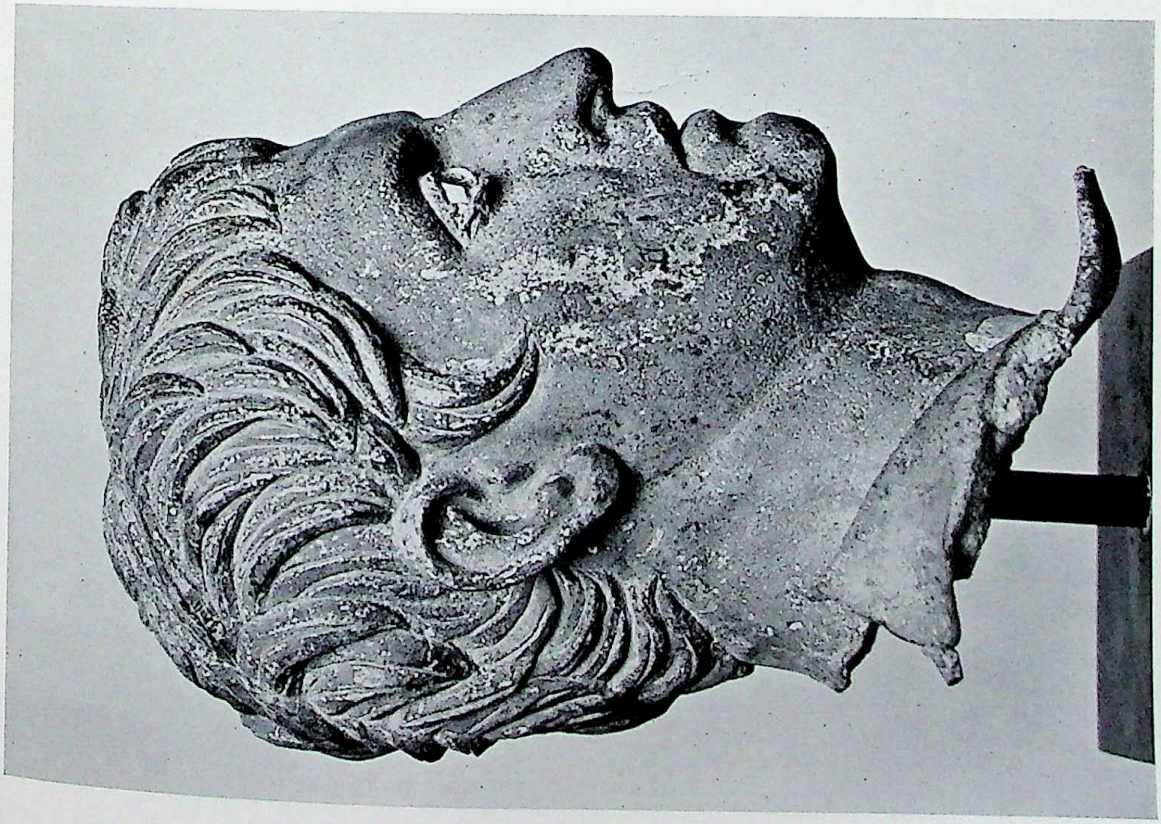

Pl. 209. *Left:* Portrait, first half of 1st cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 12⅝ in. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. *Center, above:* Gold stater with portrait of T. Quinctius Flamininus, early 2d cent. B.C. Diam., ca. ¾ in. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. *Right:* Silver denarius with portrait of A. Postumius Albinus (type I), 49–48 B.C. Diam., ca. ¾ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. *Below:* Tomb relief of Blaesius and Blaesia, late republican period. Travertine, ht., 23½ in. Rome, Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori.

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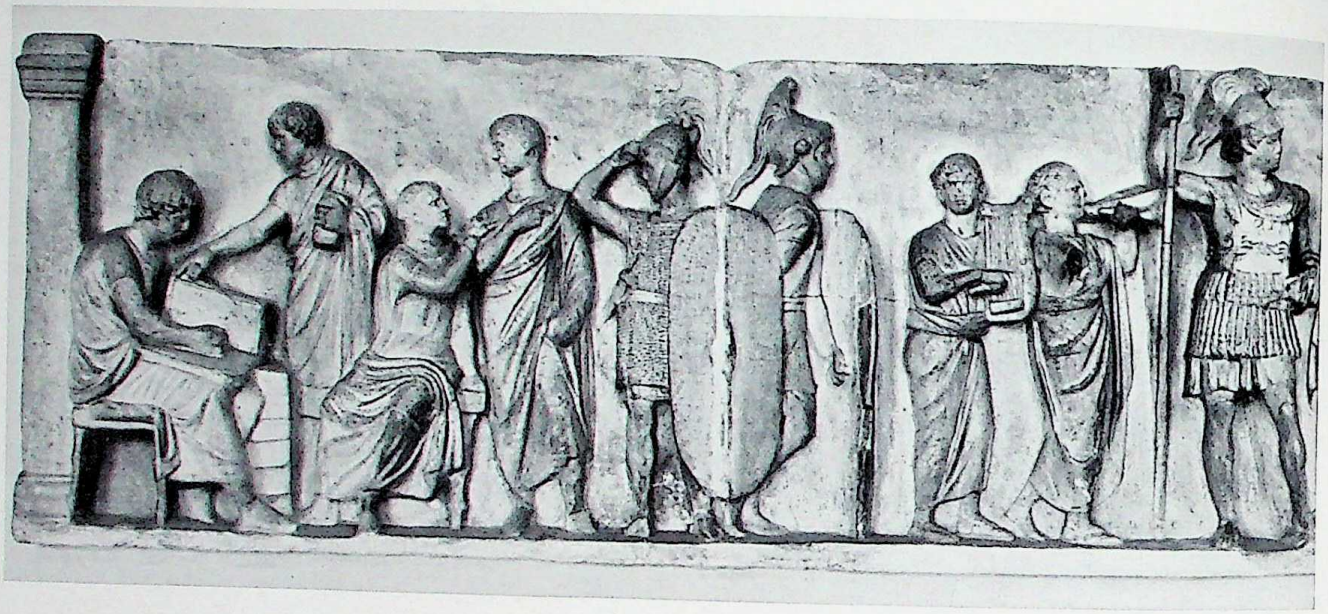

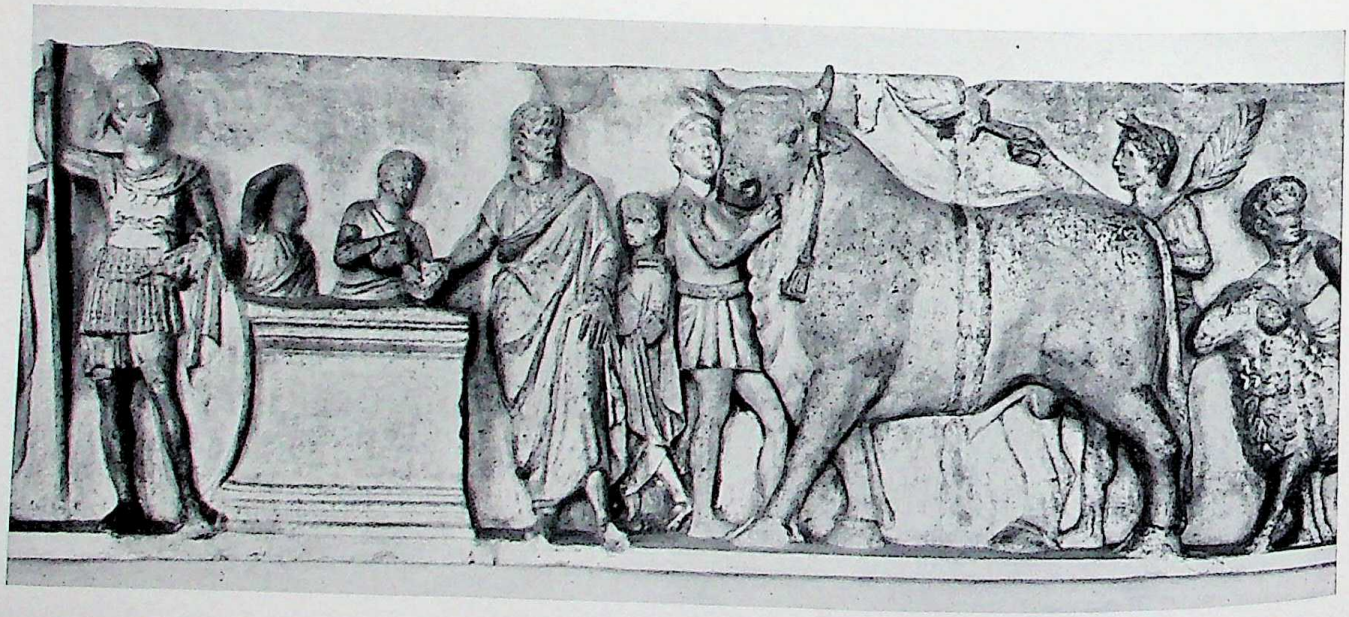

Pl. 210. Reliefs of the so-called "altar of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus," ca. first half of 1st cent. B.C. Marble. *Above*: The retinue of Poseidon and Amphitrite. Ht., 30 3/4 in. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen. *Center and below*: Details of a scene perhaps representing the taking of the census and a sacrifice in the presence of Mars. Ht., 31 7/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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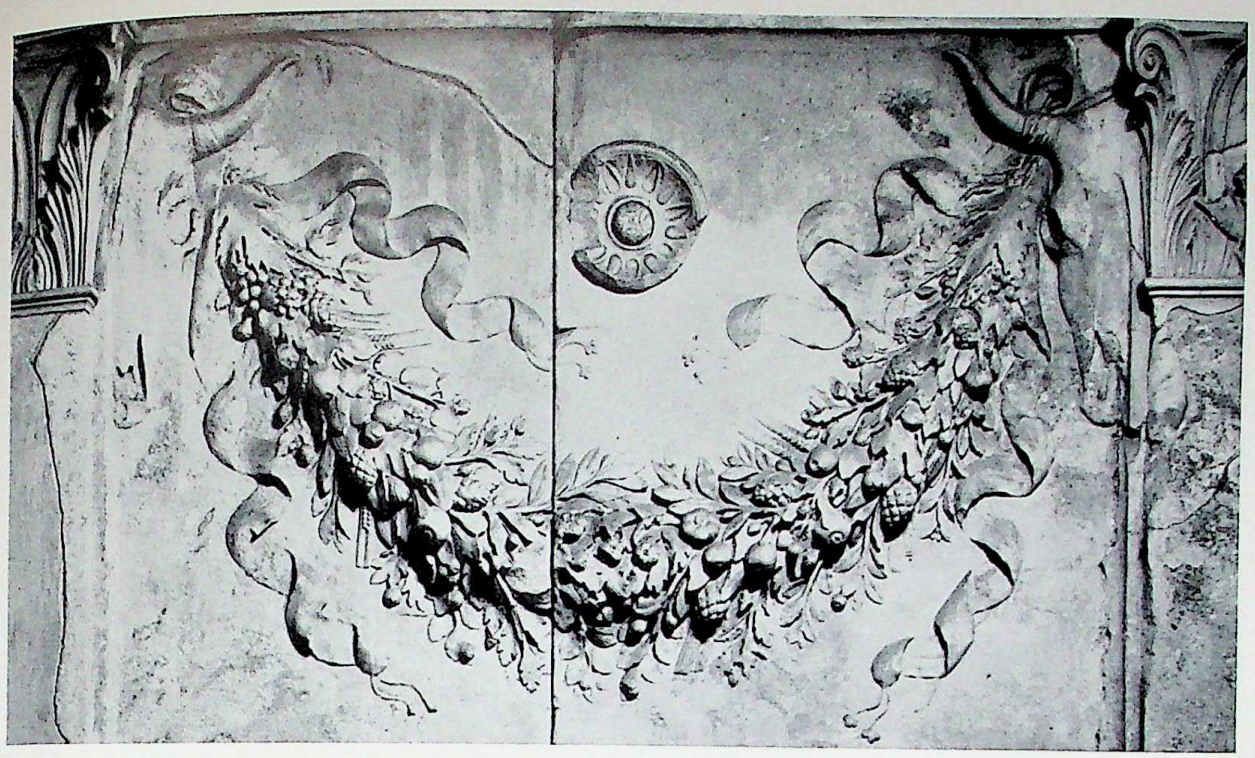

Pl. 211. Rome, reliefs of the Ara Pacis, 13–9 B.C. Marble. *Above*: Garland between bucrania. Ht., 5 ft., 1 in. *Below*: Acanthus spirals and swans. Ht., 6 ft., 4 3/4 in.

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Pl. 212. Boar hunt, relief of the period of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38). Marble, diam., ca. 6 ft., 6 3/4 in. Rome, Arch of Constantine.

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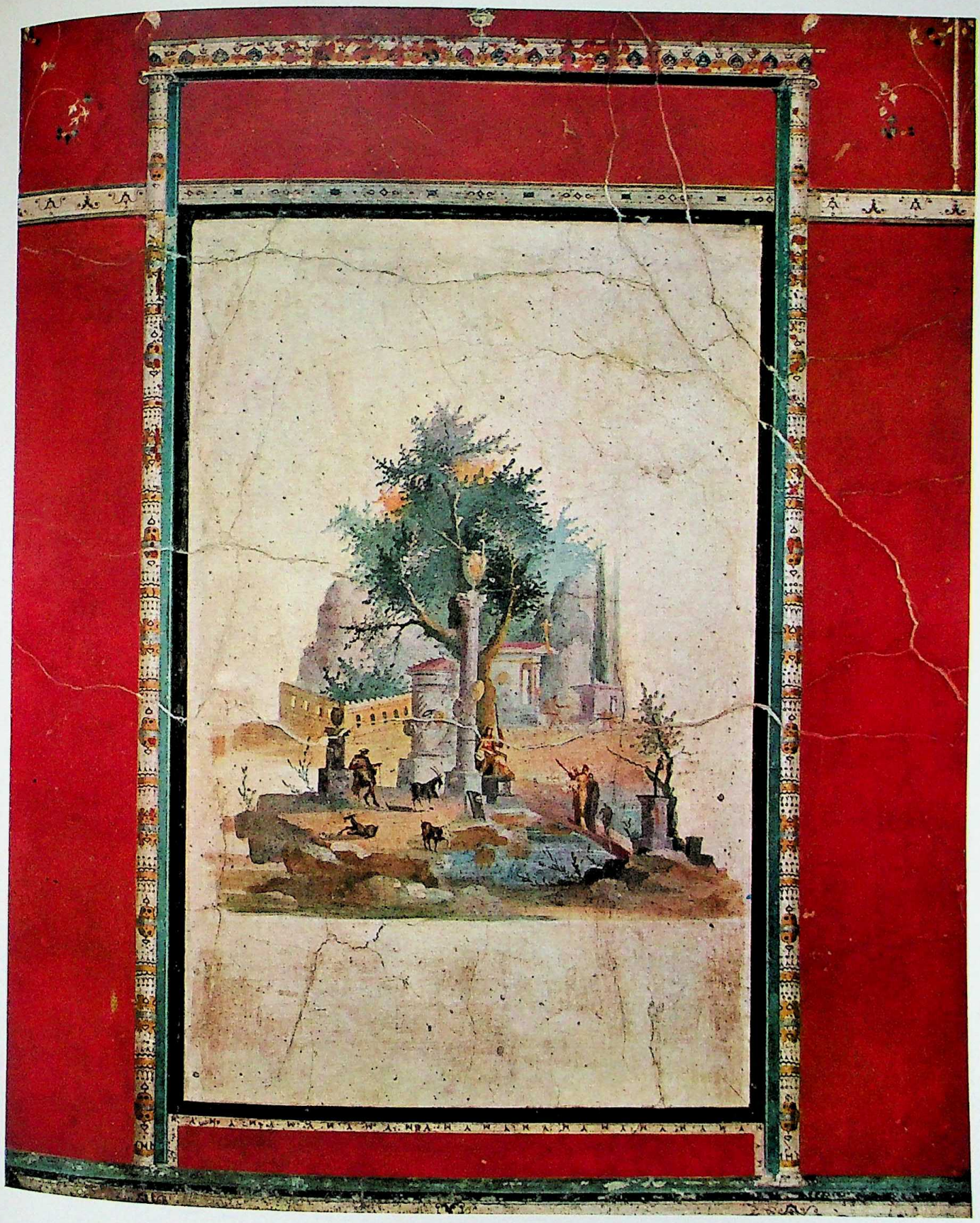

Pl. 213. Landscape, detail of a wall painting from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase, near Pompeii, first quarter of 1st cent. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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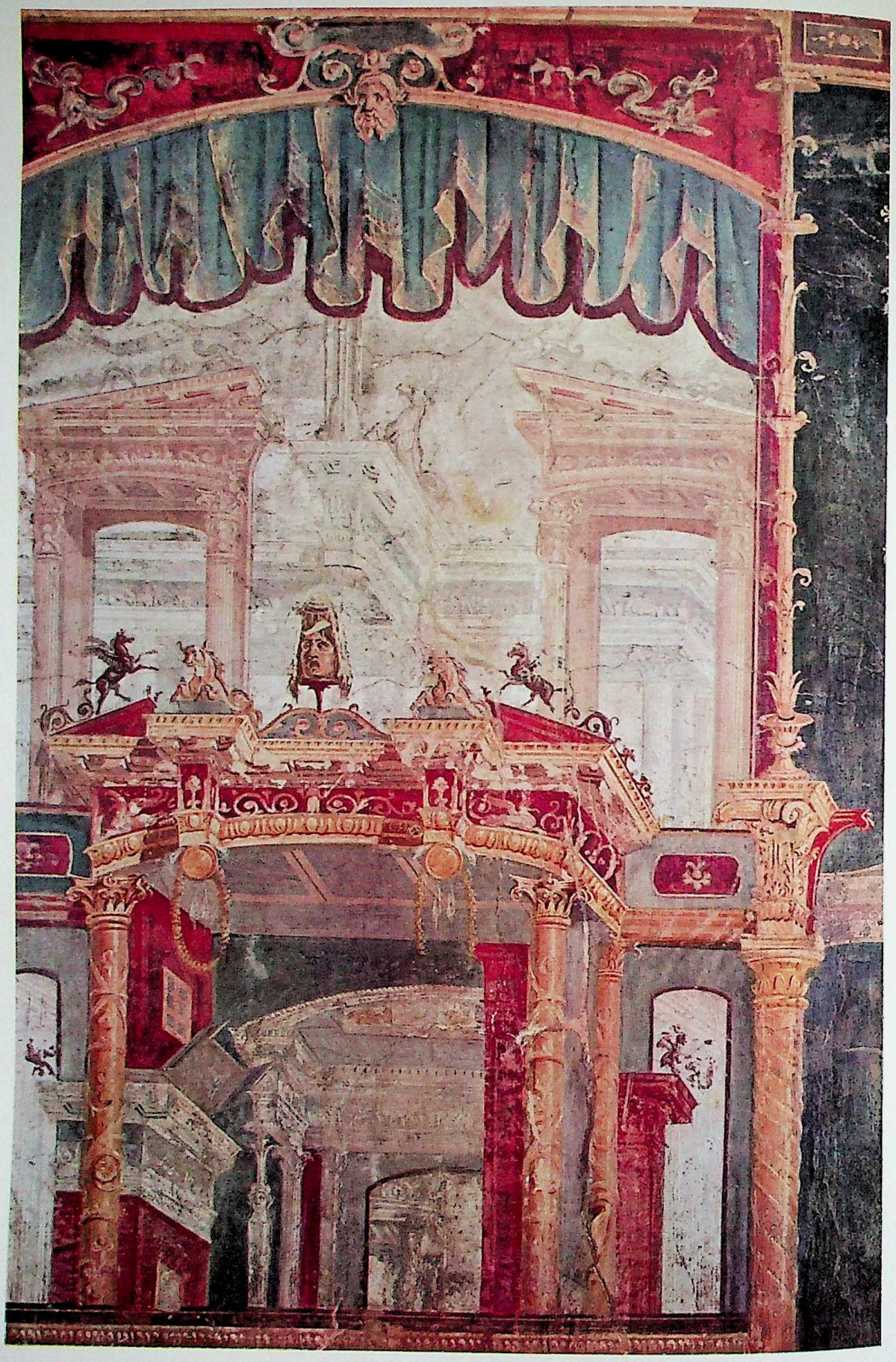

Pl. 214. Architectural wall decoration of Style IV, from Herculaneum, third quarter of 1st cent. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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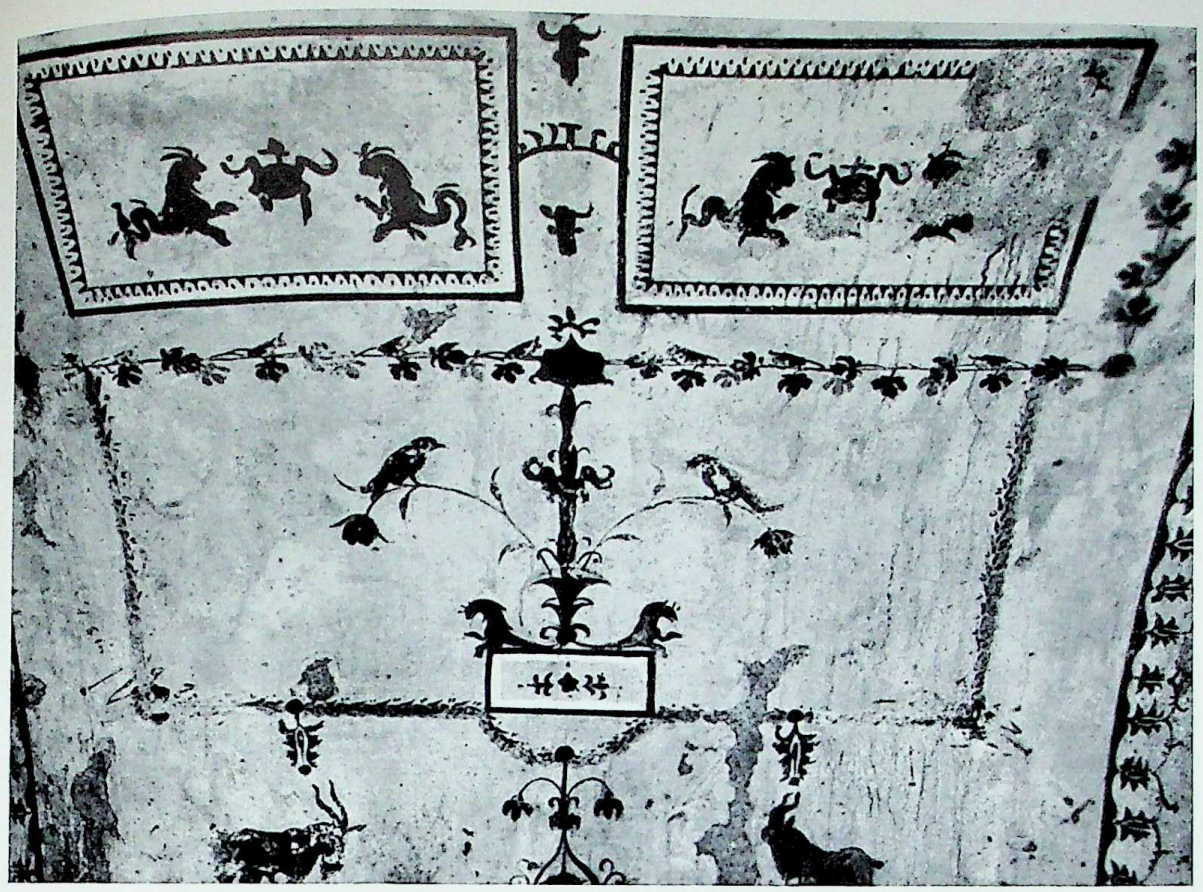

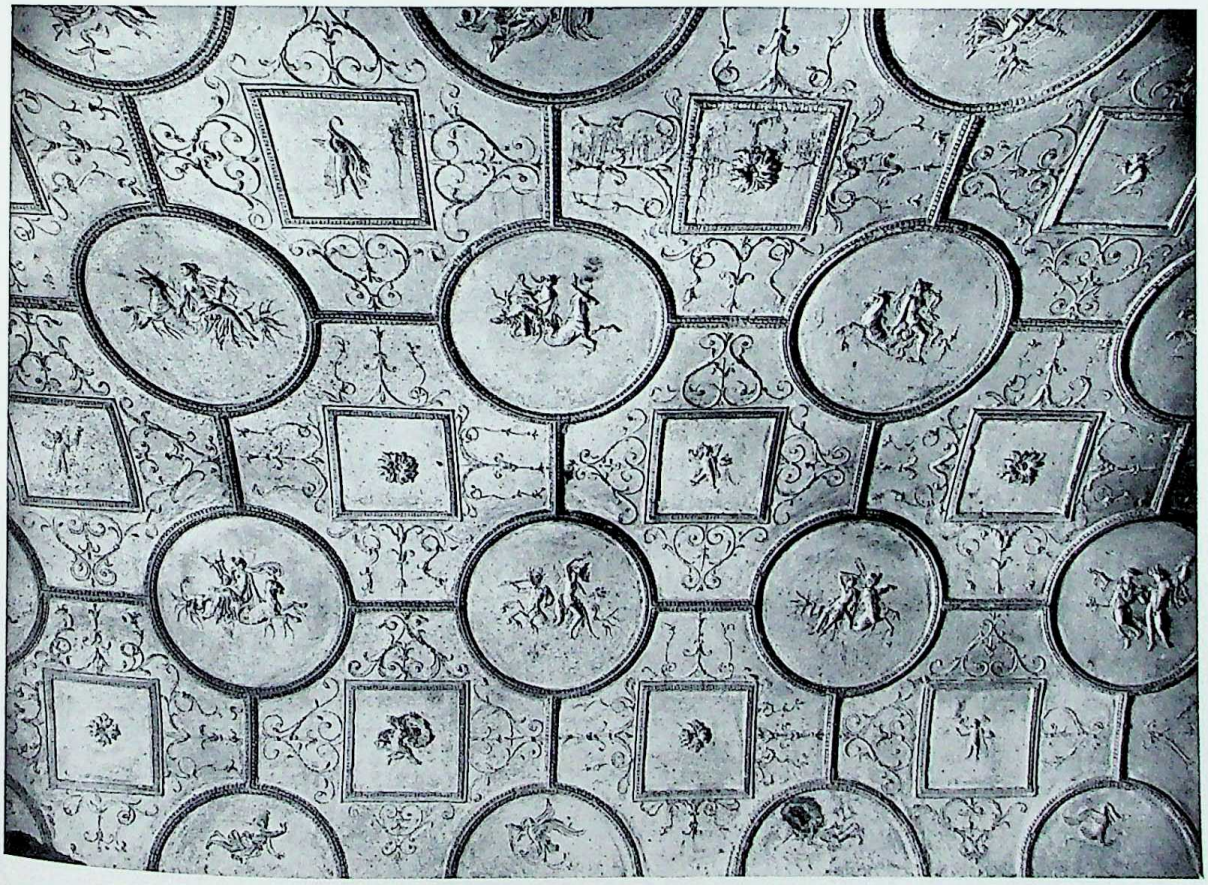

Pl. 215. Rome. *Above*: Detail of a painted vault in the Golden House of Nero (A. D. 64–69). *Below*: Detail of a stuccoed vault in the Tomb of the Valerii in Via Latina, second half of 2d cent.

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Pl. 216. *Left, above*: Glass pitcher, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below*: Pitcher with repoussé decoration, from the Boscoreale Treasure, period of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14), after Hellenistic types. Silver, ht., 9½ in. Paris, Louvre. *Right, above*: Fragment of an Aretine vase matrix, early 1st cent. Diam., 5½–5¾ in. Florence, Museo Archeologico. *Center*: Aretine cup, from Capua, first half of 1st cent. London, British Museum. *Below*: Cup with repoussé decoration, from the House of Menander, Pompeii, late republican or early imperial period, after Hellenistic types. Silver, ht., 3¼ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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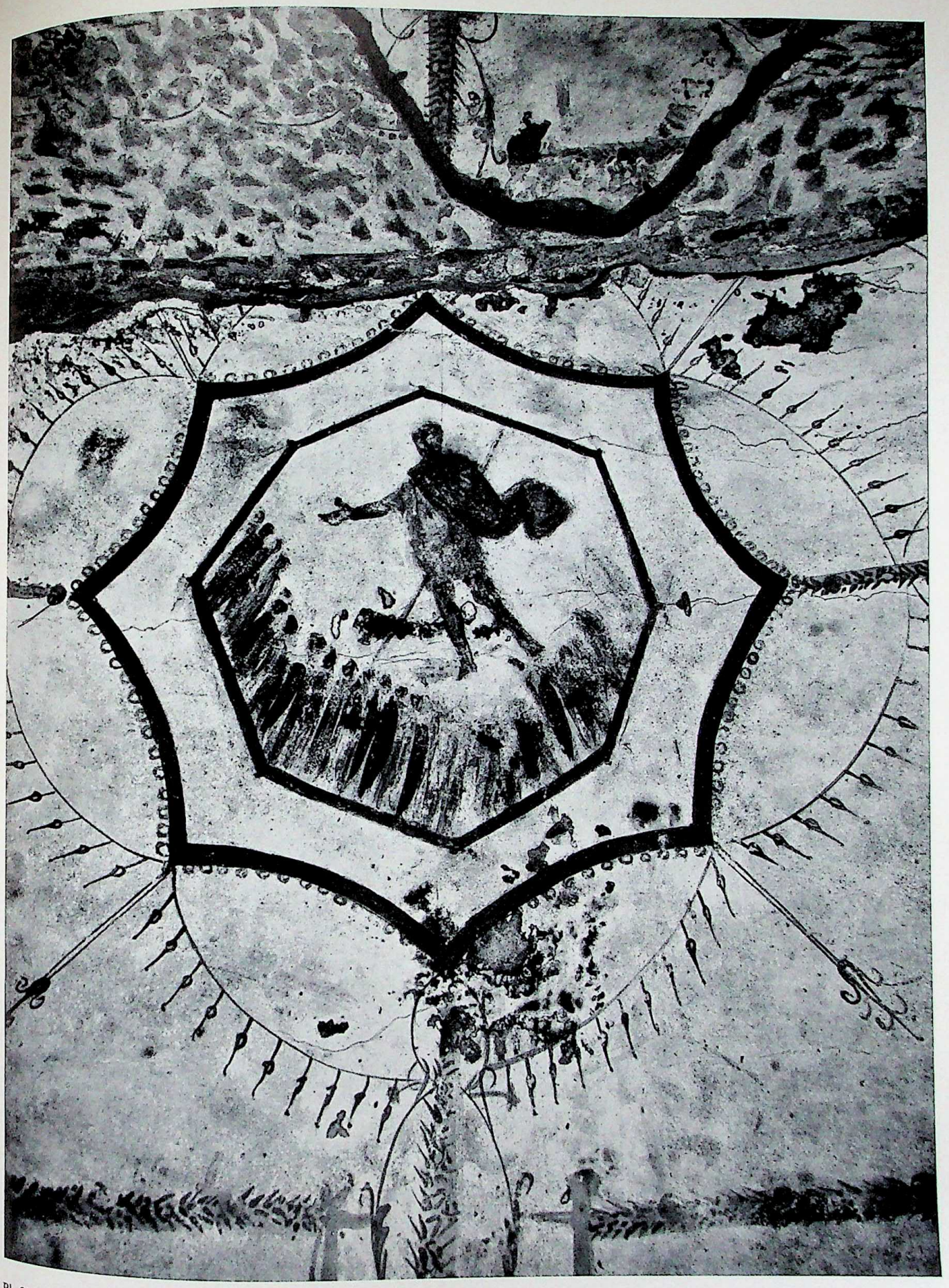

Pl. 217. The Mystagogue appearing to his followers, 3d cent. Wall painting. Rome, Catacomb of St. Sebastian, tomb of Clodius Hermes.

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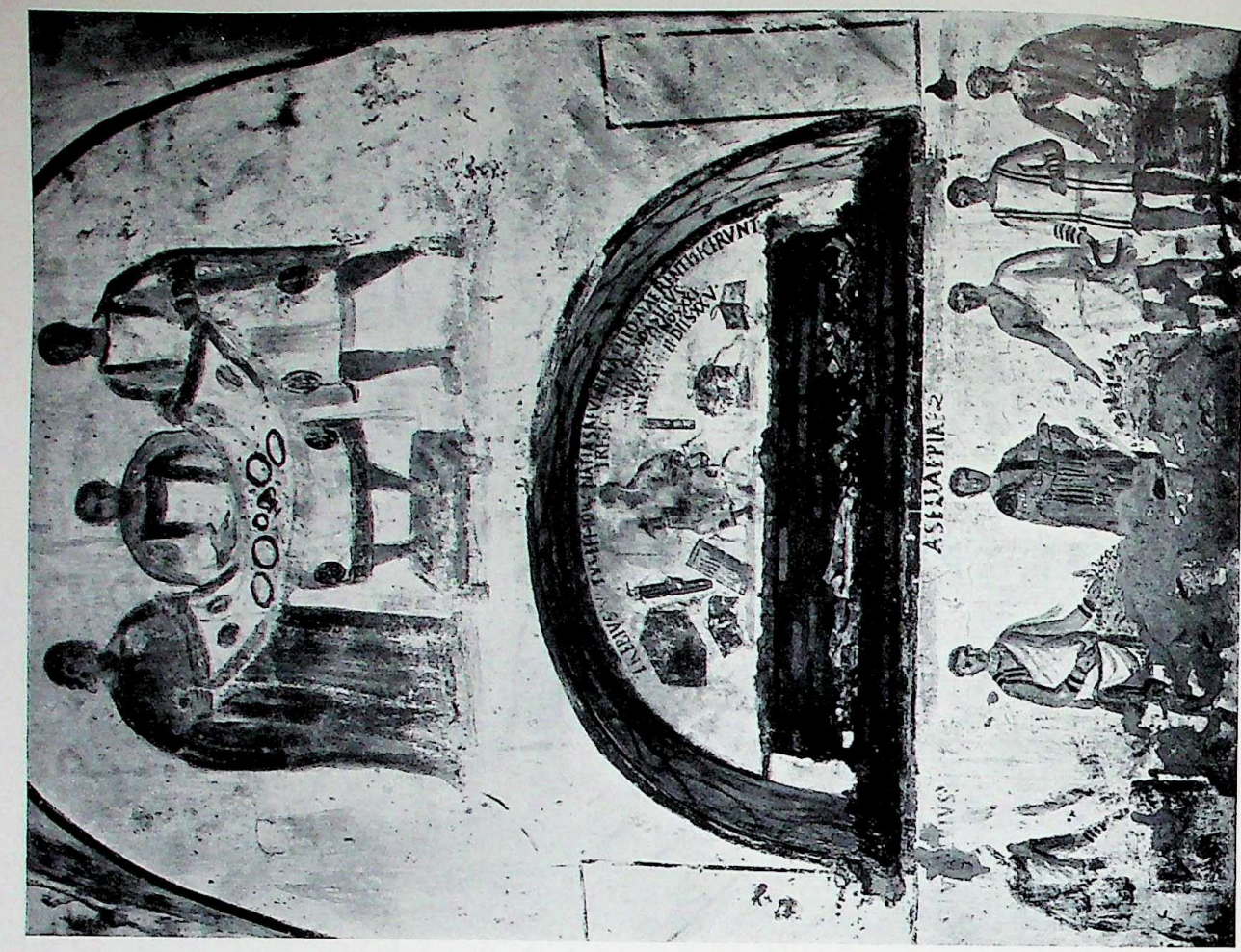


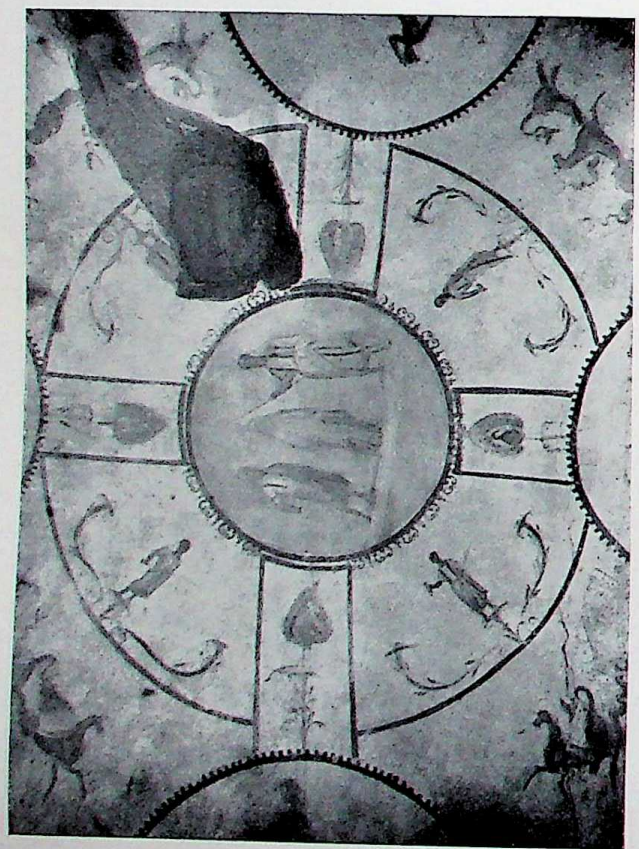

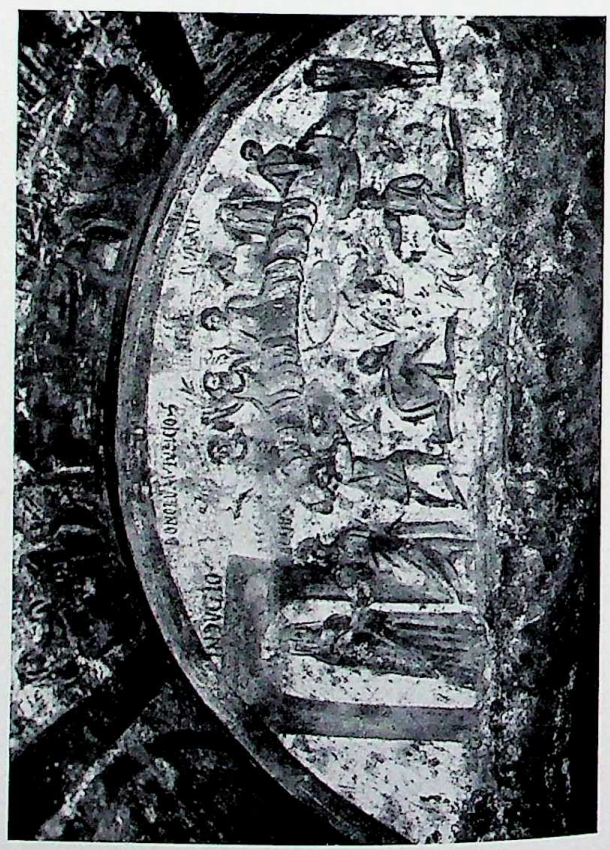

Pl. 218. Rome, wall paintings. *Left, above*: Initiation or benediction scene, 3d cent. Hypogeum of the Aurelii. *Below*: "Introductio Vibies," 4th cent. Catacomb of *Praetextatus*, Sabazian Hypogeum. *Right*: End wall with offertory scene, 4th cent. Hypogeum of Trebius Justus.

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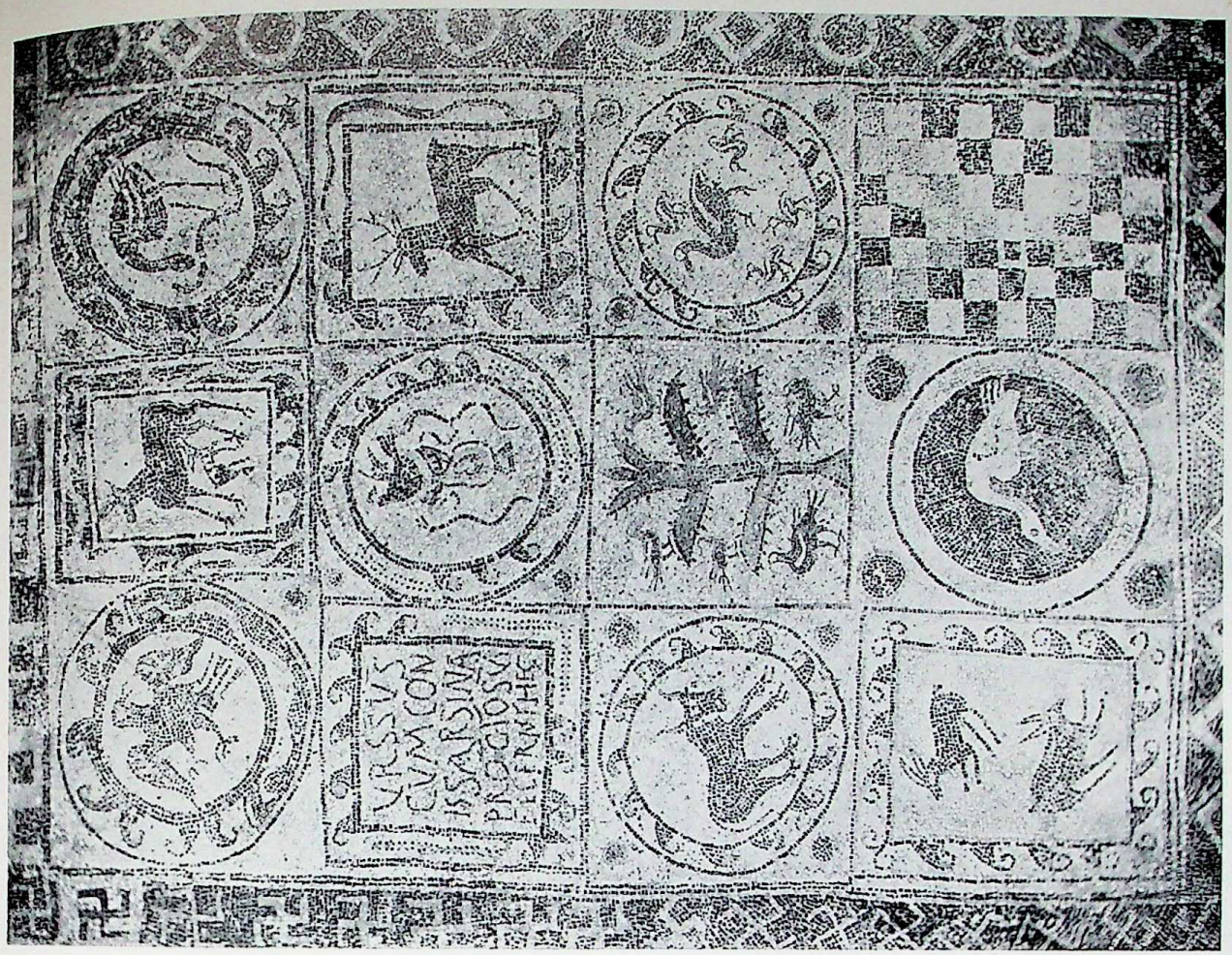

Pl. 219. *Left*: Gems, inspired by Basilidian gnosticism, 3d cent. Perugia, Museo Archeologico. *Above*: The demon Jaō. Jasper, $^{5}/_{8} \times {}^{7}/_{8}$ in. *Below*: Female deity with the Dioscuri (?). Jasper, $1\,{}^{3}/_{8} \times 1\,{}^{5}/_{8}$ in. *Right*: Floor mosaic, showing heterodox symbols, ca. A.D. 500. Teurnia, Carinthia, Austria, cemetery church.

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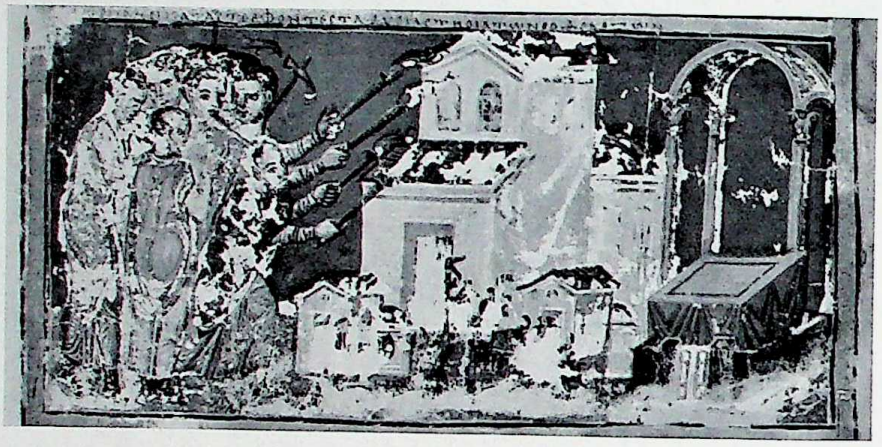

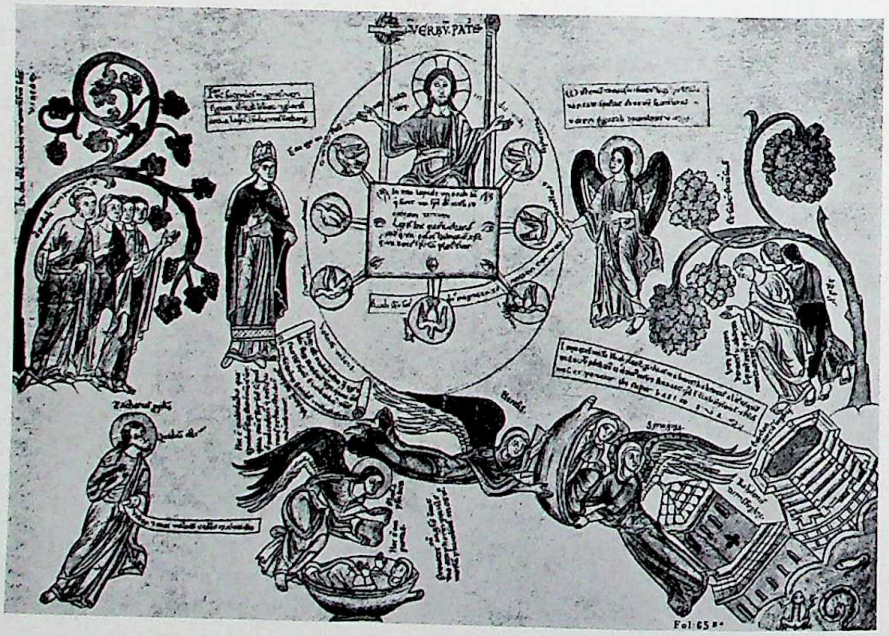

Pl. 220. *Above*: Menologion of Basil II, Arius before the Ecumenical Council, 10th cent. Illumination. Rome, Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 108). *Center*: Persecution by the Arians, detail, 880. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. gr. 510, fol. 367v). *Below*: Herrad von Landsberg, Heresy, *Hortus Deliciarum* (fol. 65r), 12th cent. Illumination. (Copy; orig. destroyed, 1870).

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Pl. 221. El Escorial, near Madrid, Court of the Evangelists.

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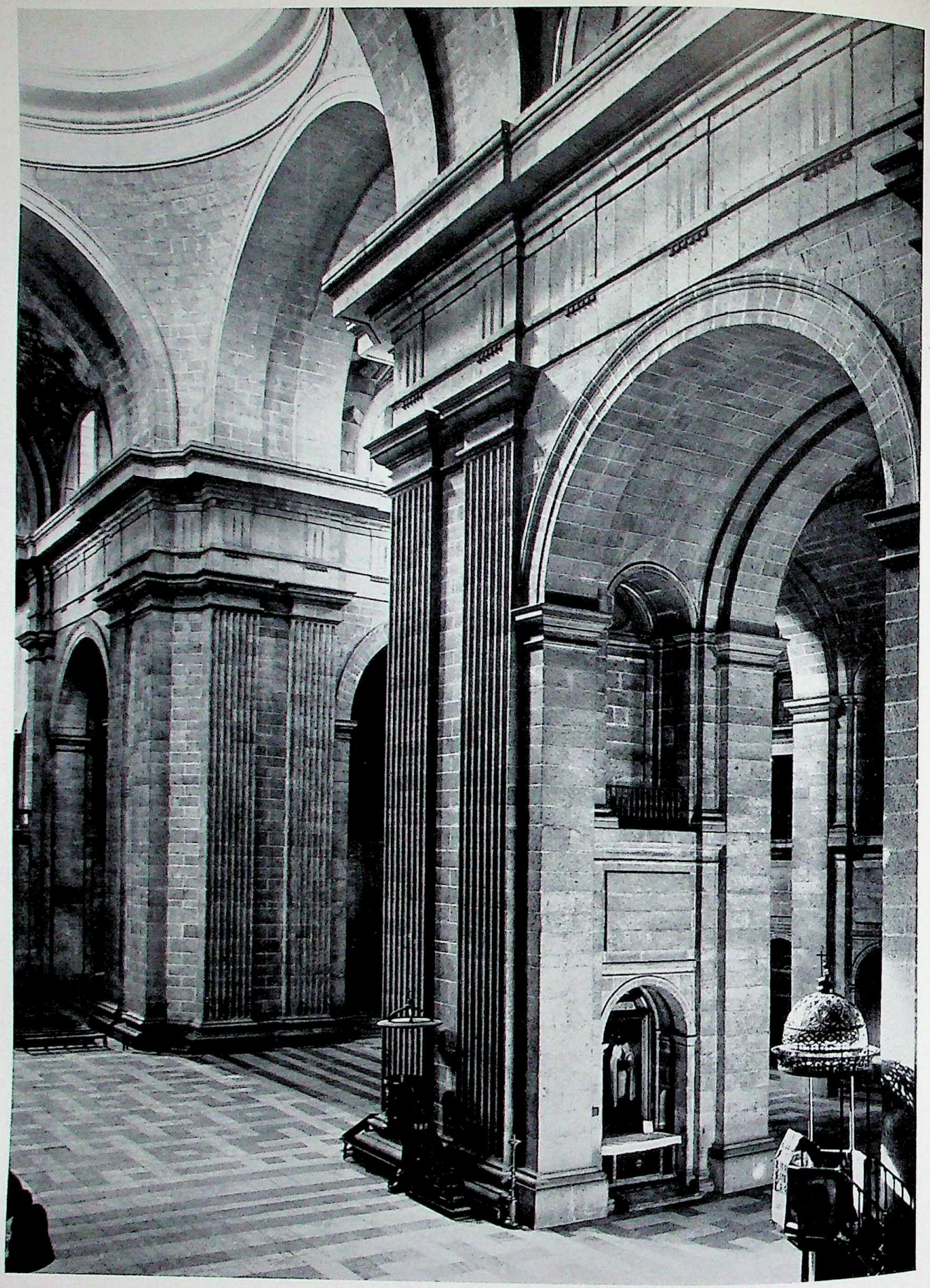

Pl. 222. El Escorial, near Madrid, interior of the church.

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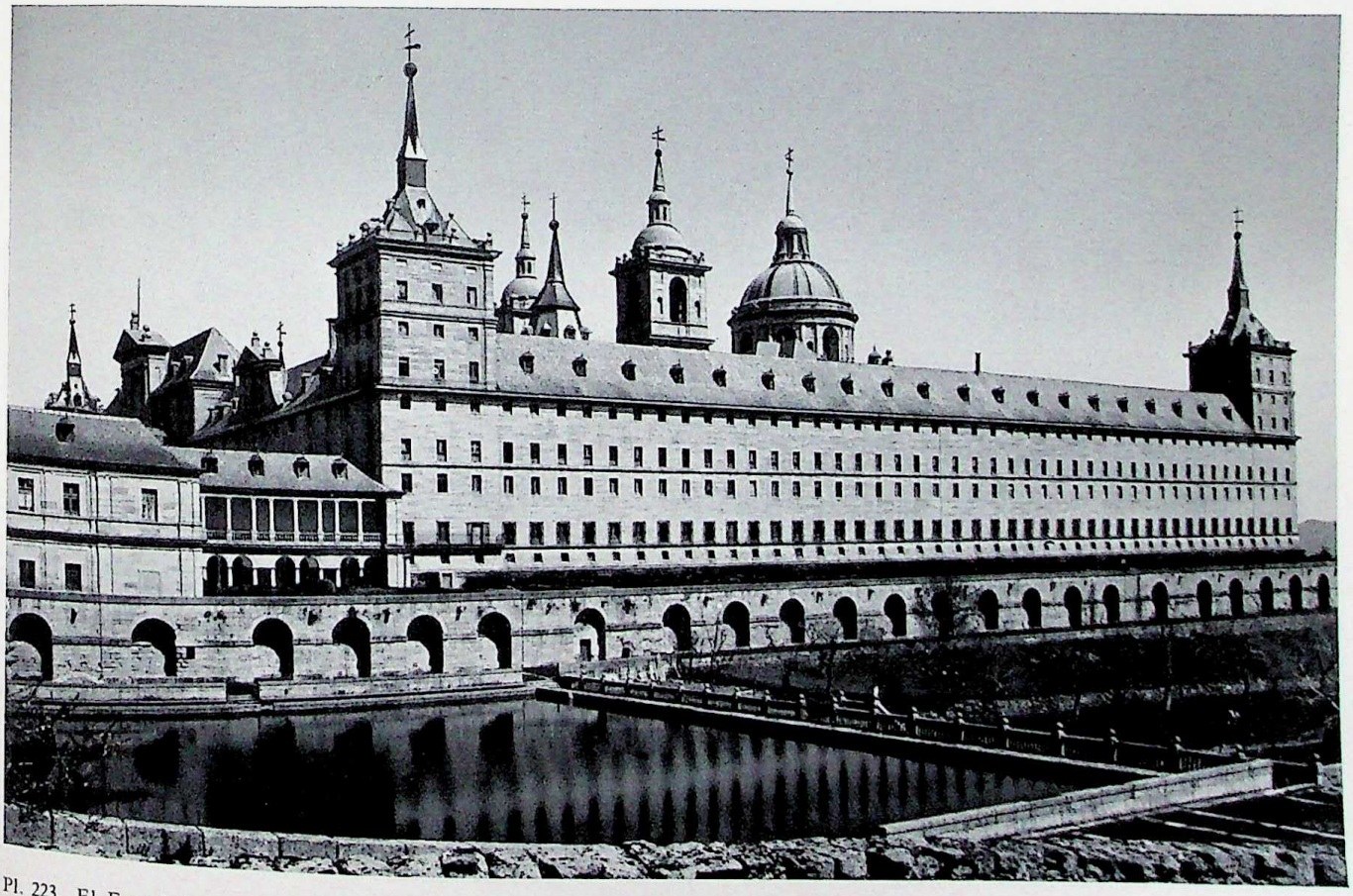

Pl. 223. El Escorial, near Madrid. *Above*: Main façade. *Below*: South flank.

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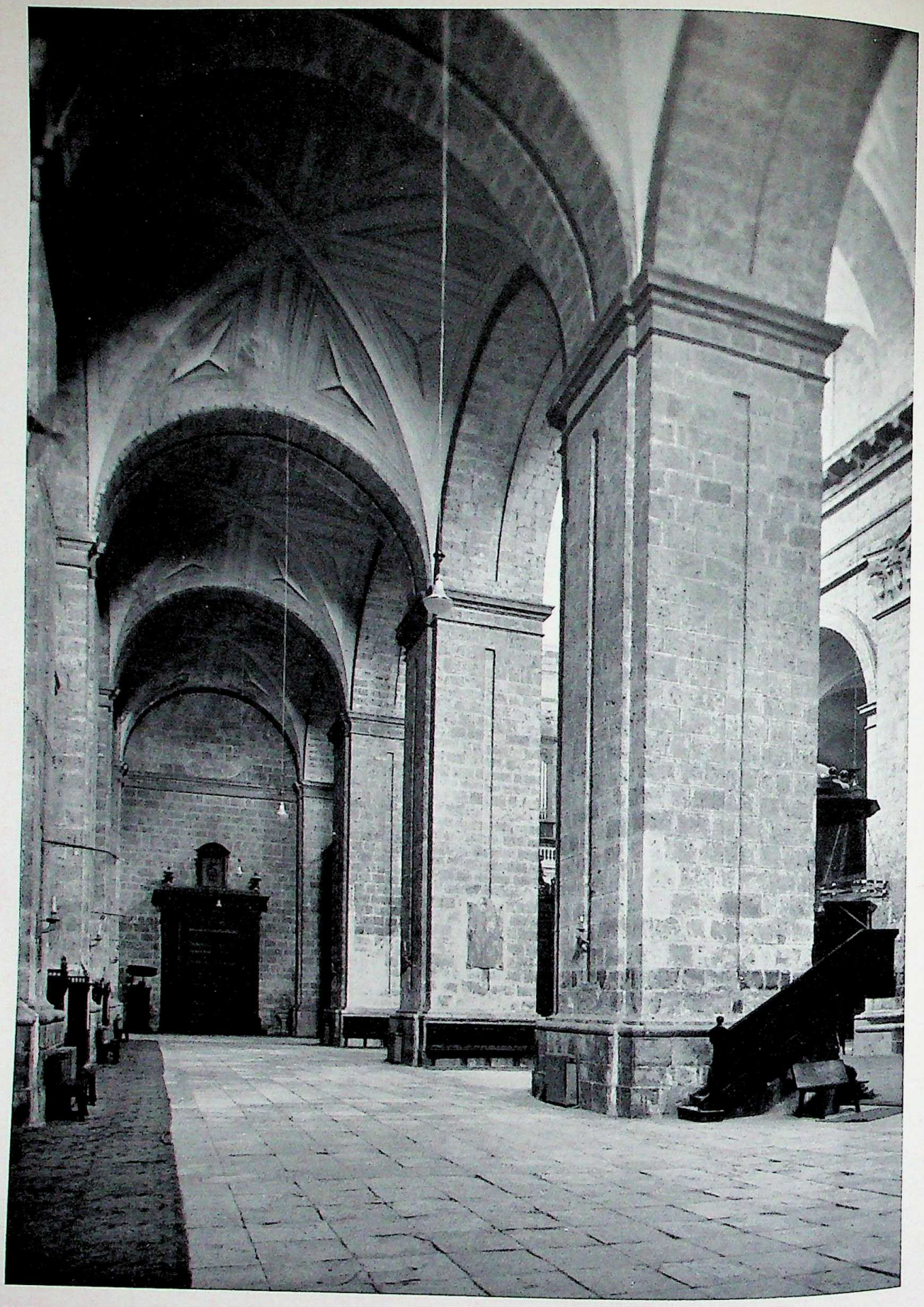

Pl. 224. Valladolid, Spain, Cathedral, interior.

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Pl. 225. Agastya in yoga posture, from Kerala, ca. 8th–9th cent. Stone, ht., 22½ in. Trivandrum, Kerala, Government Museum.

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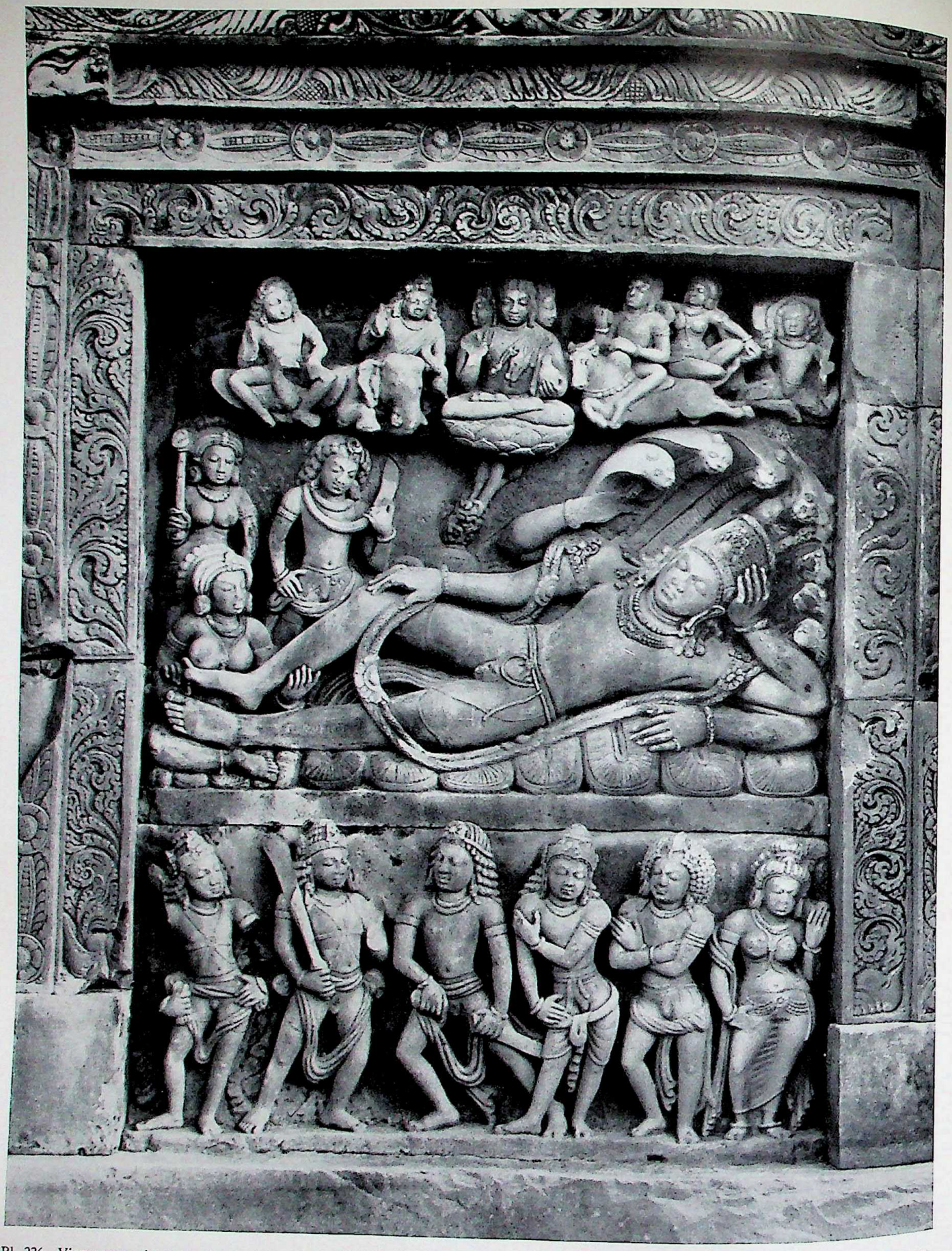

Pl. 226. Viṣṇu recumbent on the serpent Ananta and the cosmic waters (Anantaśayin), panel of the south wall in the Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) temple, Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 6th cent. Stone.

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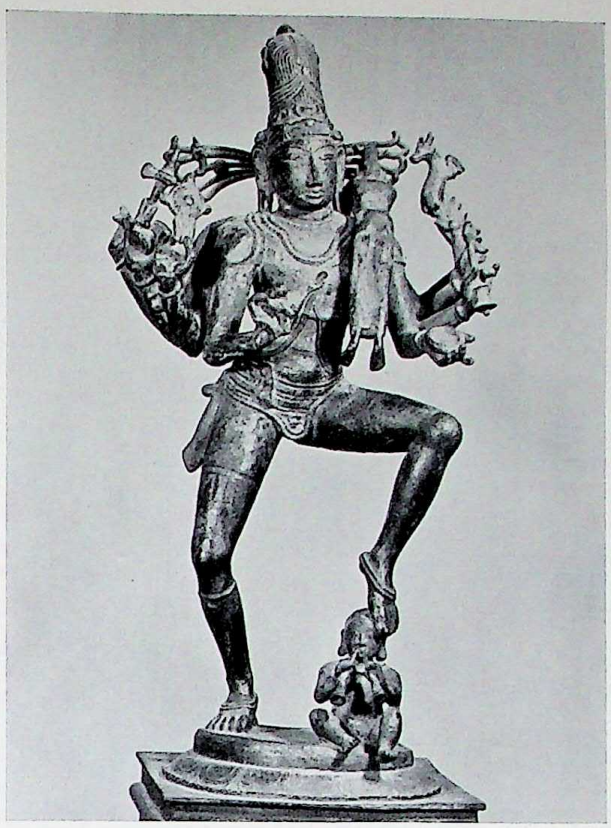

Pl. 227. *Left, above*: Agni, god of fire, from Tirunelveli, Madras, ca. 11th–13th cent. Stone, ht., 30 3/4 in. Madras, Government Museum. *Below*: Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed god, from Eksari, Rajasthan, ca. 11th cent. Stone, ht., 21 5/8 in. Patna, Museum. *Right, above*: The god Śiva bearing the remains of his bride Satī, from southern India, ca. 12th–13th cent. Bronze, ht., 29 1/2 in. Trivandrum, Kerala, Government Museum. *Below*: The god Kṛṣṇa with the flute, from Chingleput, Madras, ca. 18th cent. Stone, ht., 35 3/8 in. Patna, Museum.

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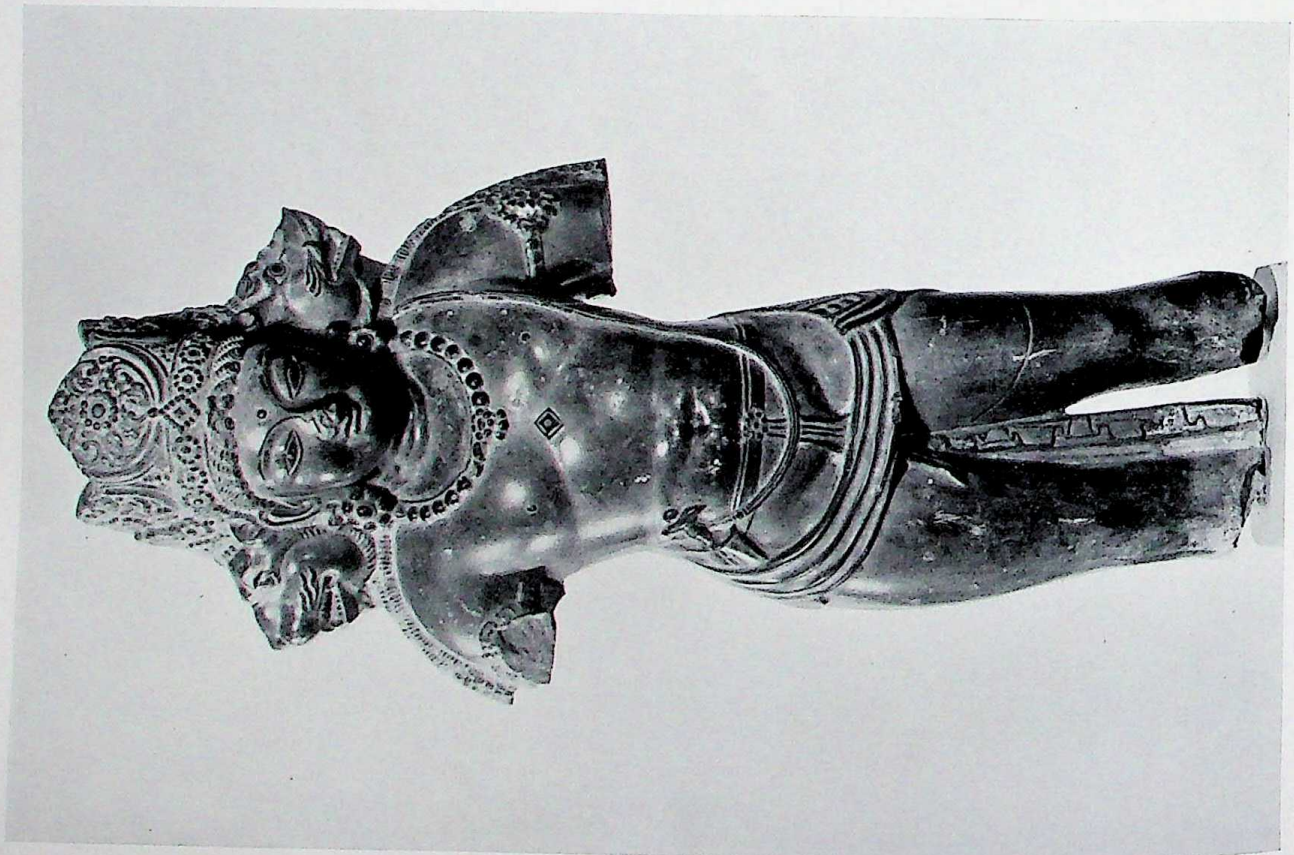

Pl. 228. The god Viṣṇu in four-faced form (Caturmūrti), from the temple in Avantipur, near Srinagar, Kashmir, second half of 9th cent. Black basalt, ht., 33 7/8 in. *Left*: Front view, showing the human, lion, and boar faces. *Right*: Rear view, showing the demon face. Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Museum.

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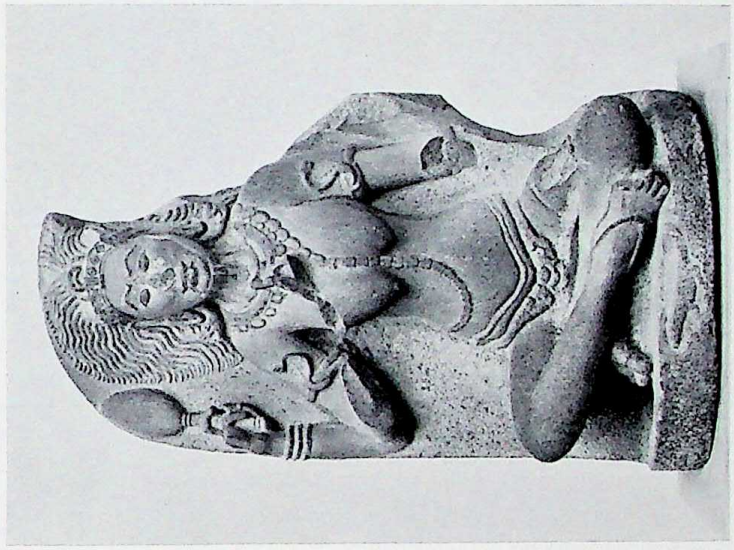

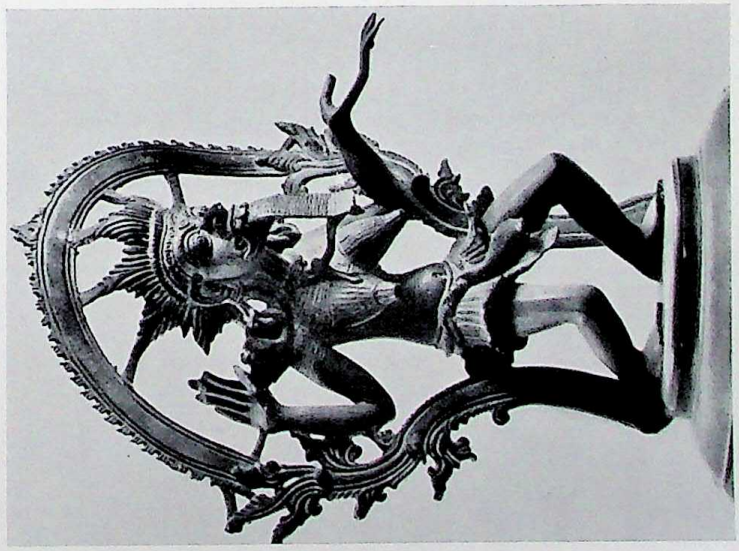

Pl. 229. *Above*: Śiva with the divine mothers, from Abaneri, Rajasthan, ca. 8th cent. Stone, ht., 15¾ in. Amber, Rajasthan, Archaeological Museum. *Below, left*: The goddess Kālī, with protruding tongue, garlanded with cobras, from southern India, 19th cent. Bronze; ht., including base, 19 in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Center and right*: Two images of Kālī, from southern India, 12th–13th cent. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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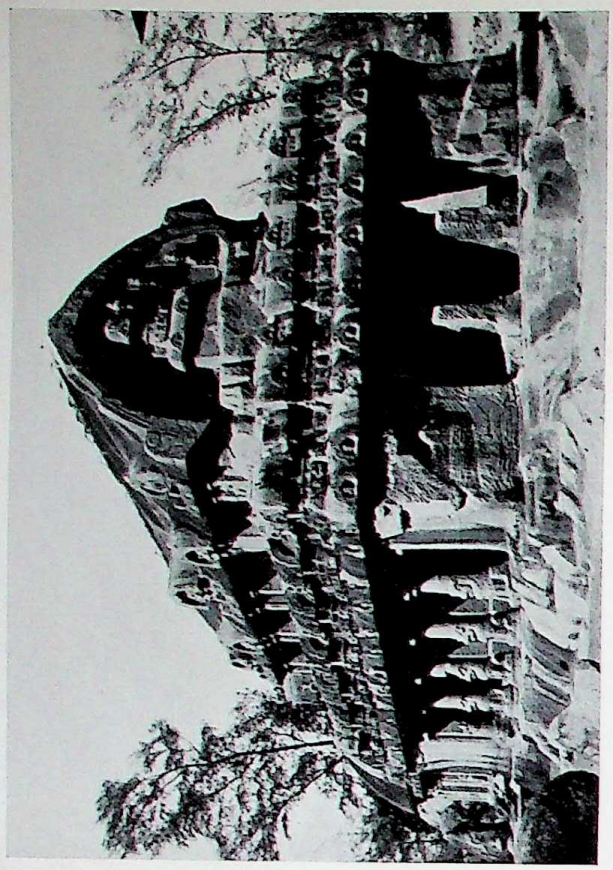

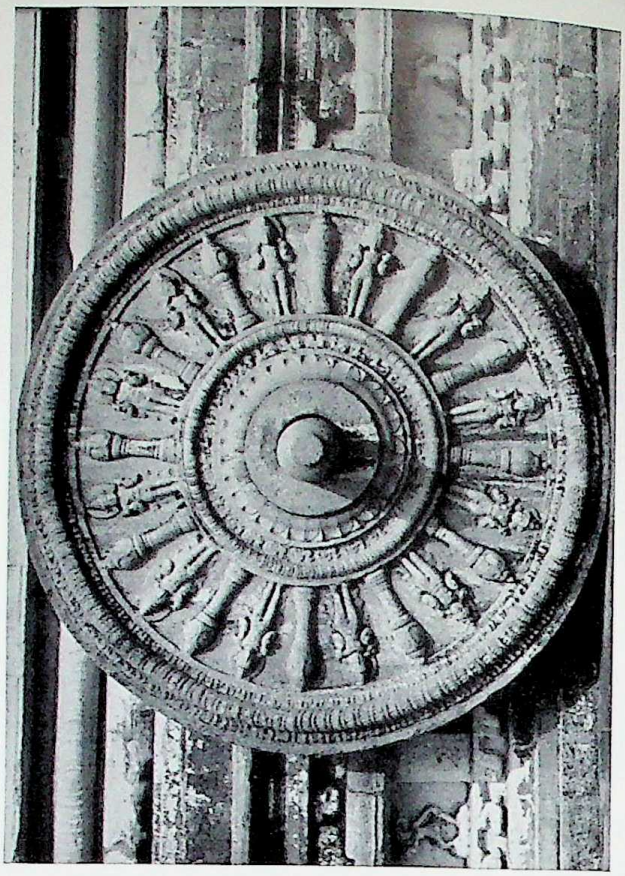

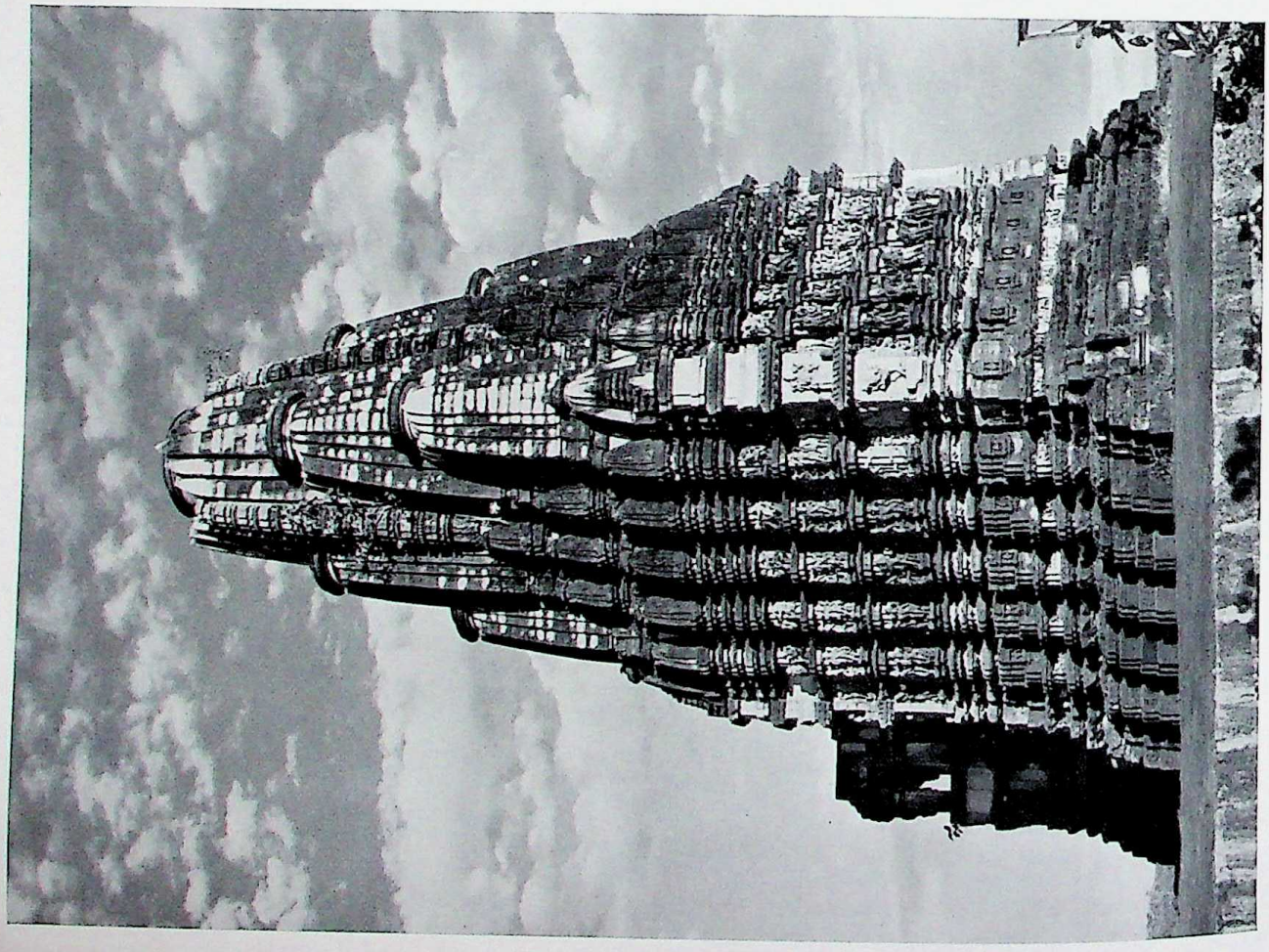

Pl. 230. *Left:* Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, the shikara of the temple of Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva, ca. 11th cent. *Right, above:* Mamallapuram, Madras, the Bhima ratha, 7th cent. *Below:* Hampi (Vijayanagar), Mysore, ratha wheel, 16th cent.

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Pl. 231. Mamallapuram, Madras, the Descent of the Ganges, or "Arjuna's Penance," detail showing the fissure, occupied by nagas, approached by elephants, 7th cent. Rock sculpture.

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Pl. 232. Linga, disclosing Śiva, with the Brahmā gander and the Viṣṇu boar, illustrating the myth of the origin of the linga (*lingobhava*), southern India, ca. 13th–14th cent. Stone, ht., 4 ft., 1 5/8 in. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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Pl. 233. Trident (*triśūla*), symbol of the god Śiva, from southern India, 9th–10th cent. (?). Bronze, ht., 21⁵/₈ in. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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Pl. 234. Paraśurāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, killing Sahasrārjuna, Bashohli school, ca. 18th cent. Water color, $10^1/_2 \times 7^1/_8$ in. New Delhi, National Museum of India.

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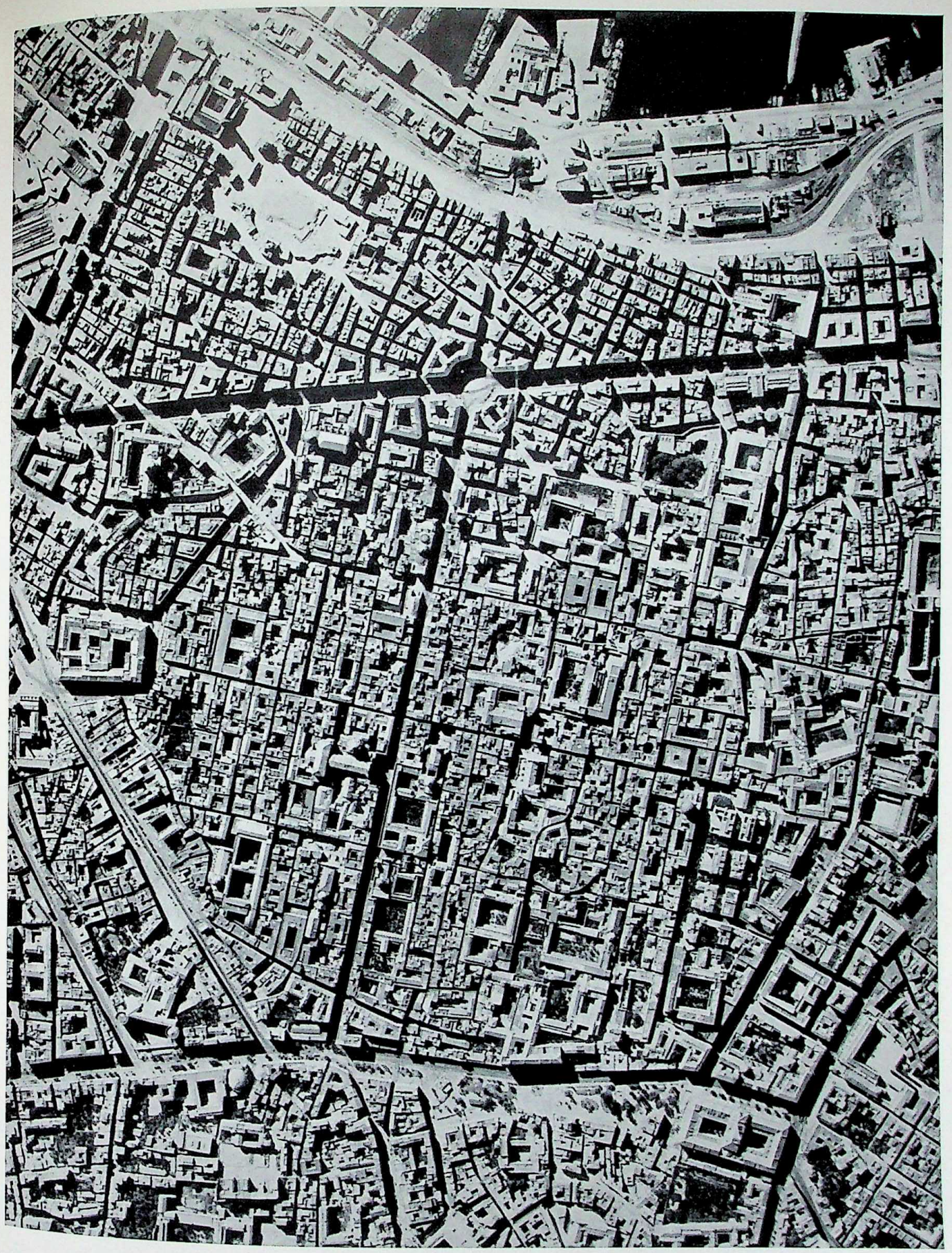

Pl. 235. Town planning of Hippodamian type, as revealed by an aerial view of modern Naples.

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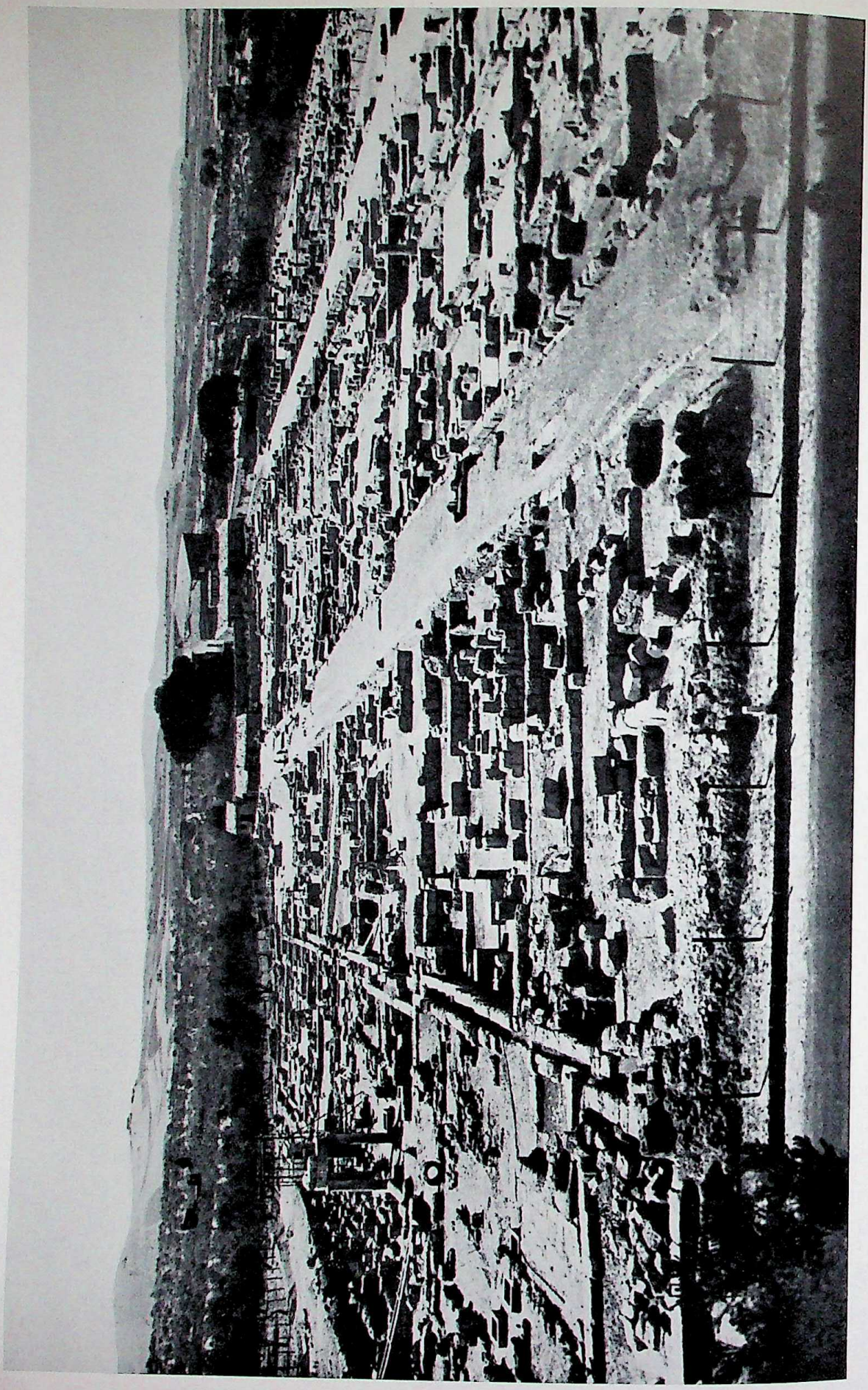

Pl. 236. Town planning of Hippodamian type, Agrigento, Sicily, Hellenistic-Roman quarter.

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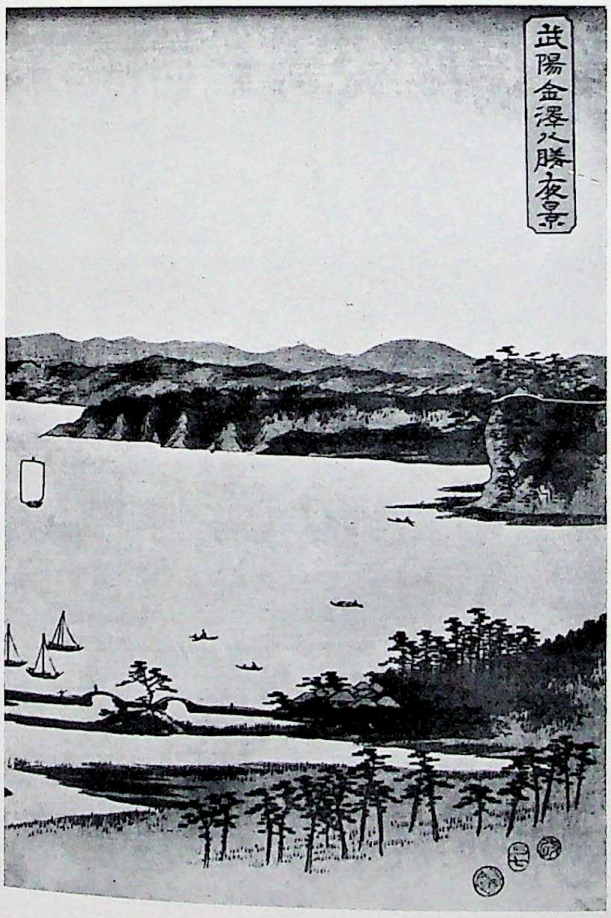

Pl. 237. *Above*: Ishiyama Temple by Moonlight. Woodprint. *Below, left*: Kanazawa by Night, detail. Woodprint. *Right*: The Kiso River in Winter. Woodprint.

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Pl. 238. Cape Mino. Woodprint.

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Pl. 239. Sudden Rain at Ōhashi, 1857. Woodprint, 14×9½ in.

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Pl. 240. Night Rain at Karasaki, 1835. Woodprint, 9×13 in.

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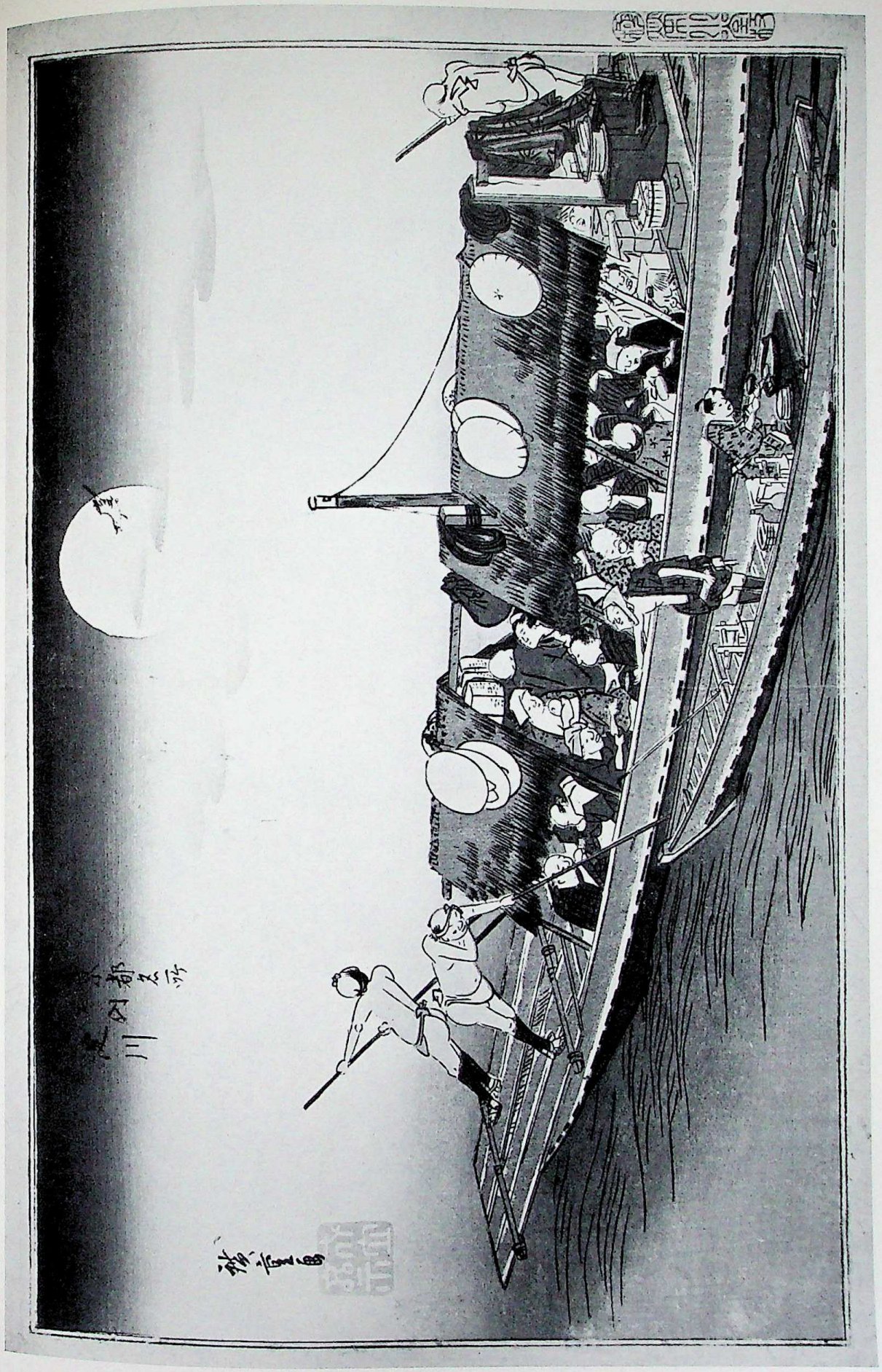

Pl. 241. Passenger Boat on the Yodo River, 1834. Woodprint.

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Pl. 242. Hawk over Snow-covered Landscape. Woodprint.

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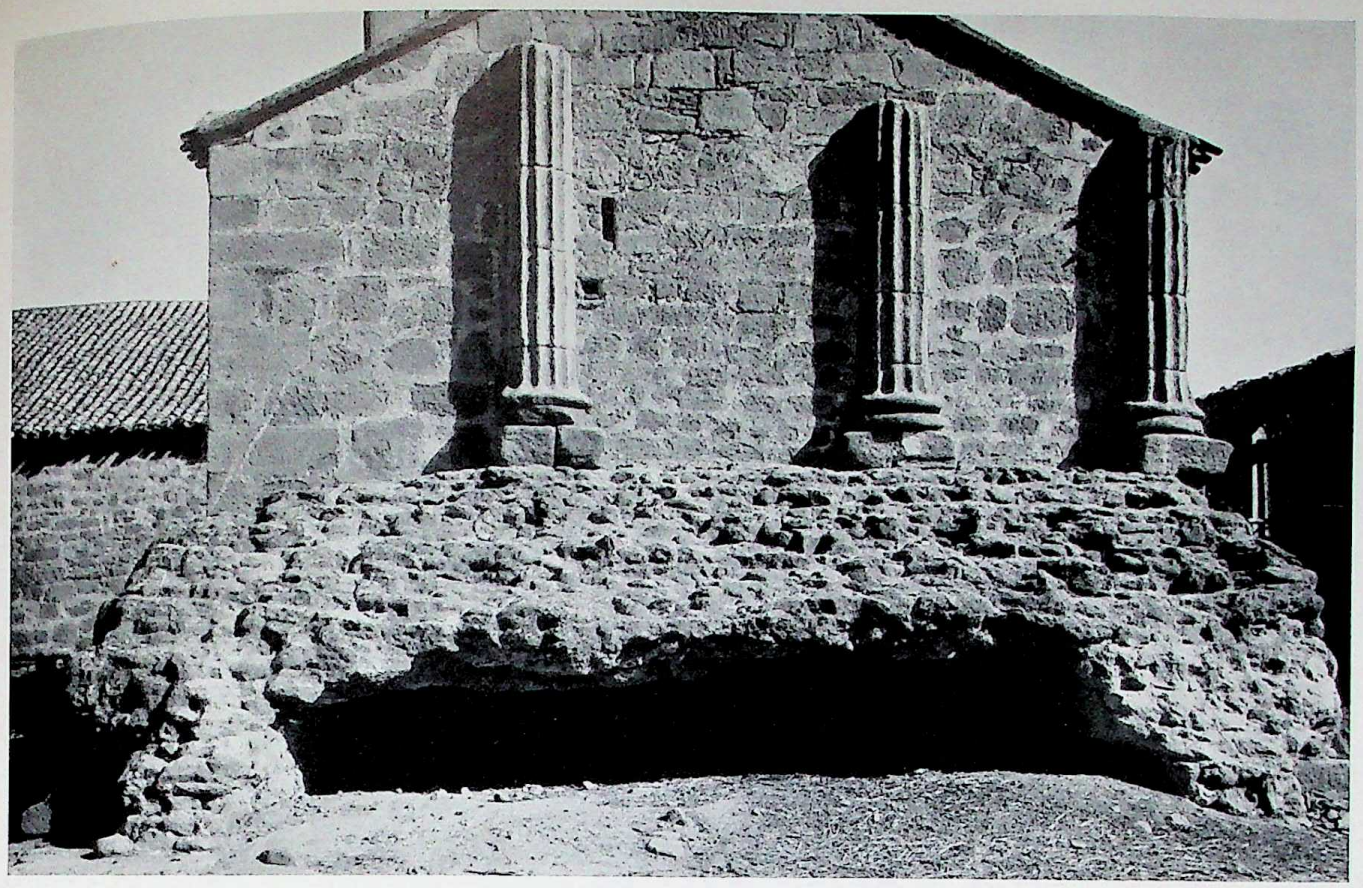

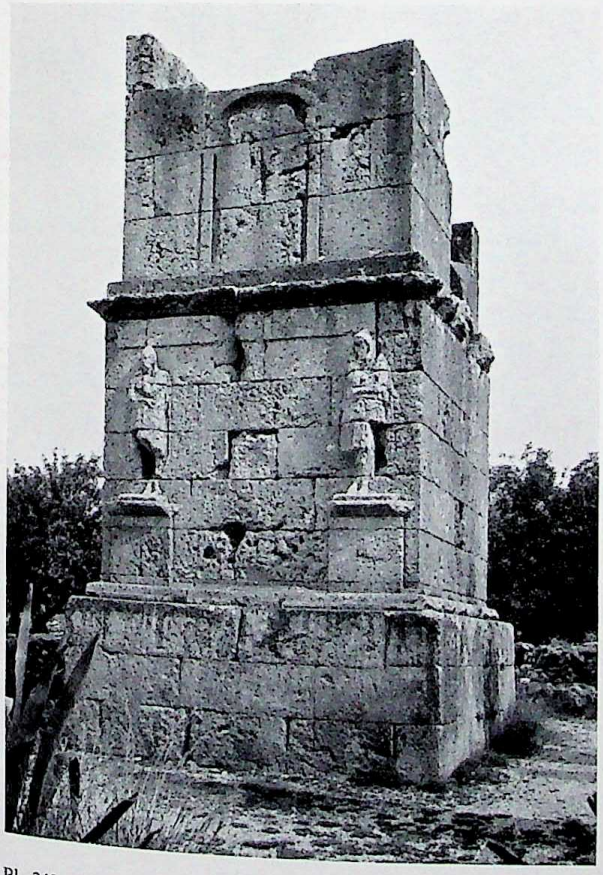

Pl. 243. *Above*: Talavera la Vieja (anc. Augustobriga), Cáceres, remains of a temple. *Below, left*: Tarragona, so-called tomb of the Scipios ("Torre de los Escipiones"). *Right*: Sádaba, Saragossa, tomb of the Atilii, 2d cent.

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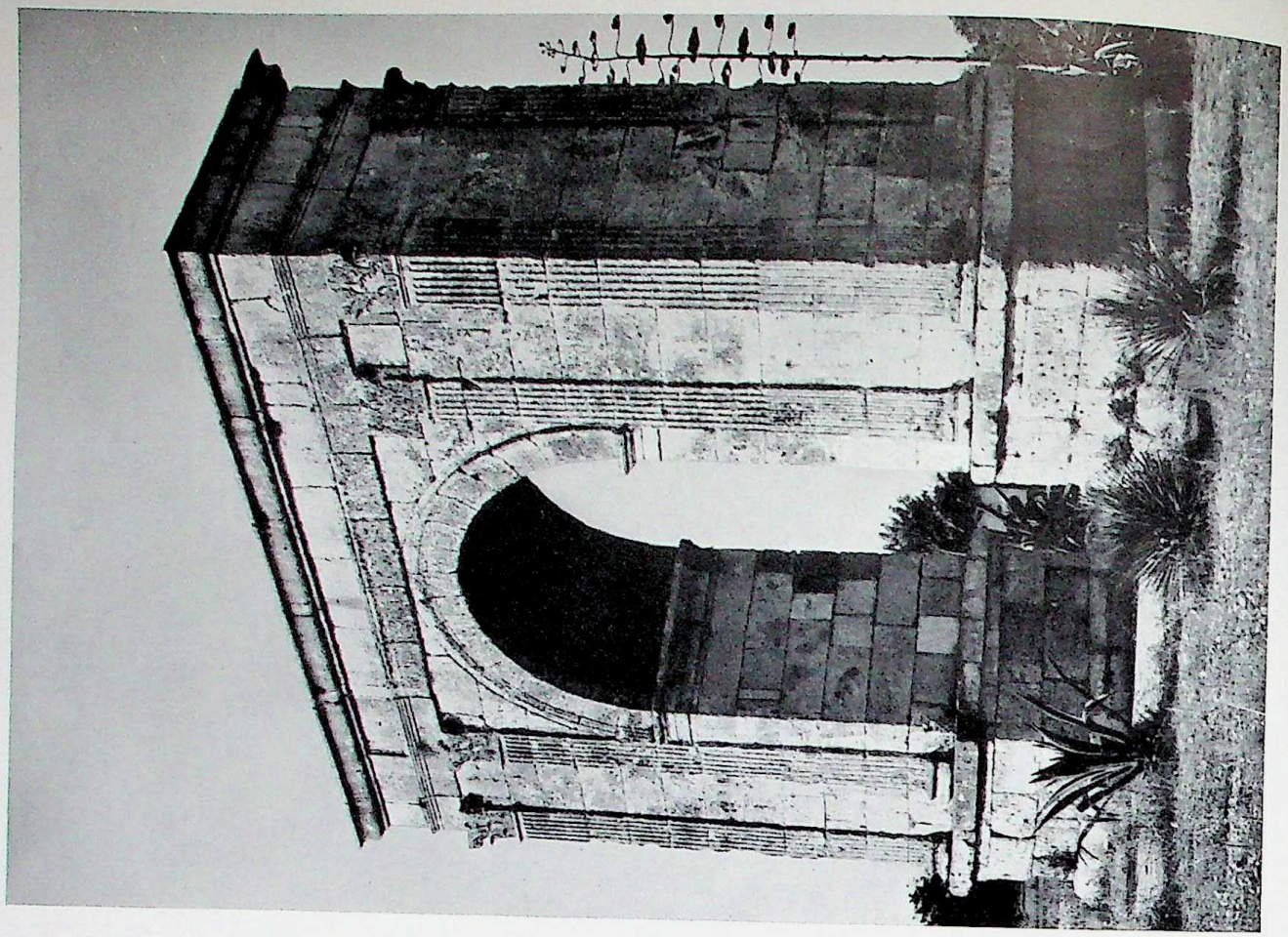

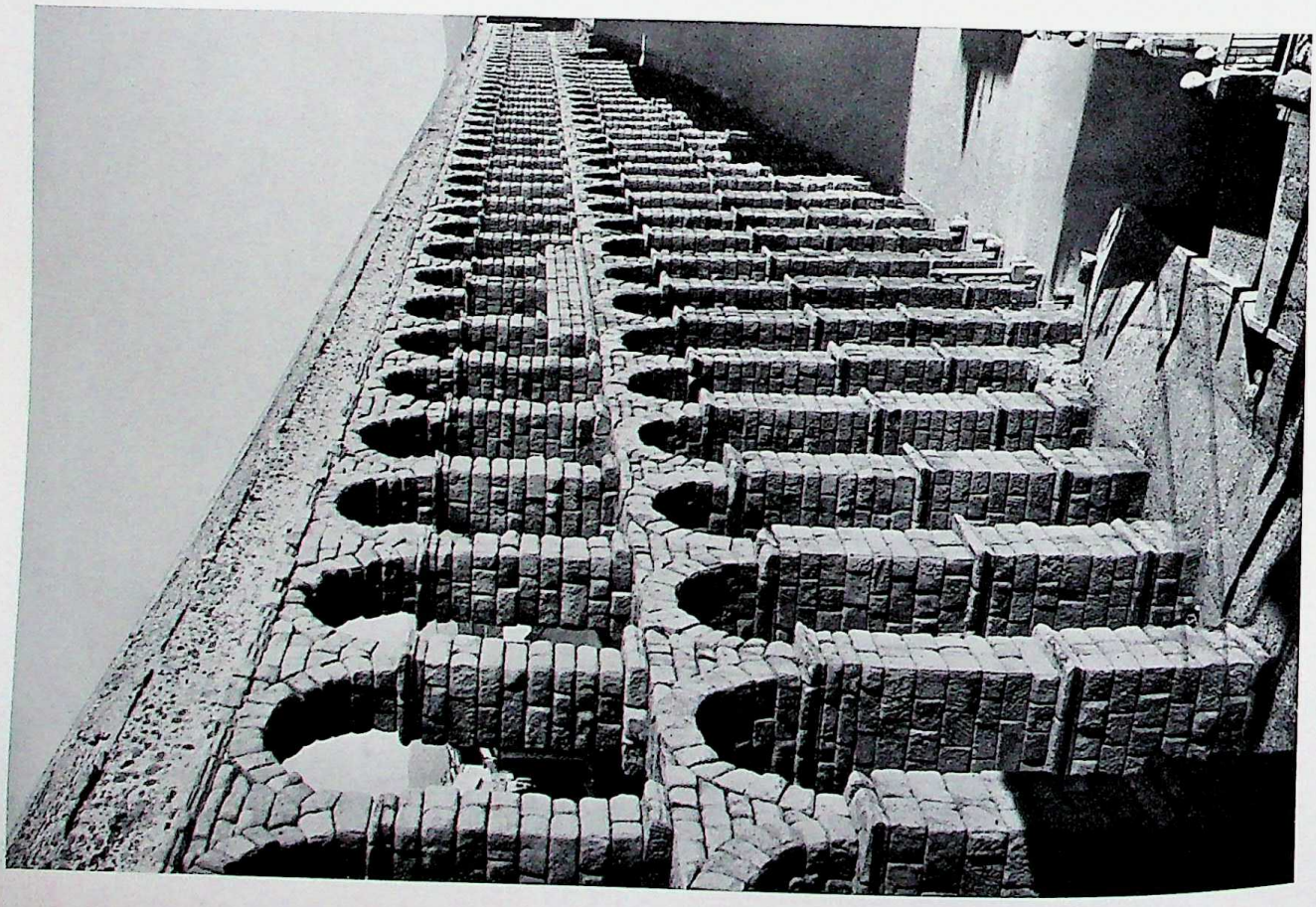

Pl. 244. *Left*: Segovia, detail of the aqueduct, Augustan era (?). *Right*: Environs of Tarragona, arch of Bará, early 2*d* cent.

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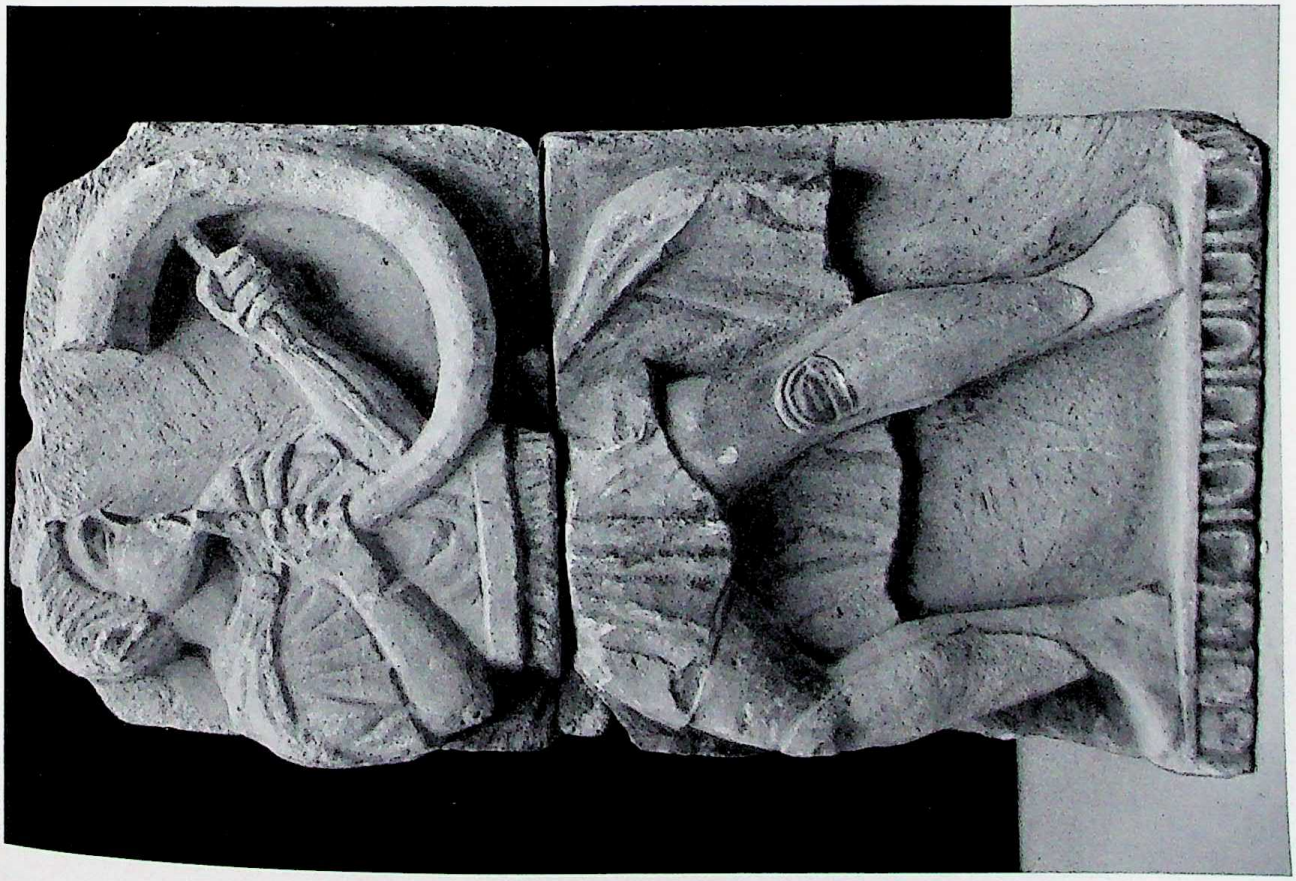

Pl. 245. Reliefs from a commemorative monument, from Osuna (anc. Urso), second half of 1st cent. B.C. Limestone. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. *Left*: Trumpeter. Ht., 4 ft., 7 1/8 in. *Right*: Warrior. Ht., 26 3/8 in.

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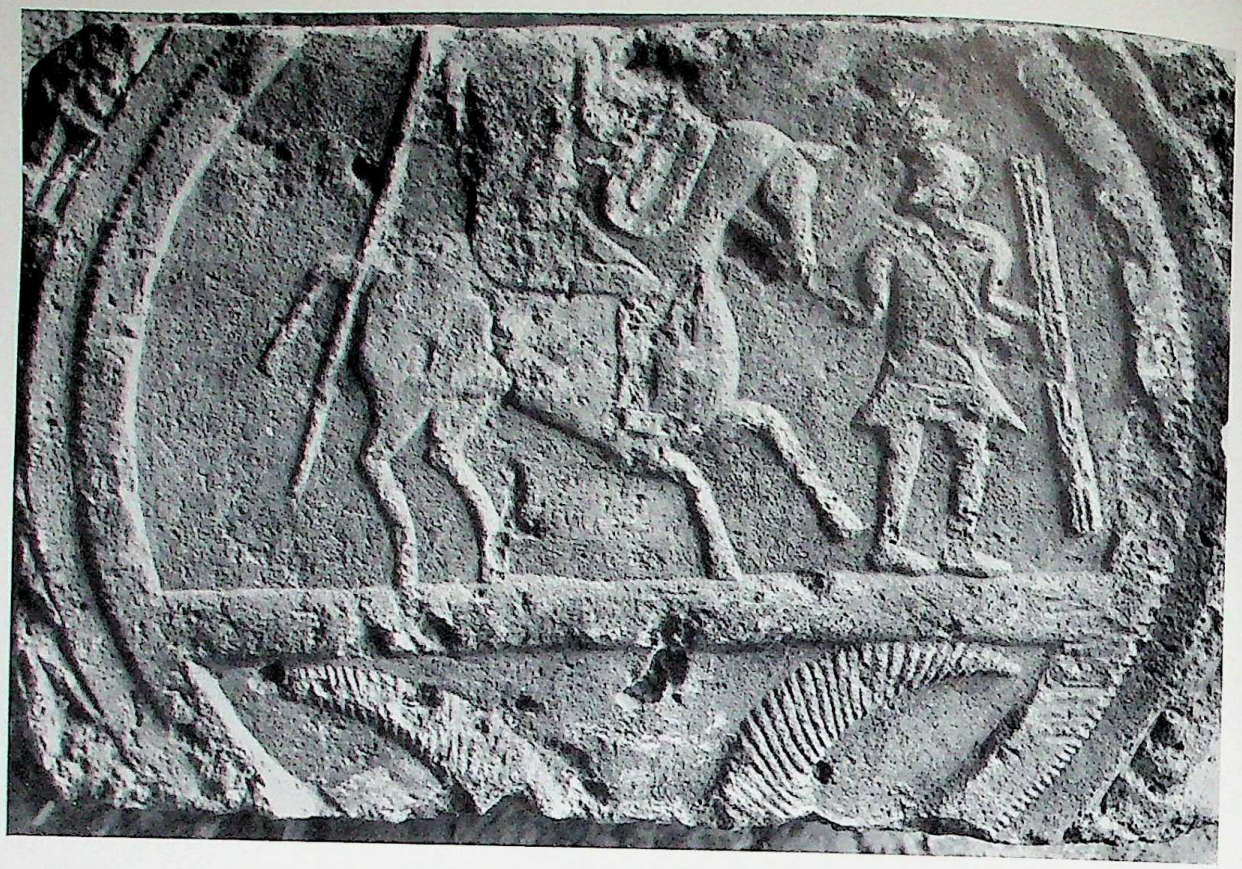

Pl. 246. *Above*: Disk-shaped funerary stele, fragment, from Lara (Salas de los Infantes), Burgos, 2d cent. B.C. (?). Limestone, ht., 15 in. *Below, left*: Funerary stele, fragment, from Clunia, Burgos, 1st–2d cent. Limestone, ht., 48 1/2 in. Both, Burgos, Museo Arqueológico Provincial. *Right*: Fragmentary statue, from Cerro de los Santos (anc. Ello), Montealegre, Albacete, 1st cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 39 3/8 in. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

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Pl. 247. Female head, from Minateda, Albacete, first half of 1st cent. Limestone, ht., 10 5/8 in. Albacete, Museo Arqueológico Provincial.

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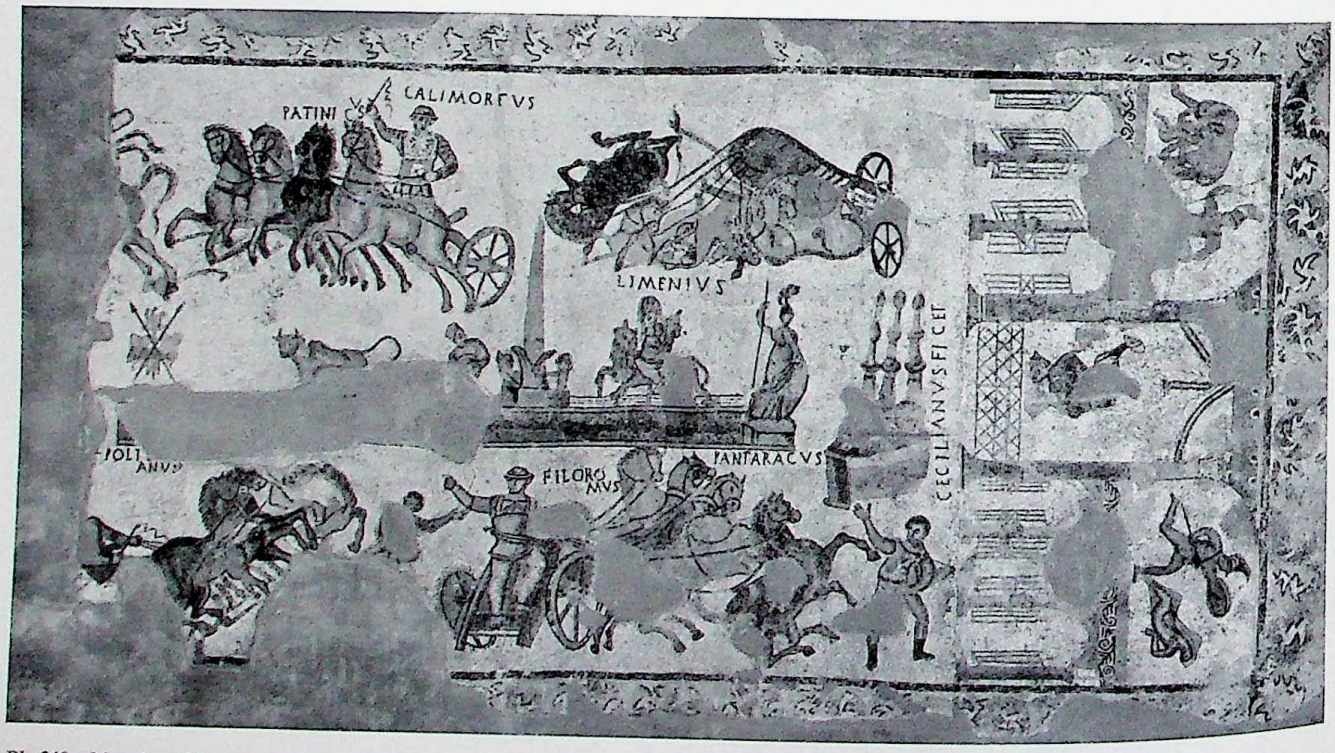


Pl. 248. Mosaics, 3d cent. *Above*: The labors of Hercules, from Liria, Valencia, 18 ft., 1/2 in. × 14 ft., 9 in. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. *Below*: Representation of a circus, from Bell-lloc, near Gerona, 11 ft., 2 5/8 in. × 23 ft., 2 in. Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico.

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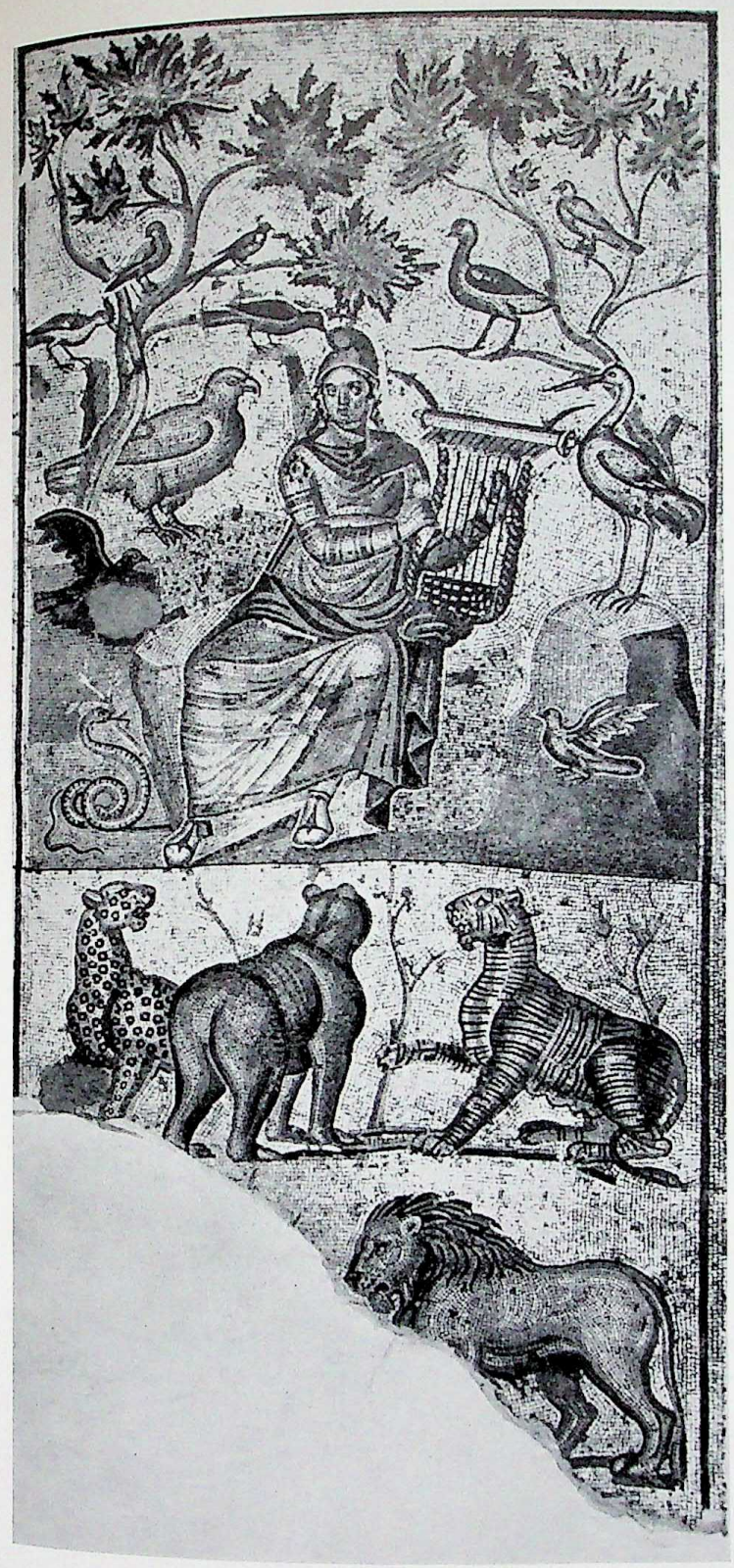

Pl. 249. *Left*: Orpheus taming the wild beasts, from Saragossa, early 2d cent. Mosaic, 11 ft., 9¾ in. × 5 ft., 10⅞ in. Saragossa, Museum. *Right*: Mosaic facing, over an Early Christian grave, from Alfaro, Logroño, second half of 4th cent. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

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Pl. 250. Patera dedicated to Salus Umeritana, from Otañes, Santander, 1st–2d cent. Silver with gold incrustation; diam., 8 1/4 in. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

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Pl. 251. Ramses II at the Battle of Kadesh, detail of relief in the rock-cut temple of Abu Simbel, Egypt, 13th cent. B.C.

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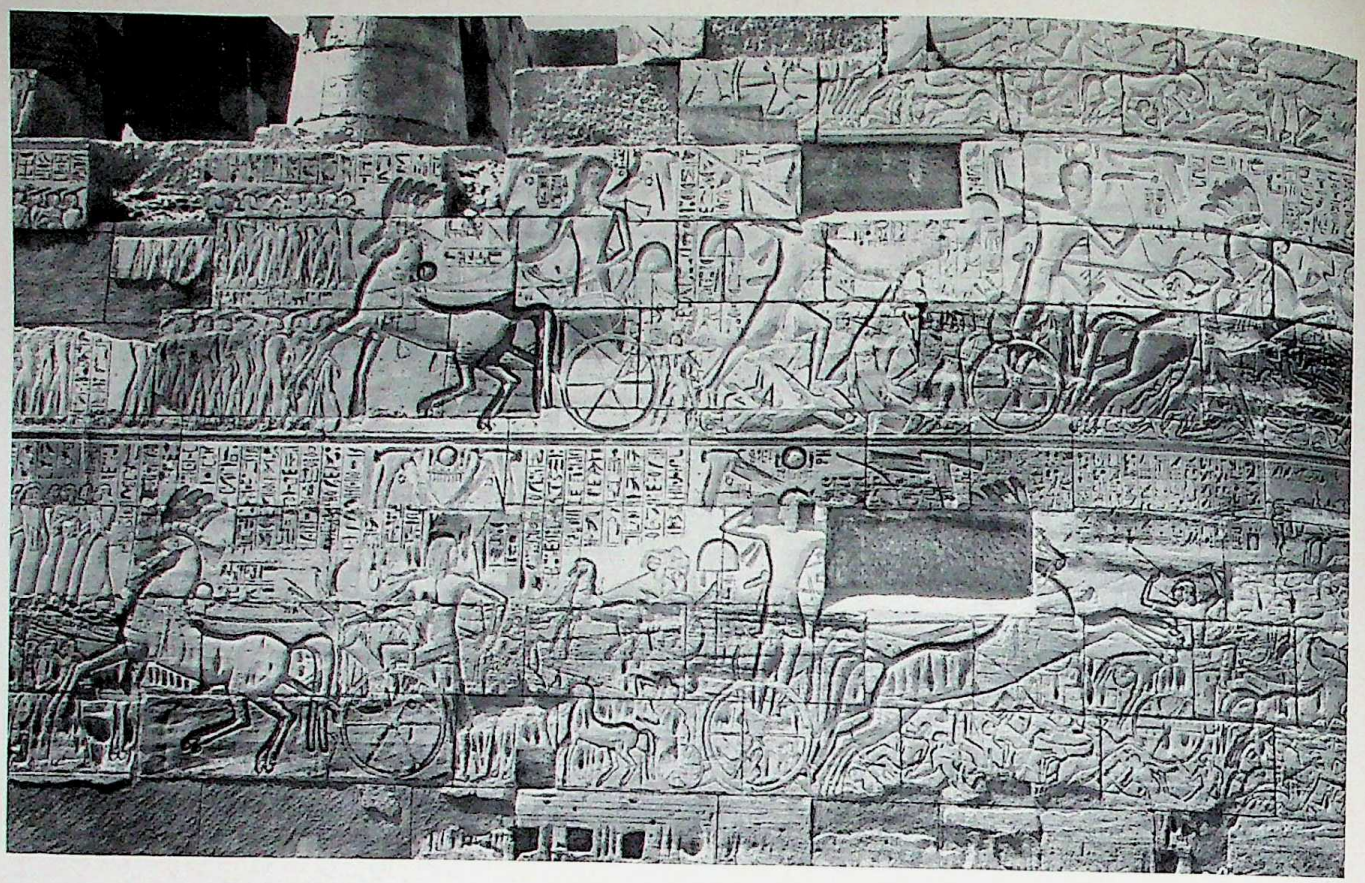

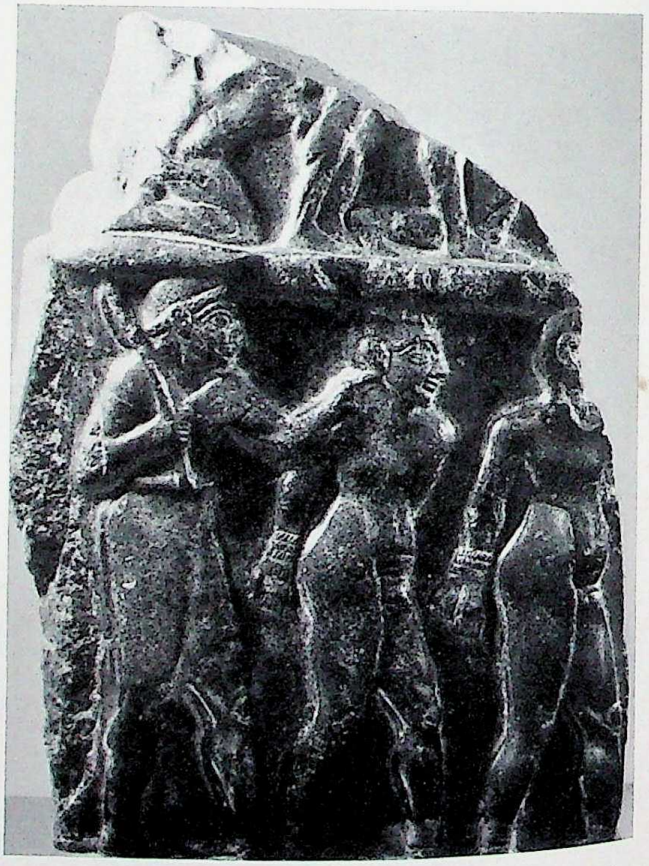

Pl. 252. *Above*: Campaigns of Seti I against Kadesh and Amor, detail of relief on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amen, Karnak, Egypt, ca. 1300 B.C. *Below*: Fragments of steles, second half of 3d millennium B.C. Paris, Louvre. *Left*: Stele of Rimush showing war scenes, Telloh, Iraq. Limestone, ht., 13 3/8 in. *Right*: Stele of Sargon I showing prisoners, Susa, Iran. Diorite, ht., 18 1/8 in.

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Pl. 253. Capture of Susa by Ashurbanipal, detail of relief, Kuyunjik (anc. Nineveh), Iraq, 7th cent. B.C. Alabastrine limestone, ht., 58 5/8 in. London, British Museum.

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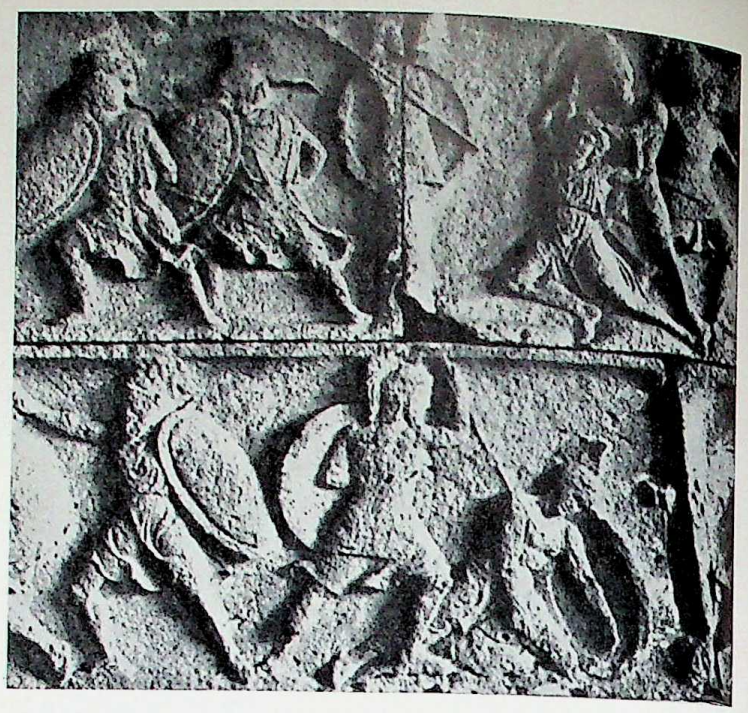

Pl. 254. *Above, left*: Syrian-Hittite relief showing war scene, Carchemish, Turkey, 9th–8th cent. B.C. Basalt. Ankara, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Storming of a Lycian city, detail of frieze from the west wall of the Heroön of Trysa (mod. Gölbaşi), Turkey, late 5th–early 4th cent. B.C. Limestone. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. *Below*: The victory of Shāpur I over Valerian, Bishapur, Iran, late 3d cent. Rock-cut sculpture.

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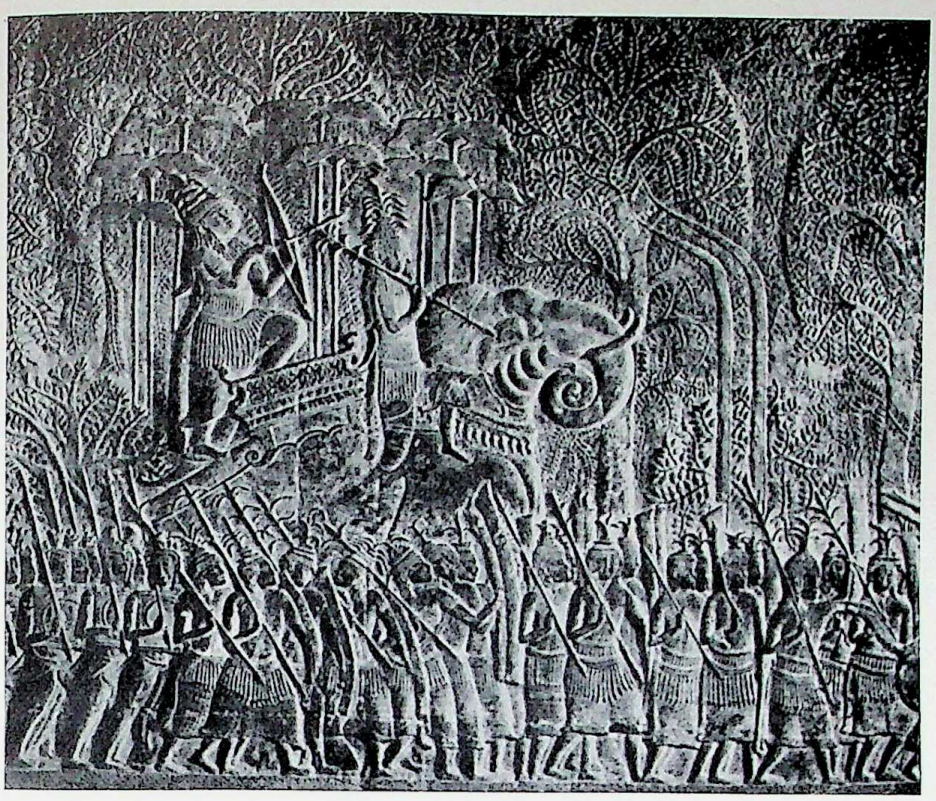

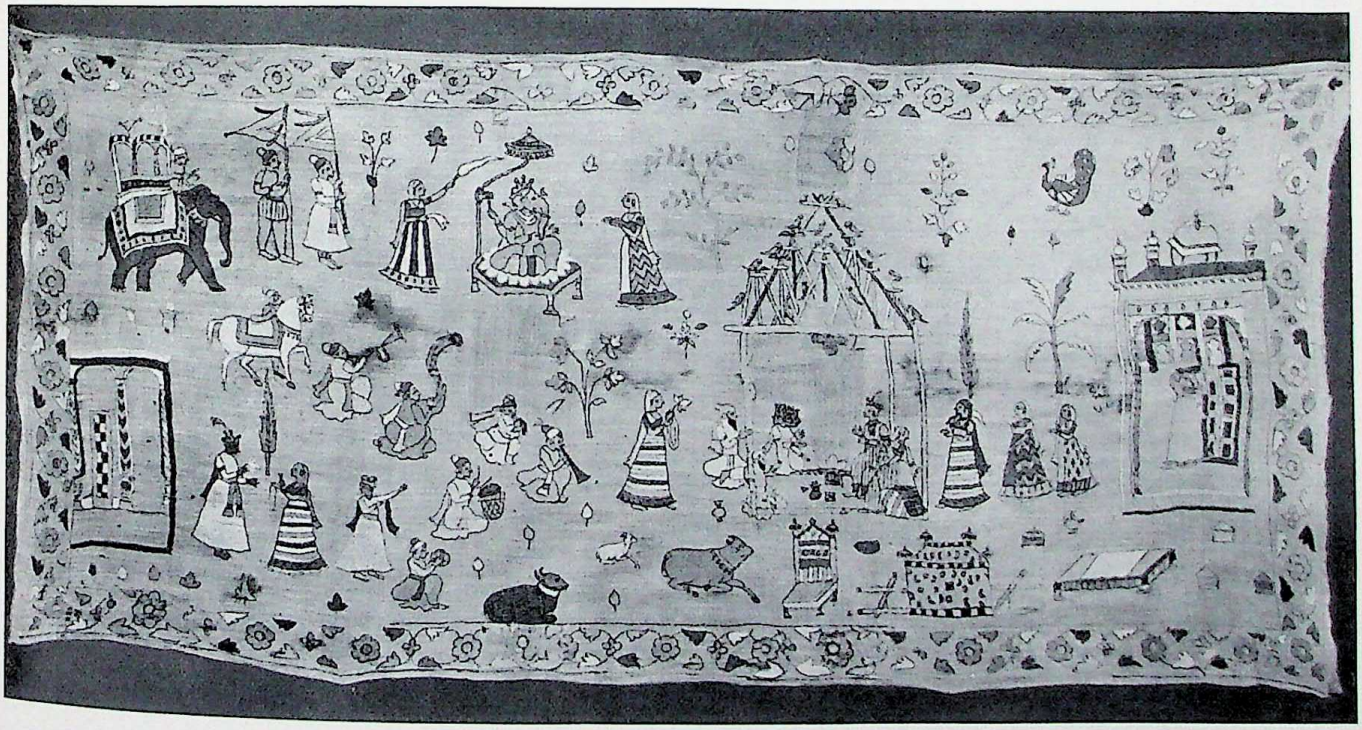

Pl. 255. *Above*: The procession of the army of Sūryavarman II, detail of relief on the western half of the south gallery, Angkor Wat, Cambodia, 12th cent. Stone. *Below*: The marriage of Prince Jit Singh and Princess Sārdā in 1787, India, Rajput school. Cotton fabric. Baroda, India, Museum.

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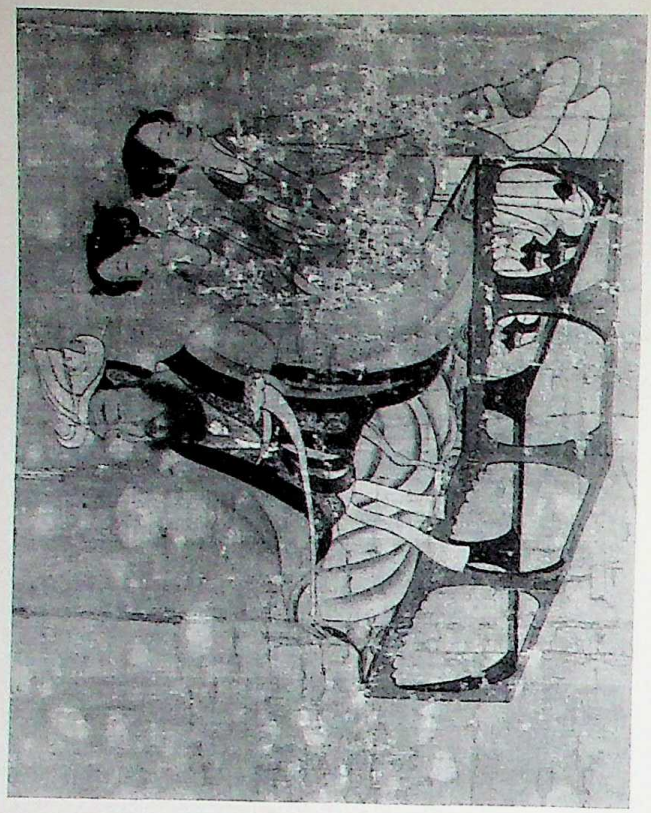

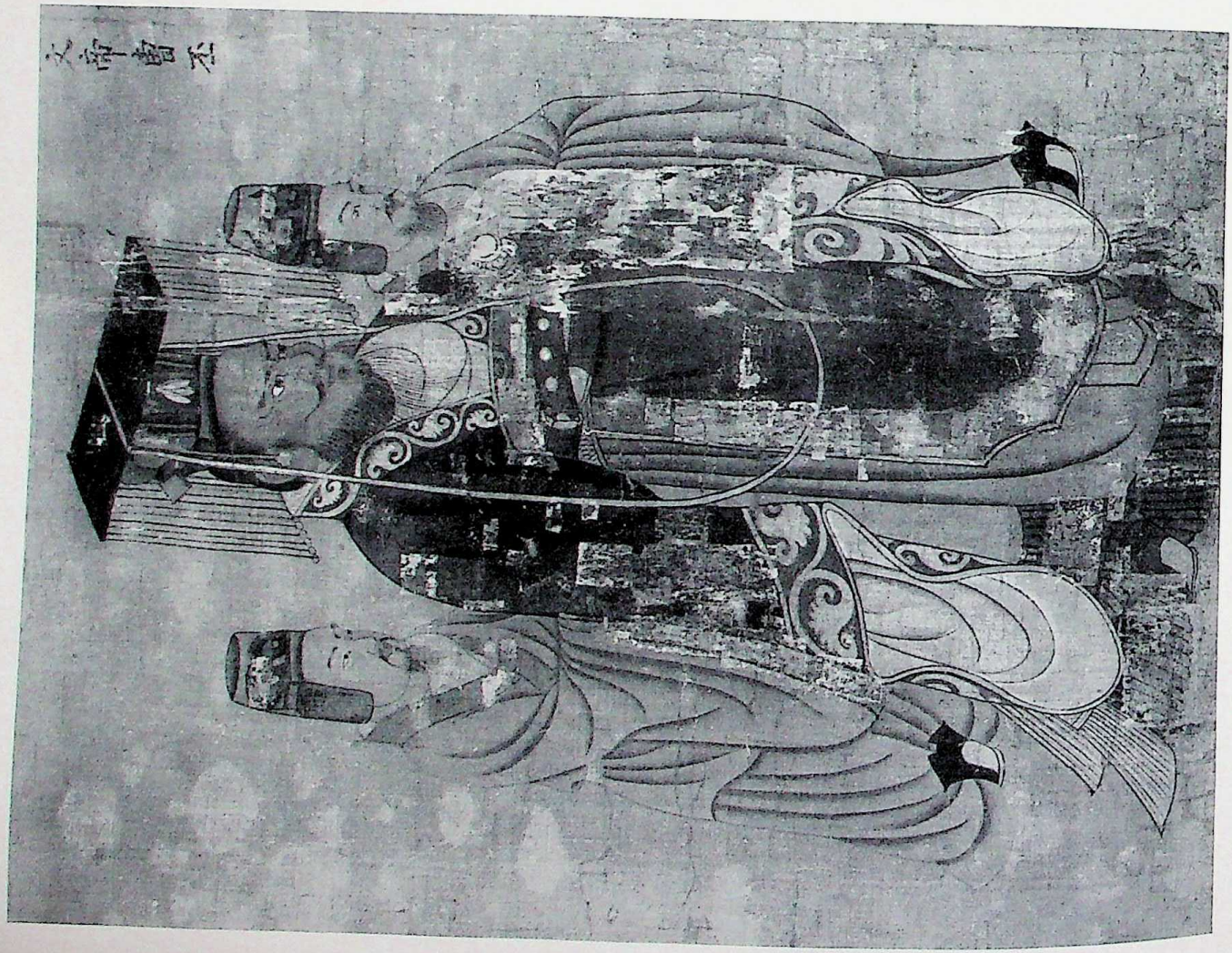

Pl. 256. Yen Li-pên (attrib.; active ca. 630–70), imperial portraits, details of the scroll of the emperors, China. Ink and color on silk. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

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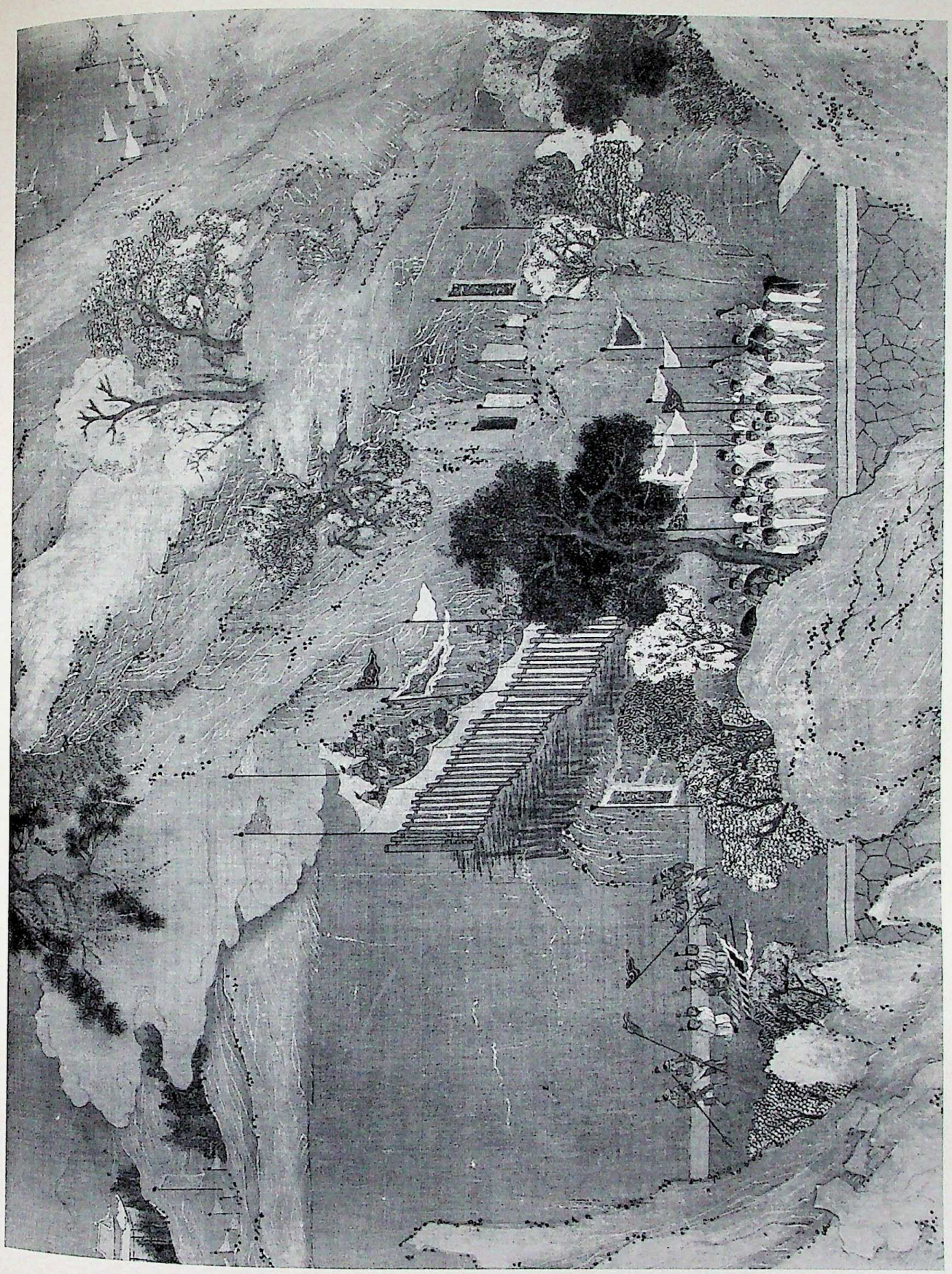

Pl. 257. Chao Po-chü (12th cent.), the first emperor of the Han dynasty entering the Ch'in capital, detail, China. Ink and color on silk. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

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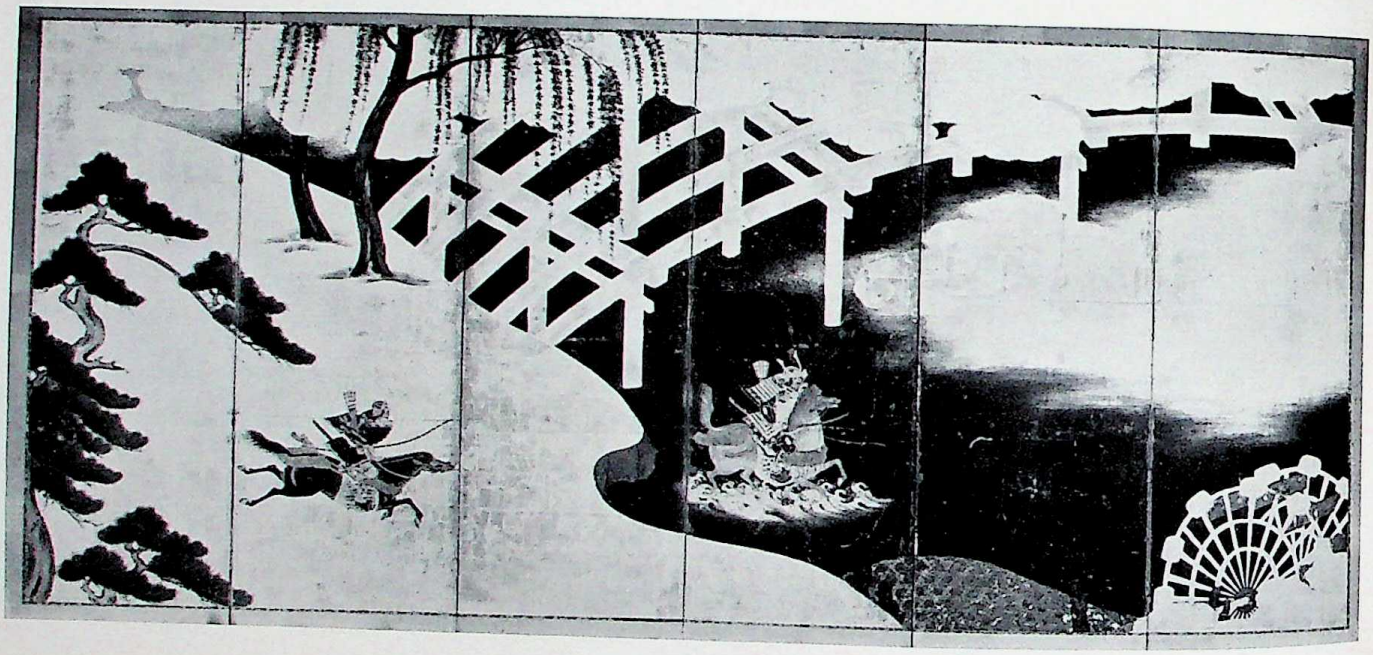

Pl. 258. *Above*: Escape of the emperor, detail of the scroll of the burning of the Sanjō Palace, from the *Heiji Monogatari*, Japan, early 13th cent. Full color on paper. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Below*: Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539–1613), the rival generals Sasaki Takatsuna and Kajiwara Kagesuye in the battle at the River Uji in 1184, Japan. Screen panels, color on paper. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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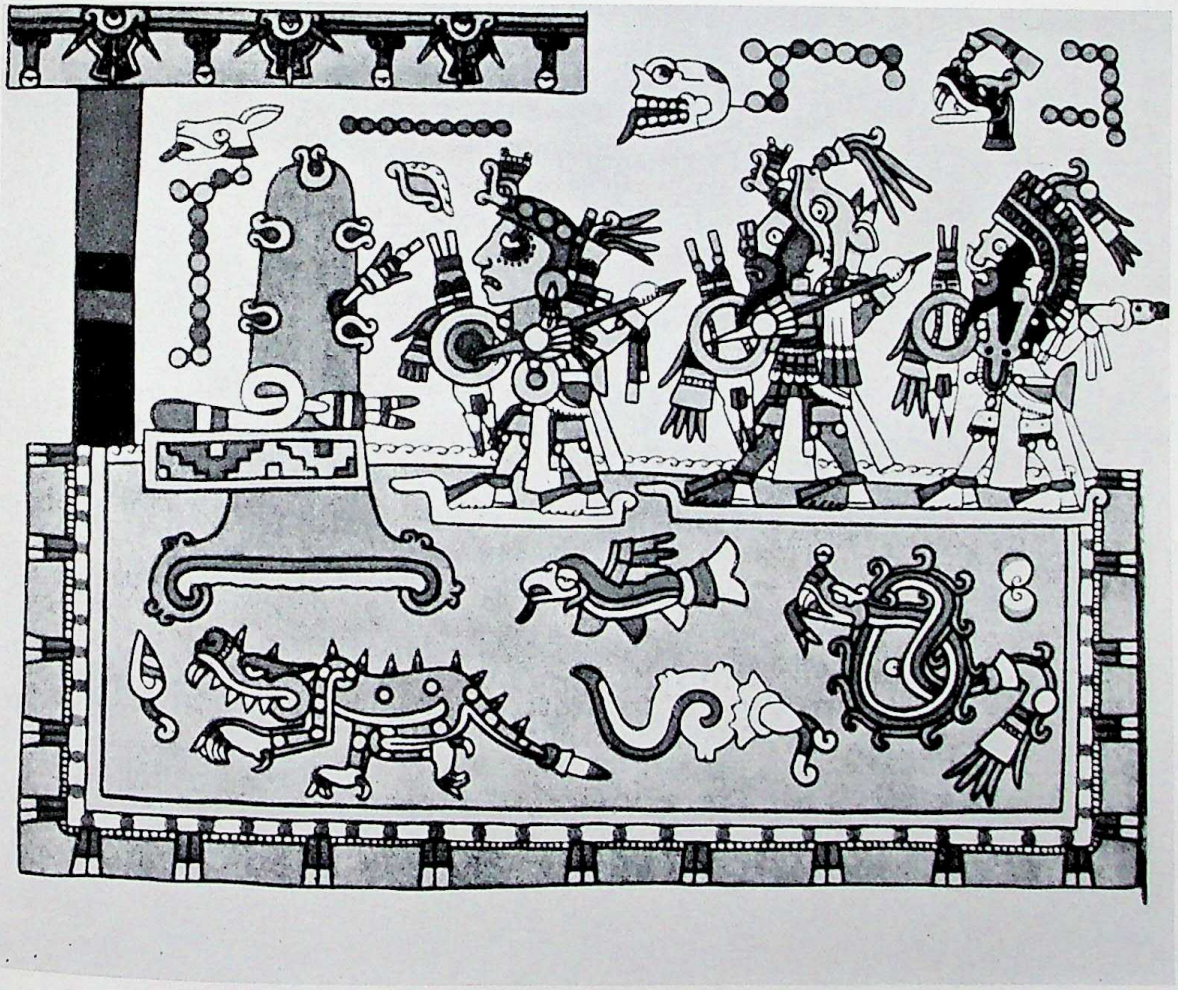

Pl. 259. *Above*: The Stone of Tizoc, representing the 15 tribes who paid tribute to the Aztecs, Aztec culture, from Tenochtitlán, Mexico, ca. 1483–85. Diam., 8 ft., 8 3/8 in. Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Antropología. *Below*: The Mixtec hero "8 Deer" (1011–63) and two companions in an expedition to conquer a fortified island in the year "8 Rabbit." London, British Museum (Codex Nuttall).

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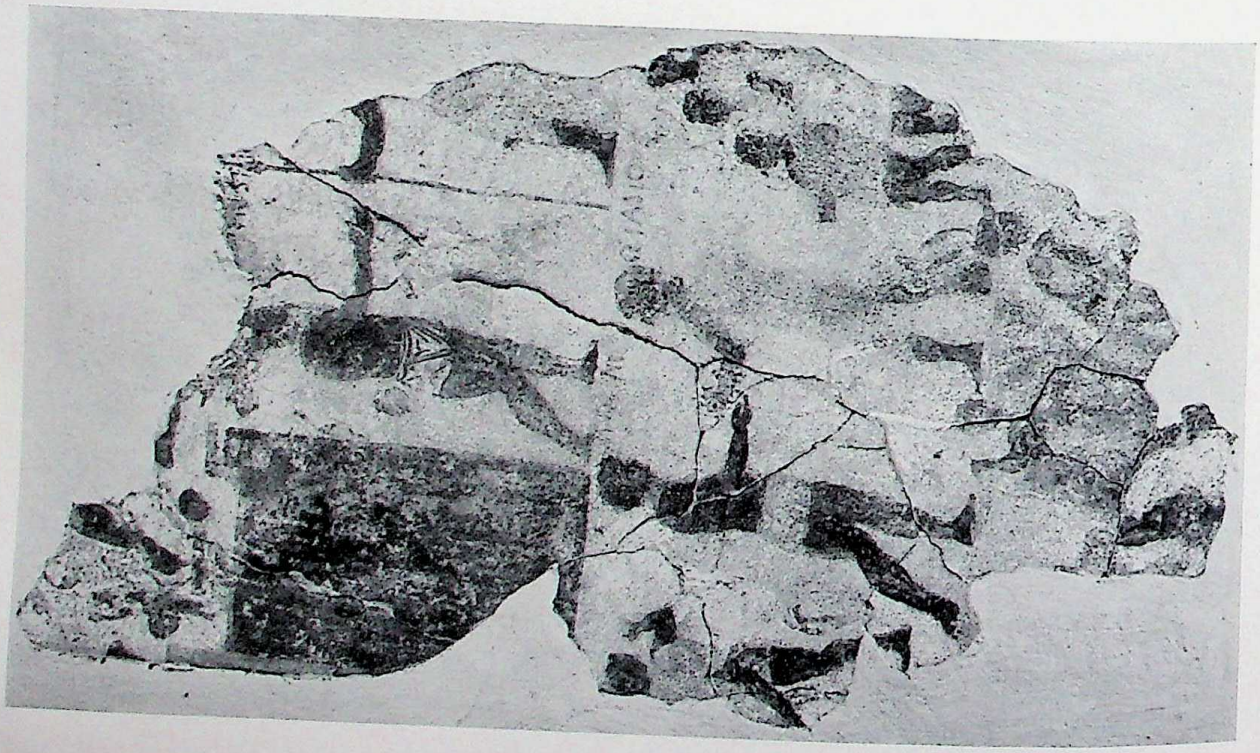

Pl. 260. *Left*: Meeting between opposing chiefs and battle scene (perhaps the Battle of Sentinum, 295 B.C.), fragment of Roman painting from a tomb on the Esquiline hill, Rome, late 3d–early 2d cent. B.C. Ht. of figures, ca. 39 3/8 in. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo. *Right, above*: Exploits of Caelius and Aulus Vibenna and their ally Mastarna against the Romans, detail of Etruscan wall painting from the François Tomb, Vulci, 4th–1st cent. B.C. Rome, Museo di Villa Albani. *Below*: Battle of Pydna, detail of frieze from the monument of L. Aemilius Paulus, Delphi, mid-2d cent. B.C. Marble, L. 41 1/8 in. Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 261. Procession of members of the family of Augustus, detail of the Ara Pacis frieze, Rome, 13–9 B.C. Marble.

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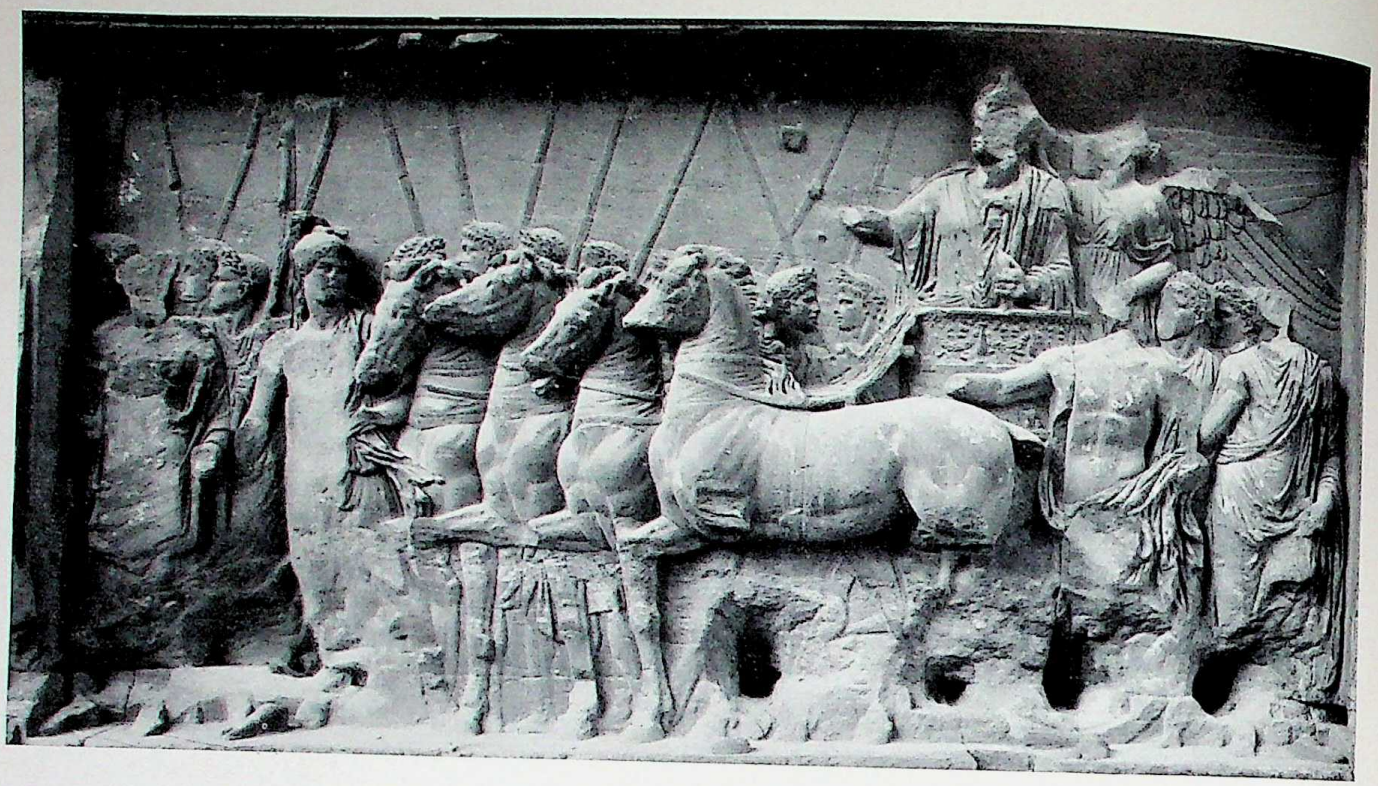

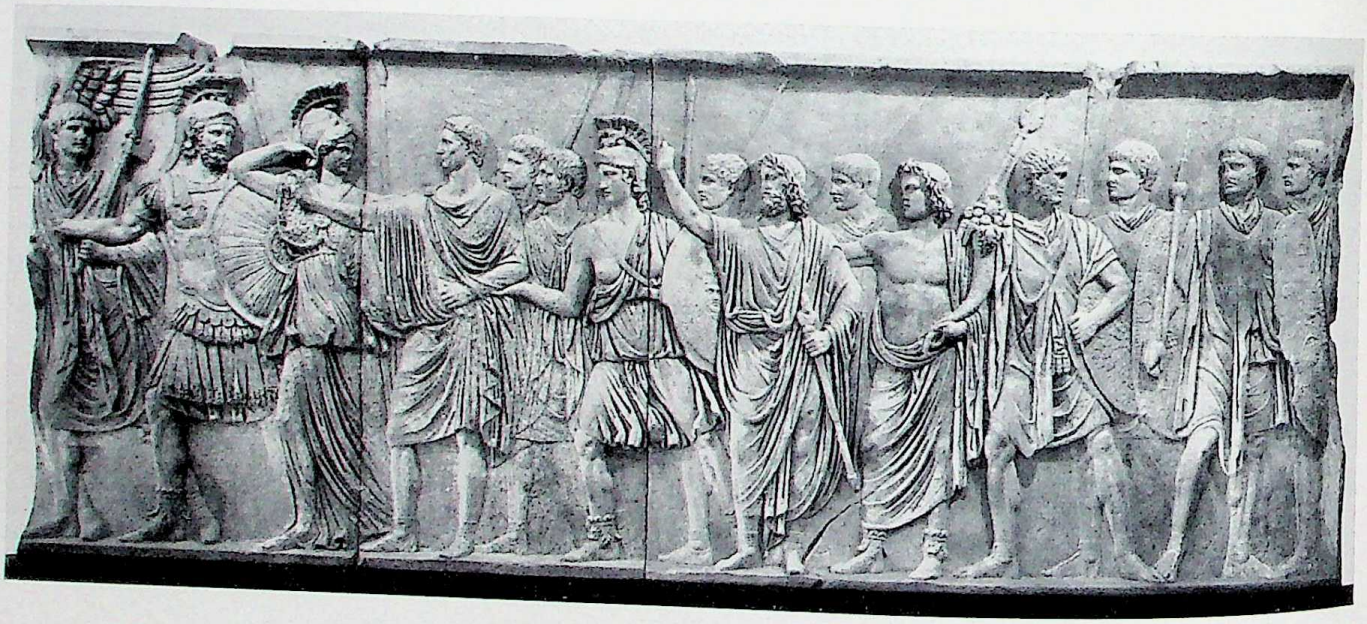

Pl. 262. *Above*: The triumph of the emperor, detail of relief on the Arch of Titus, Rome, ca. A.D. 81–96. Marble. *Below*: The *adventus* of an emperor, relief from the area of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, late 1st cent. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 9 1/8 in. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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Pl. 263. Scenes depicting the Dacian campaigns of Trajan, detail of Trajan's Column, Rome, A.D. 113. Marble.

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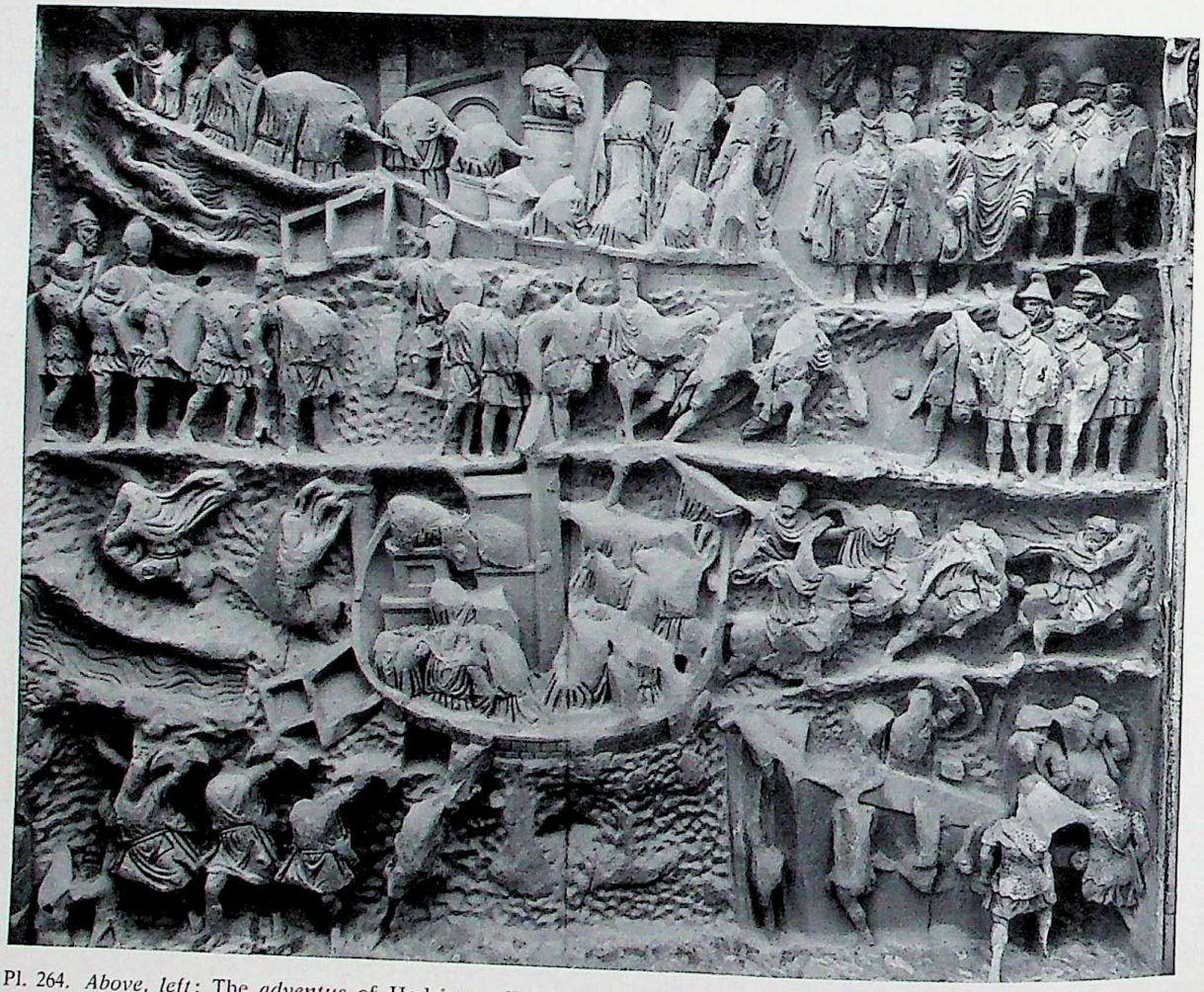

Pl. 264. *Above, left*: The *adventus* of Hadrian, relief from an arch erected by Antoninus Pius near the Temple of Hadrian, Rome, mid-2d cent. Marble. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. *Right*: Sacrificial scene during the Germanic campaigns of Marcus Aurelius, detail of relief on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome, A.D. 176–193. Marble. *Below*: Episodes in the eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus, detail of relief on the Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, A.D. 203.

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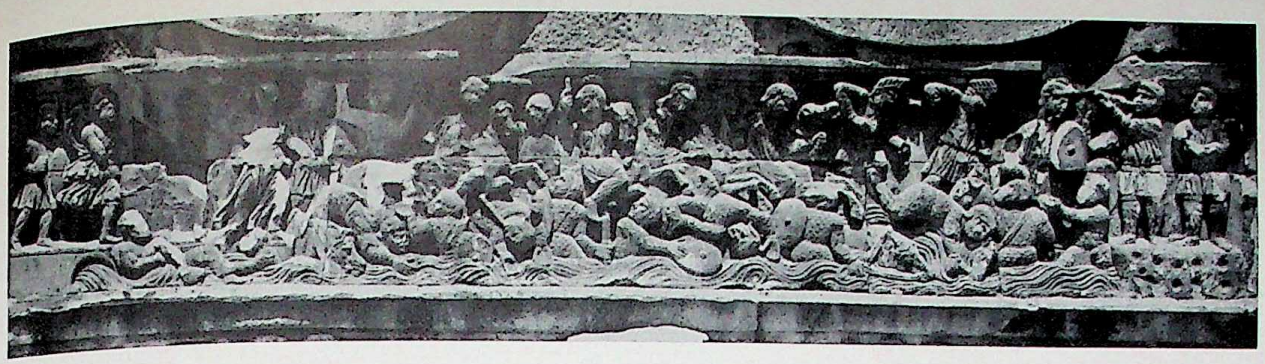

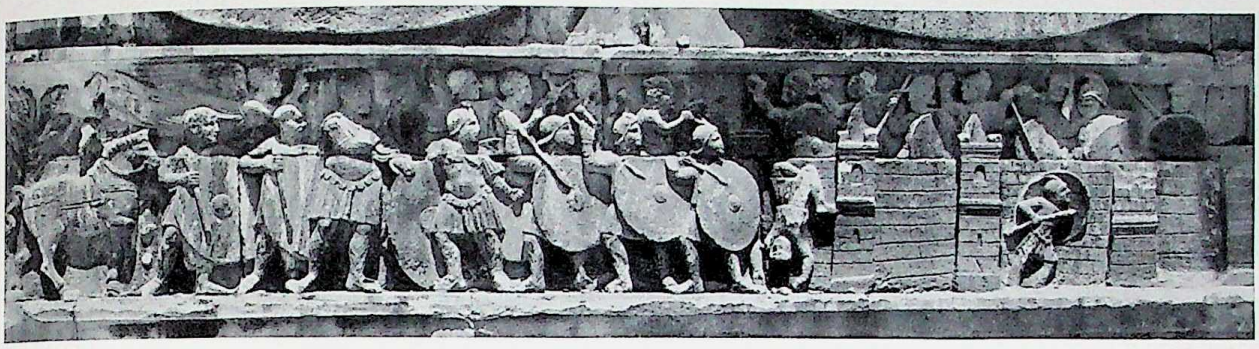

Pl. 265. *Above and center*: Reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, Rome, 312–15. *Above*: Battle of Milvian Bridge. *Center*: The siege of Susa. *Below*: The emperor between his sons presiding over the games in the Hippodrome, base of the obelisk set up by Theodosius in the Hippodrome, Istanbul, ca. 390.

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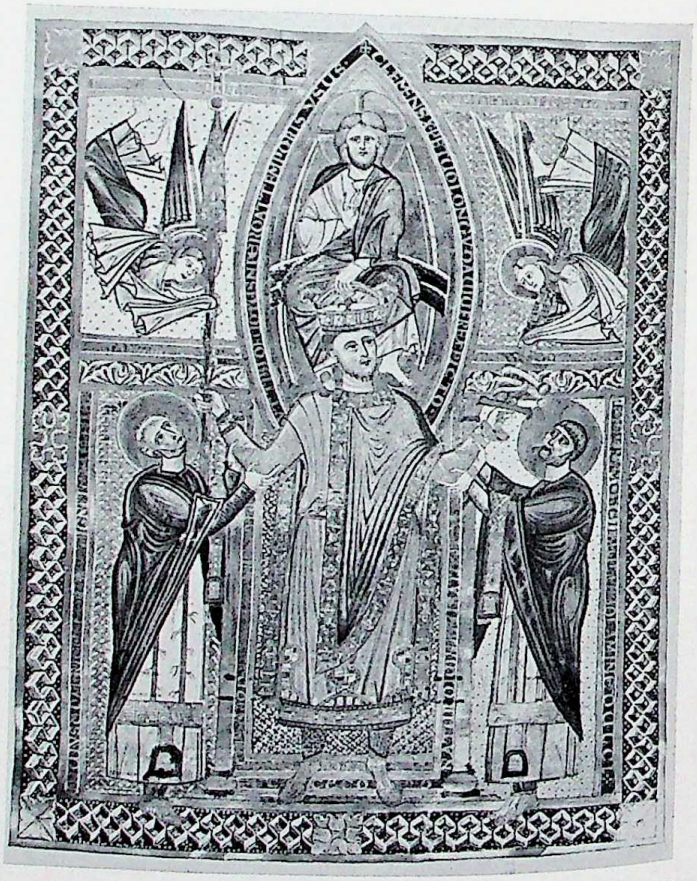

Pl. 266. Scenes of dedication or authorization. *Above*: Bishop Euphrasius holding a model of the church, detail of apse mosaic in the Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo (now Poreč), Yugoslavia, 6th cent. *Below, left*: Gospel Book of Lothair. Emperor Lothair I, school of Tours, France, mid-9th cent. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Cod. lat. 266, fol. 1v). *Right*: Sacramentary of Henry II. Christ crowns Emperor Henry II, Regensburg, Germany, early 11th cent. Illumination. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Clm. 4456, fol. 11r).

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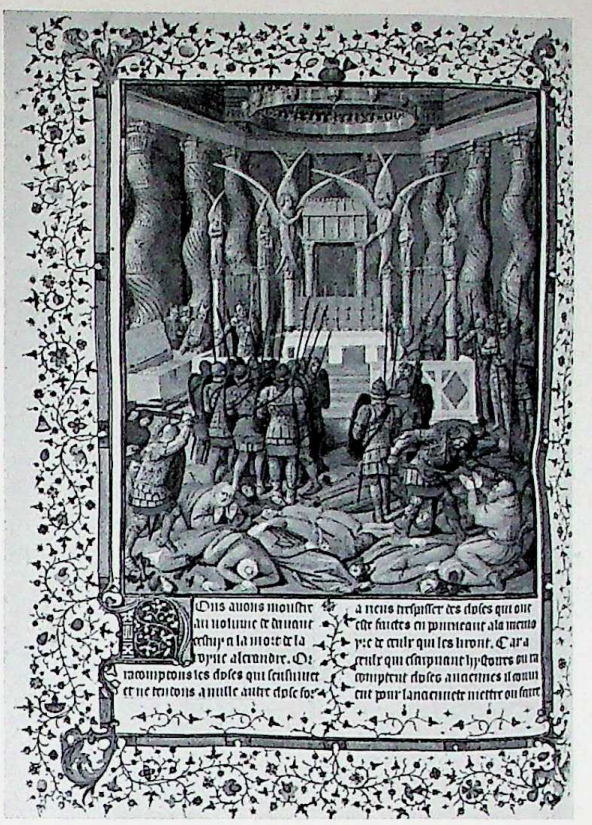

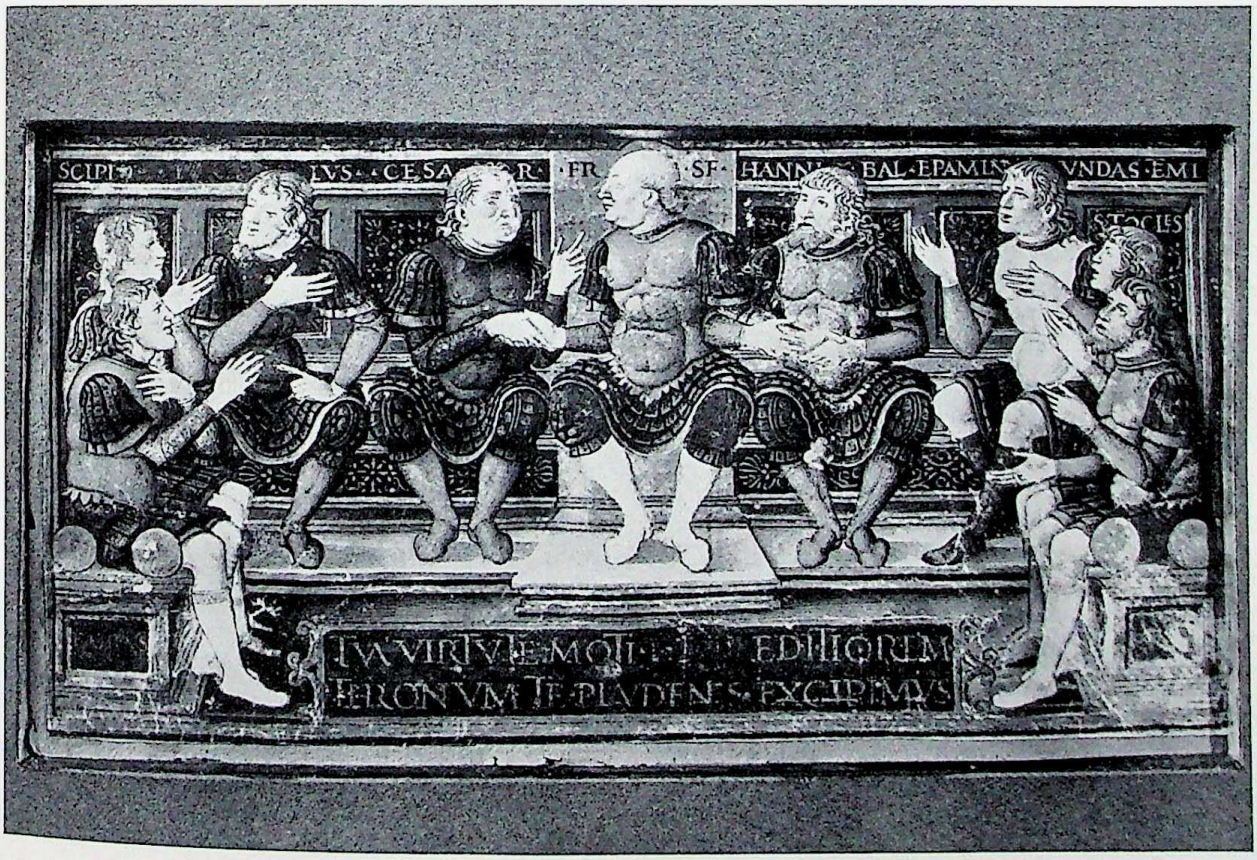


Pl. 267. The Humanist view of history. *Above, left*: Famous men, from the *Libro di Giusto*, 15th cent. Drawing. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe (Fondo Naz. 2826, fol. 9v). *Right*: J. Fouquet, Pompey in the Temple of Jerusalem, from *Les Antiquités Judaïques*. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. fr. 247, fol. 293v). *Below*: G. Birago, Francesco Sforza among illustrious men, Italy, 15th cent. Illumination. Florence, Uffizi (Sala delle Miniature, no. 4425).

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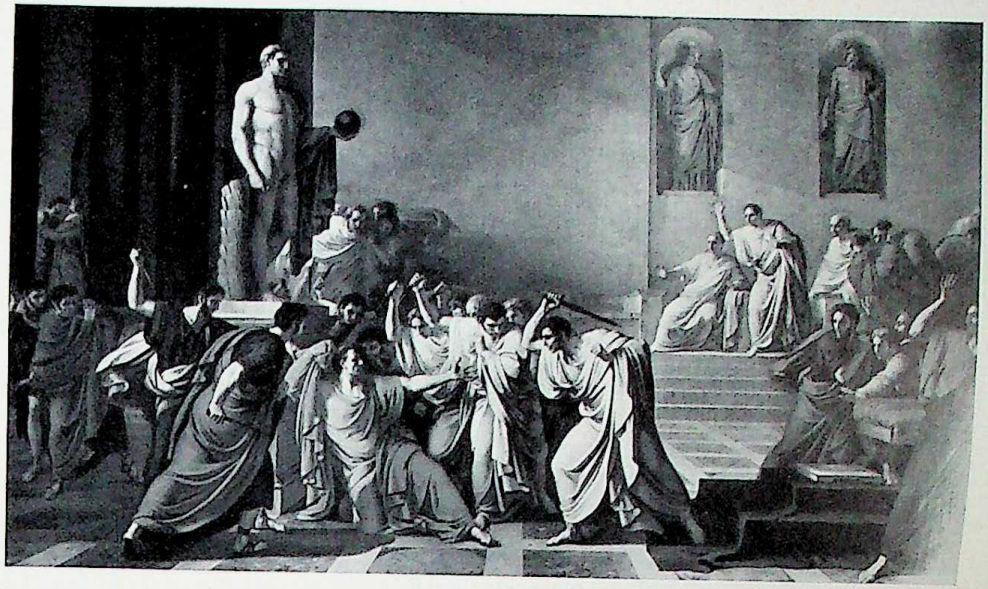

Pl. 268. From the Humanist to the neoclassic view of history. *Above, left*: A. Mantegna, trophy bearers, one panel of the Triumph of Caesar, 1484–92. Tempera on canvas, 9×9 ft. Hampton Court, England, Royal Colls. *Right*: F. Salviati, Triumphal Entry of Charles V, ca. 1551–53. Fresco. Rome, Palazzo Farnese. *Below, left*: N. Poussin, The Rape of the Sabine Women, ca. 1635. Canvas, 5 ft., 1 in. × 6 ft., 11 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Right*: V. Camuccini, The Murder of Caesar, 1793. Canvas, 13 ft., 2 in. × 23 ft. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

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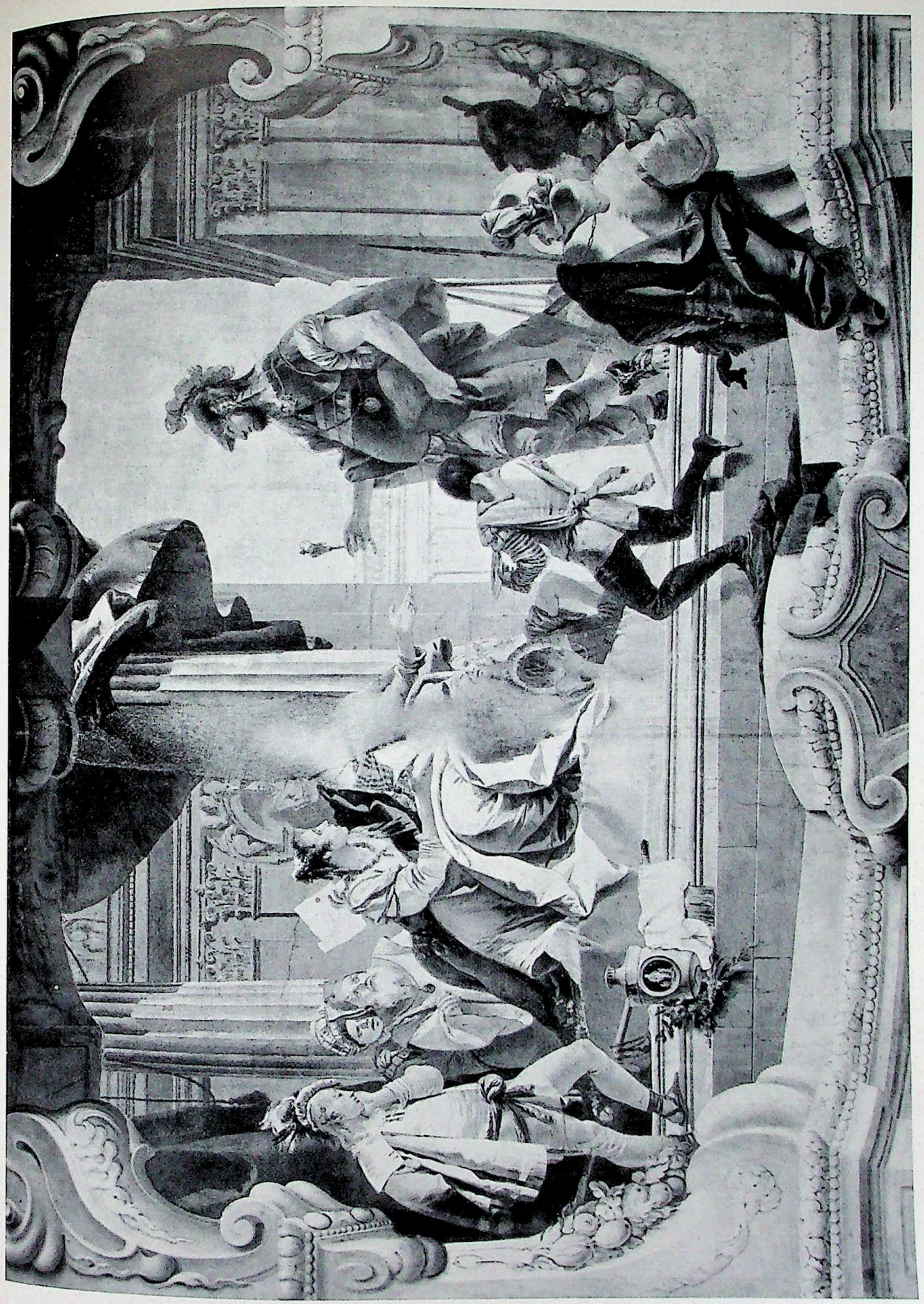

Pl. 269. Ancient history as fable in baroque art. G. B. Tiepolo, Sophonisba receiving the poison from Massinissa, 1730-31. Fresco. Milan, Palazzo Dugnani.

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Pl. 270. Historical and literary illustration of the 19th cent. *Above*: J. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Siegfried's Funeral. Fresco, 15 ft., 9 in. × 17 ft., 4½ in. Munich, Residenz. *Below, left*: J. A. D. Ingres, Paolo Malatesta and Francesca da Rimini. Canvas. Bayonne, France, Musée Bonnat. *Right*: C. Maccari, Papirius insulted by Gallus. Fresco. Rome, Palazzo Madama.

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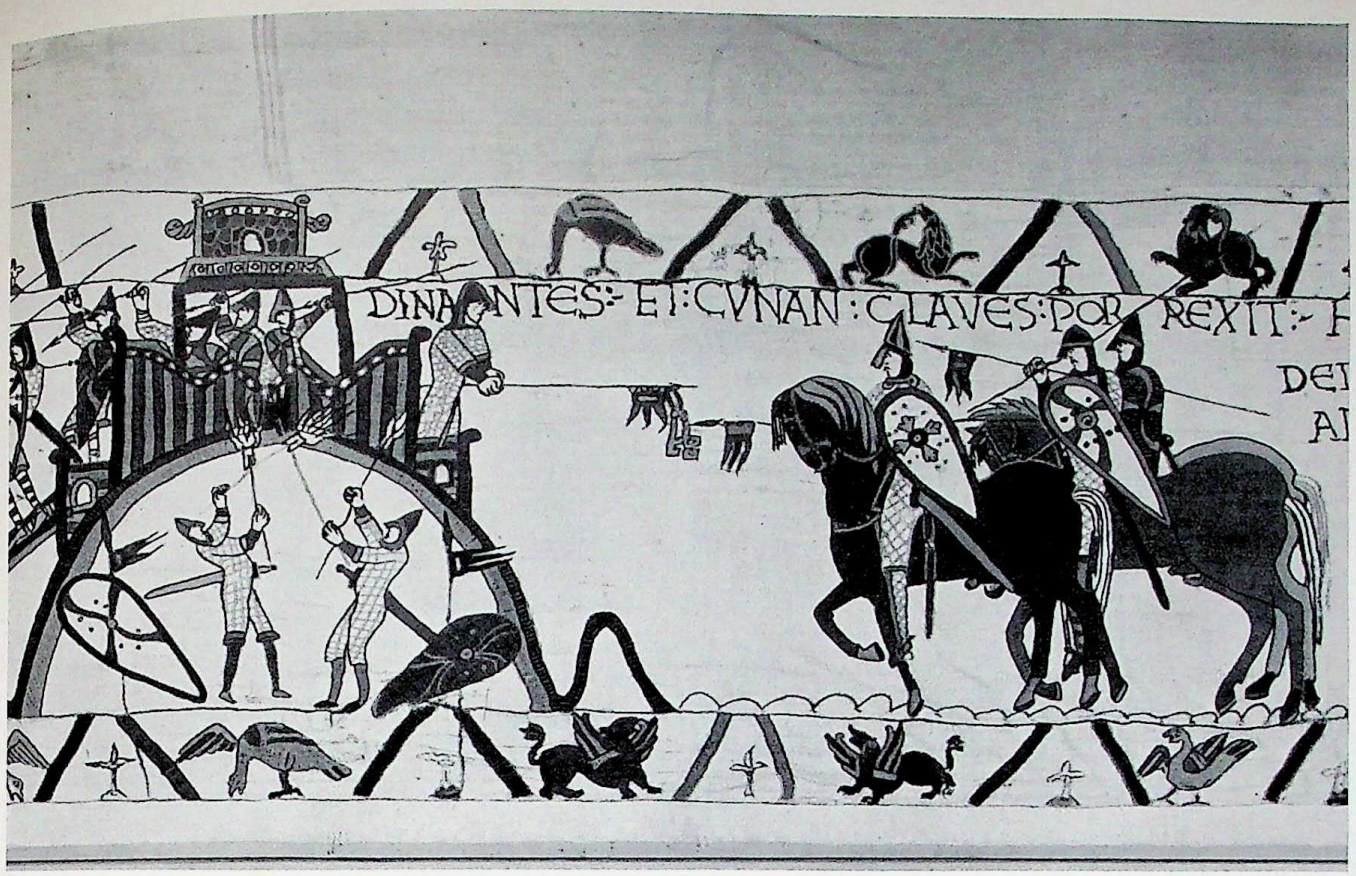


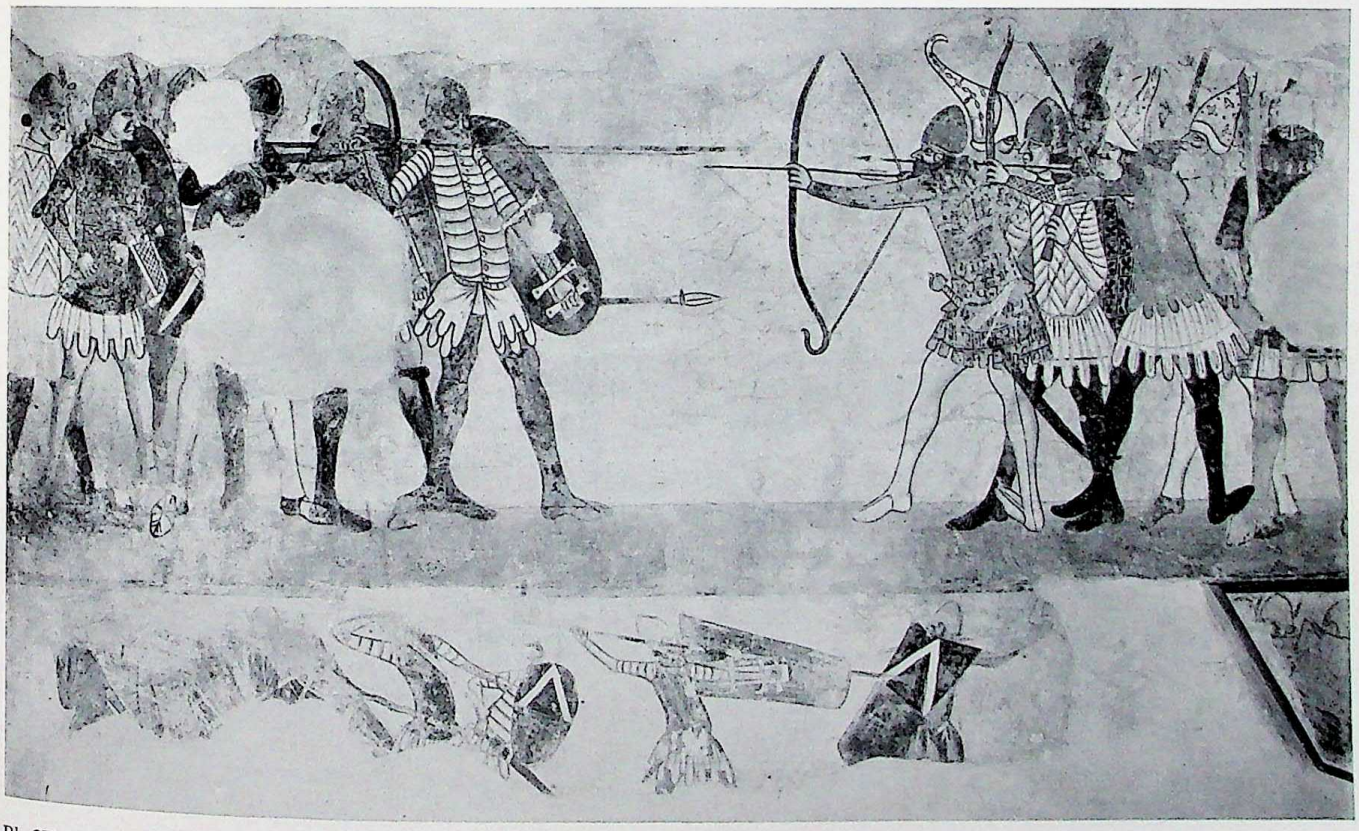

Pl. 271. Representations of contemporary historical events. *Above*: William the Conqueror and his army attack Dinan (*left*) and Conan, duke of Brittany, offers William the keys of the city on the point of a lance (*right*), detail of the Bayeux tapestry, Anglo-Norman school, ca. 1080. Ht., ca. 20 in. Bayeux, France, Musée de la Reine Mathilde. *Below*: History of the Castelbarco family, detail, 14th cent. Fresco. Avio, near Verona, Italy, Castello dei Castelbarco.

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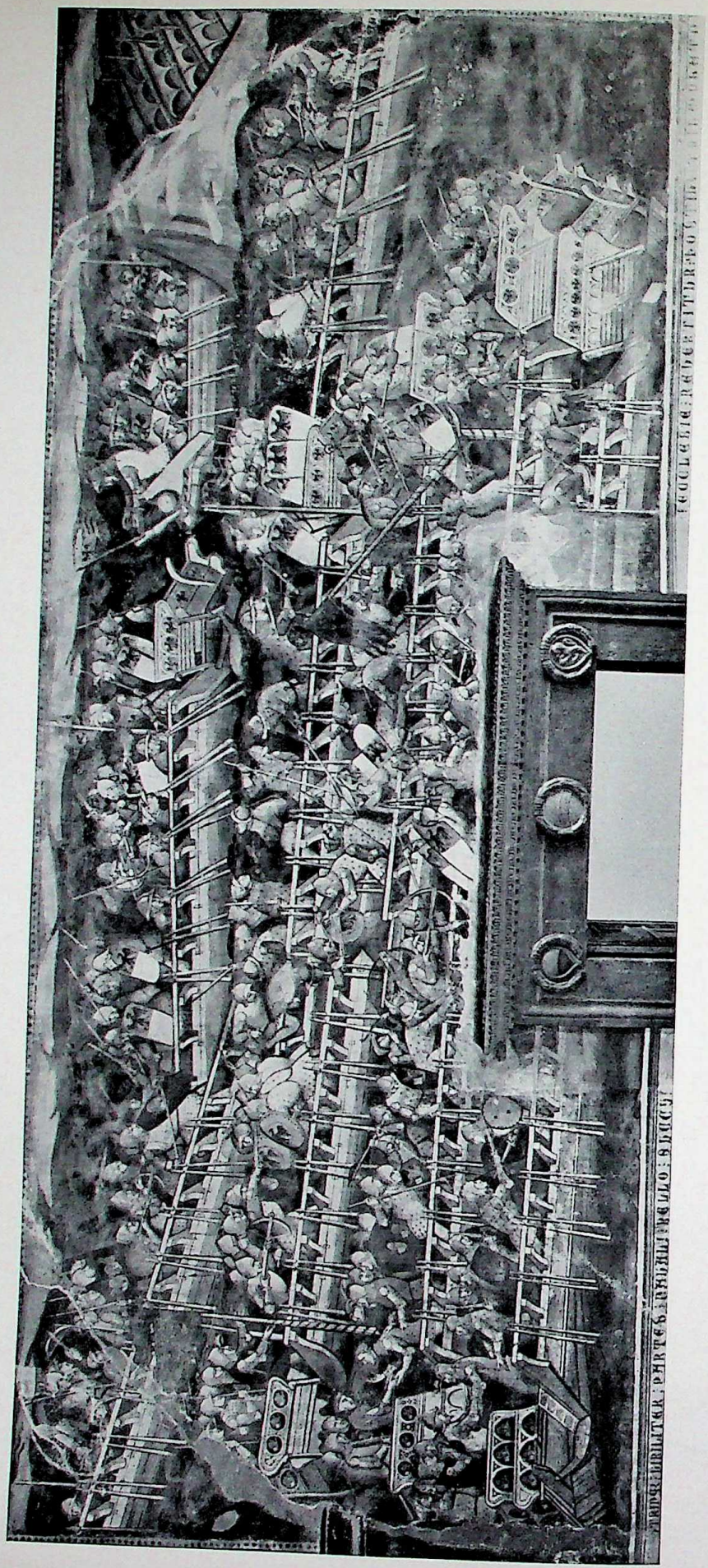

Pl. 272. Spinello Aretino with Parri Spinelli, victory of the Venetians over Frederick Barbarossa's fleet, 1407–10. Fresco. Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico.

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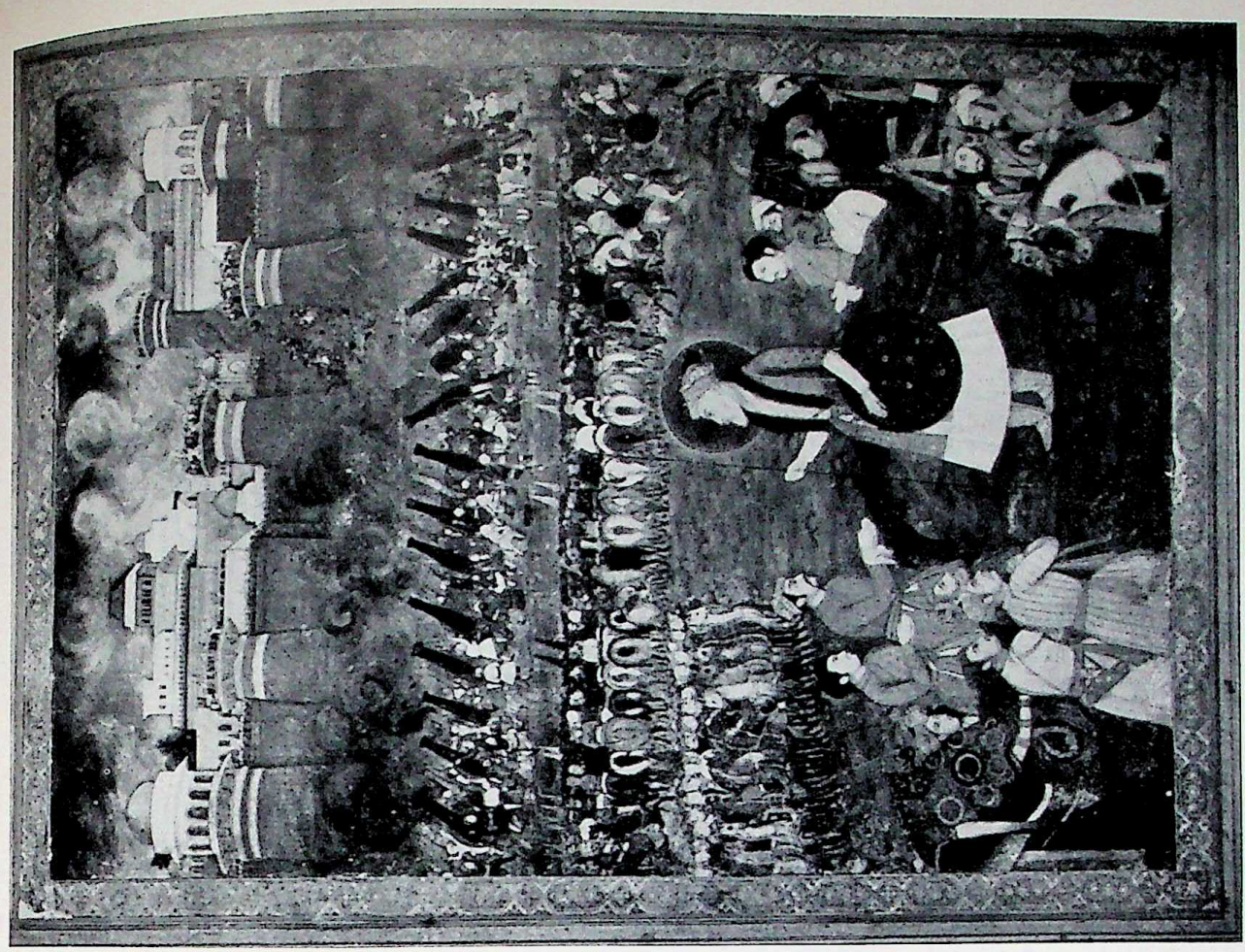

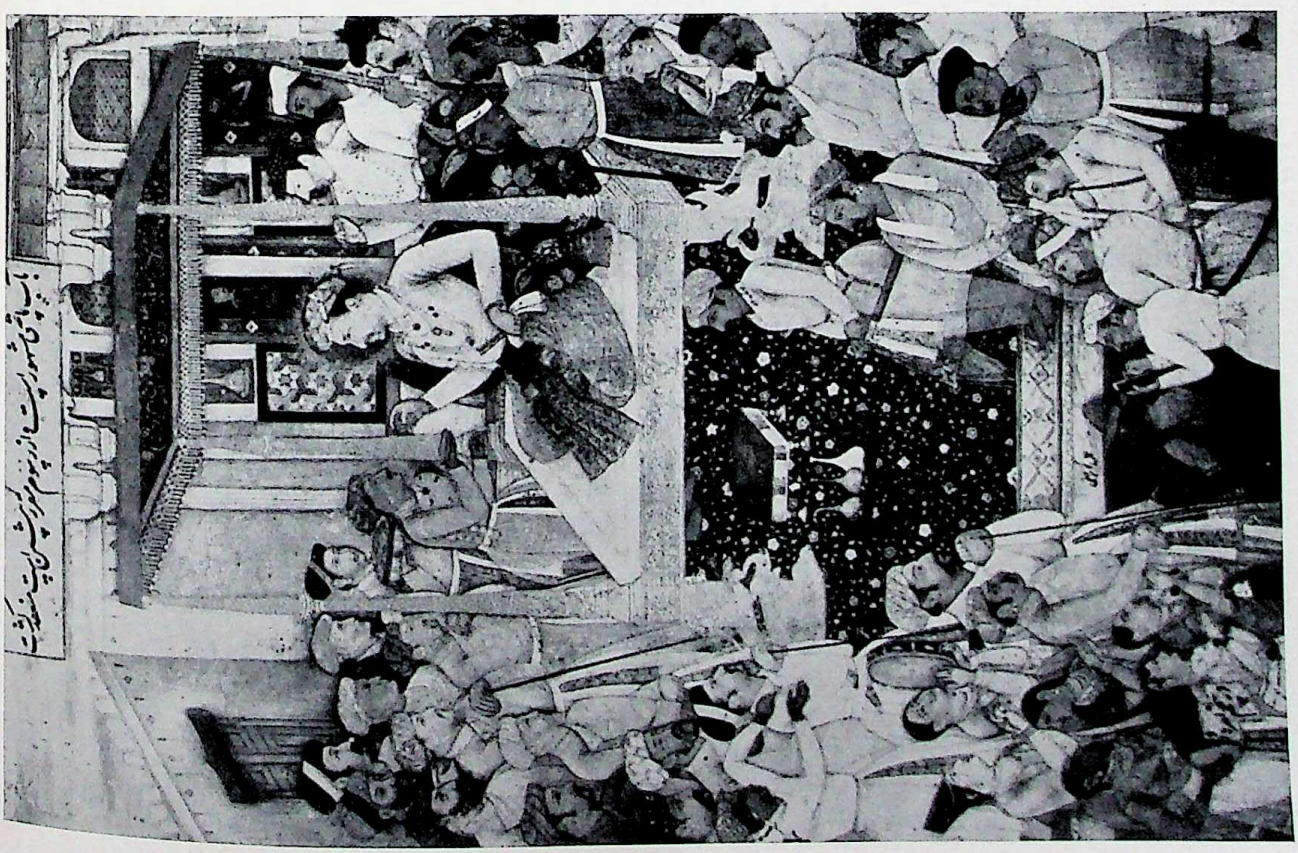

Pl. 273. Contemporary historical subjects in Moghul Islamic miniatures. *Left*: Emperor Jahāngīr and his court, 17th cent. New Delhi, National Museum of India. *Right*: Emperor Aurangzēb at the siege of Bijapur in 1686, 17th cent. Rampur, Uttar Pradesh, India, State Library.

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Pl. 274. Melozzo da Forlì, Sixtus IV nominates Platina prefect of the Vatican Library, 1477. Fresco transferred to canvas. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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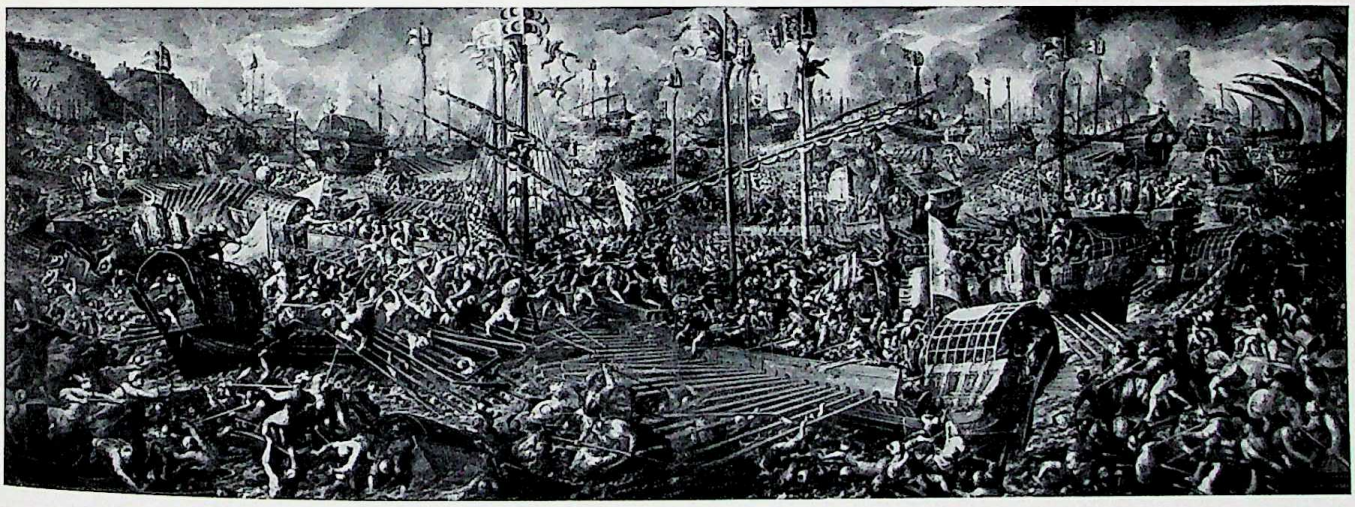

Pl. 275. Representations of contemporary historical events. *Above*: D. Morone, The Triumph of the Gonzagas over the Bonacolsis, 1494. Canvas. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale. *Below*: A. Vicentino, The Battle of Lepanto, late 16th cent. Canvas. Venice, Doges' Palace, Sala dello Scrutinio.

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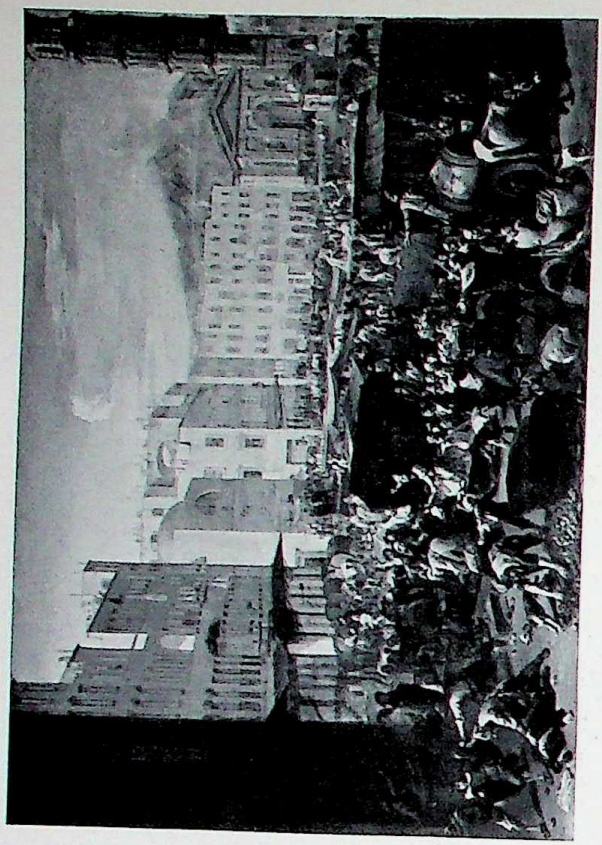

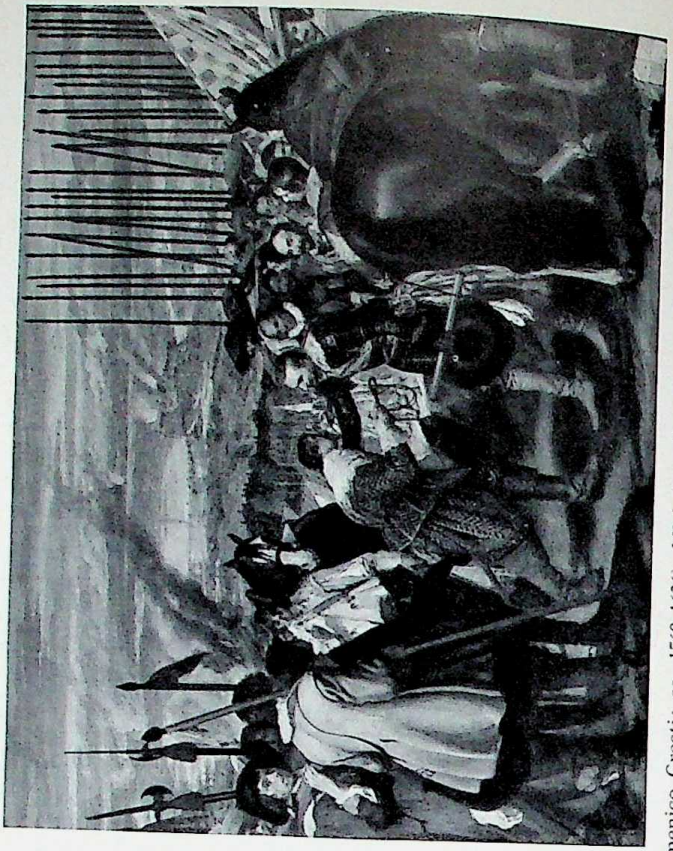

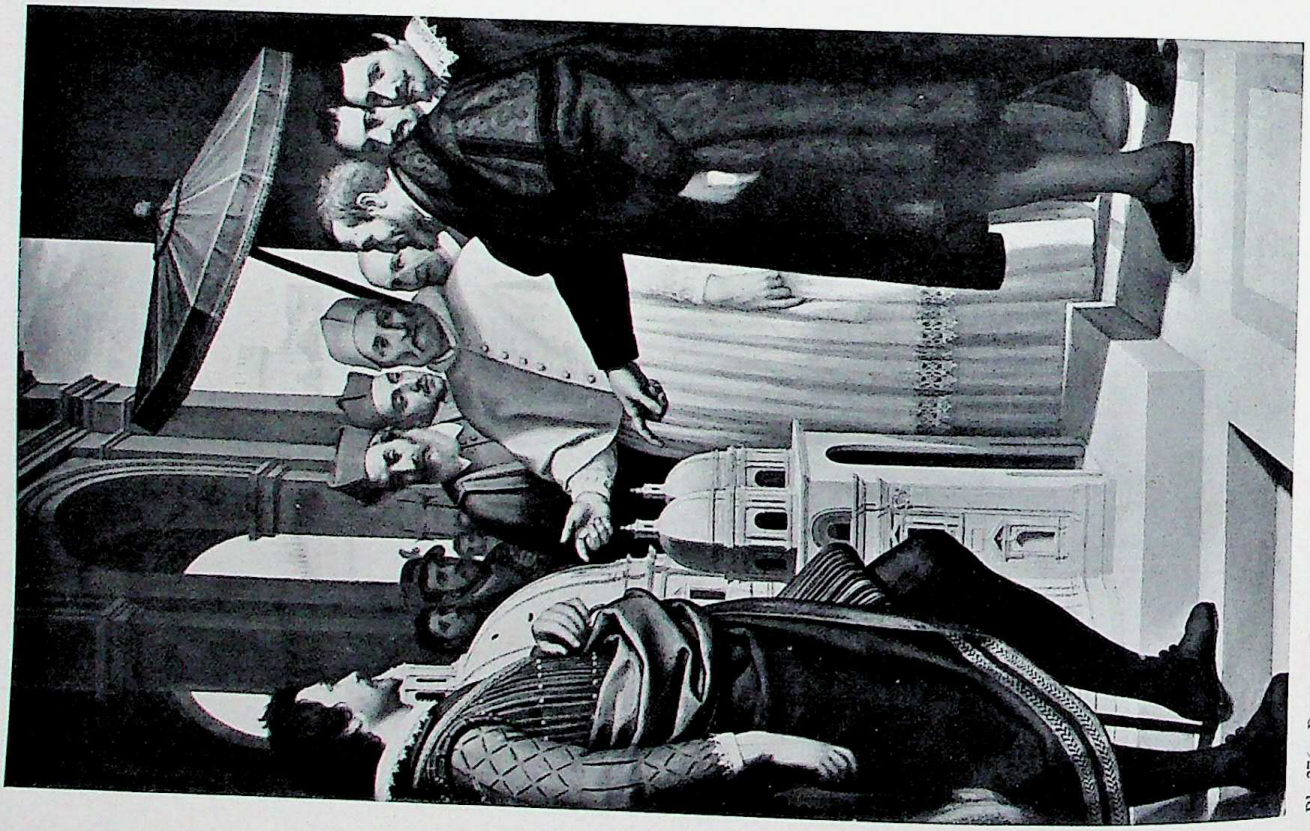

Pl. 276. Representations of contemporary historical events. *Left*: Passignano (Domenico Cresti; ca. 1560–1636). Michelangelo presents the model of the dome of St. Peter's to the Pope. Canvas. Florence, Casa Buonarroti. *Right, above*: M. Cerquozzi with V. Codazzi, The Revolt of Masaniello, after 1647. Canvas, 37 1/4 × 52 3/4 in. Rome, Galleria Spada. *Below*: D. Velázquez, The Surrender of Breda ("Las Lanzas"), 1634. Canvas, 10 × 12 ft. Madrid, Prado.

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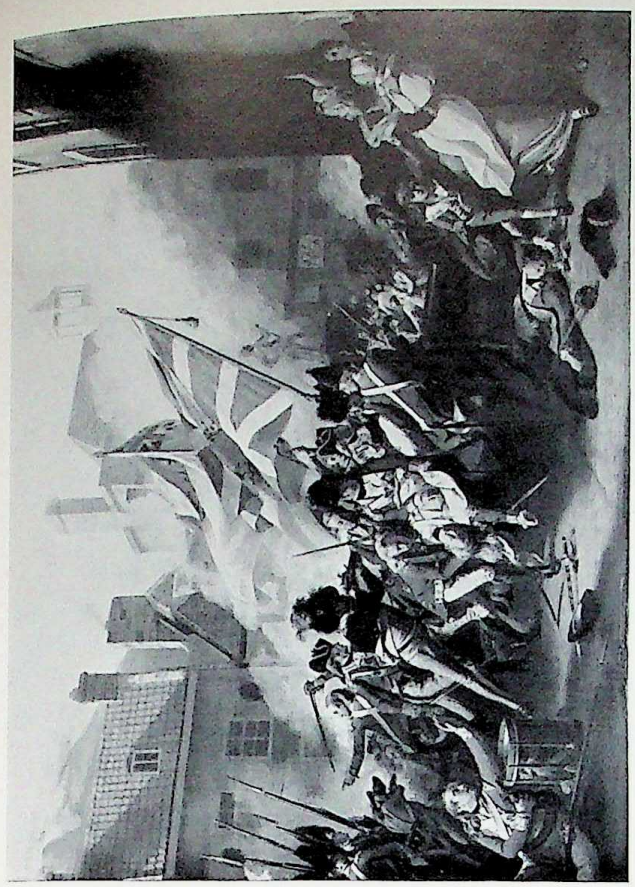

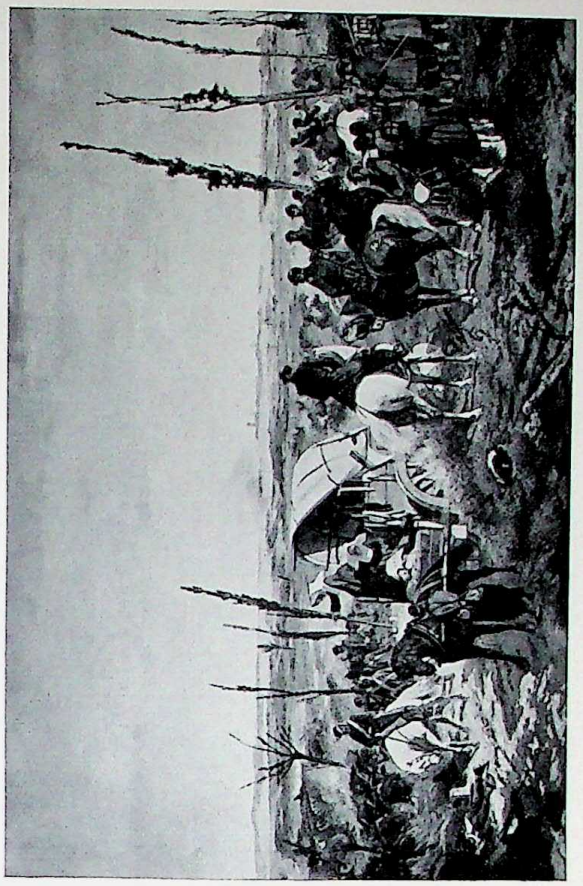

Pl. 277. Representations of contemporary historical events. *Above, left*: J. Trumbull, The Sortie from Gibraltar, 1789. Canvas, 5 ft., 11 in. × 8 ft., 11 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Right*: J. S. Copley, The Death of Major Pierson, 1783. Canvas, 8 ft., 1 in. × 11 ft., 11 in. London, Tate Gallery. *Below, left*: H. Vernet, Napoleon at the Battle of Wagram, after 1809. Canvas. Versailles, Palace. *Right*: G. Fattori, The Italian Field after the Battle of Magenta, 1861–62. Canvas. Florence, Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

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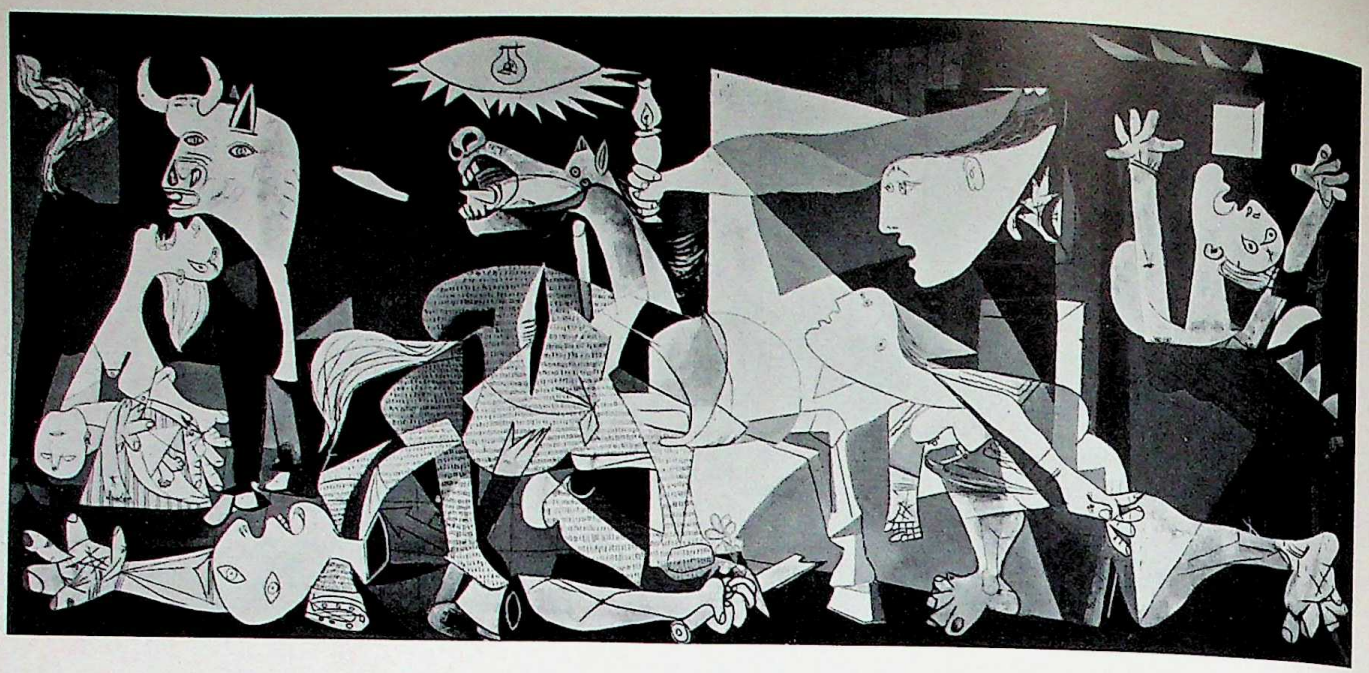

Pl. 278. *Above*: P. Picasso, Guernica, 1937. Canvas, 11 ft., 6 in. × 25 ft., 8 in. New York, Museum of Modern Art (on loan from the artist). *Below*: R. Guttuso, Occupation of Wastelands. Canvas. East Berlin, Deutsche Akademie der Künste.

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Pl. 279. *Above*: Hattushash (mod. Bogazköy), Turkey, panorama. *Below*: Yazılıkaya, Turkey, rock shrine, mid-13th cent. B.C.

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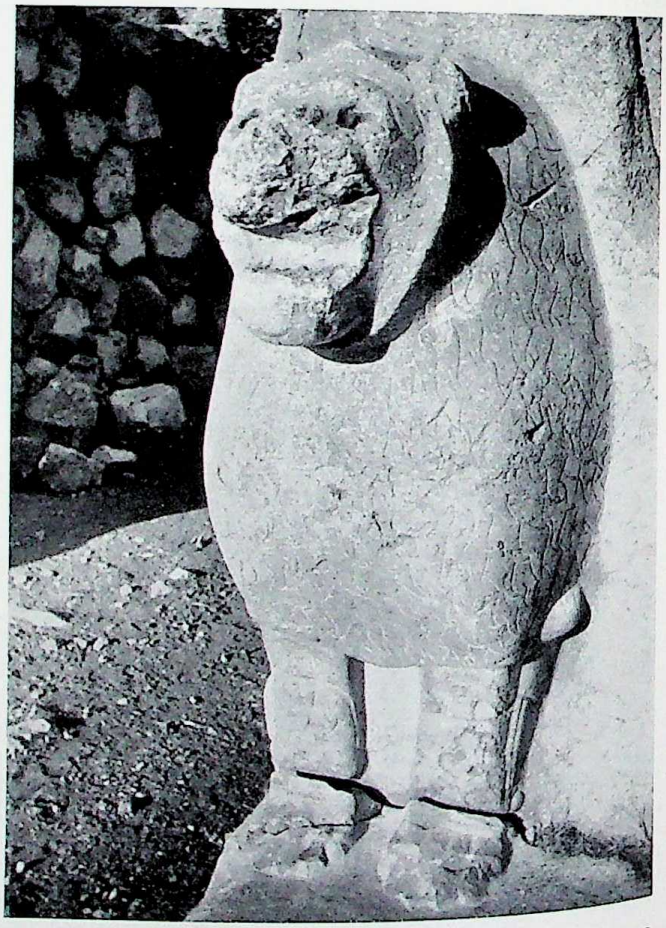

Pl. 280. *Above and below, right*: Hattushash (mod. Bogazköy), Turkey, the Lion Gate, over-all view and detail, 14th–13th cent. B.C. *Below, left*: Jamb relief from the Royal Gate of Hattushash, 14th–13th cent. B.C. Basaltic stone, ht., ca. 7 ft. Ankara, Archaeological Museum (photographed *in situ*; cf. I, PL. 518).

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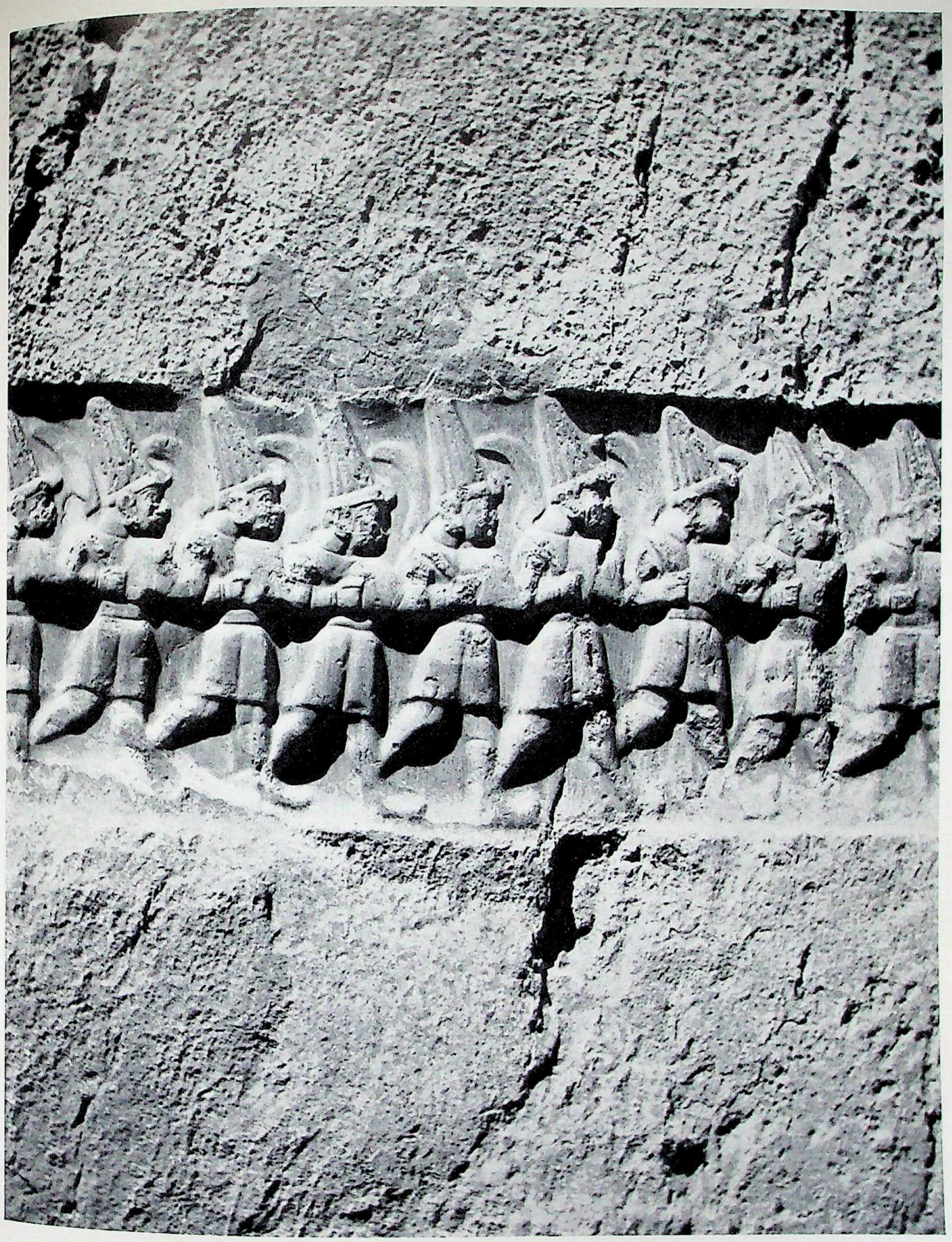

Pl. 281. Yazılıkaya, Turkey, rock relief with procession of the gods, detail, ca. 13th cent. B.C. Ht., ca. 31½ in.

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Pl. 282. Yazılıkaya, Turkey, the god Shamash, ca. 13th cent. B.C. Rock relief.

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Pl. 283. Vase fragments, from Bitik, Turkey, second half of 2d millennium B.C. Painted terra cotta; ht. of standing figures, 5 3/8 in. Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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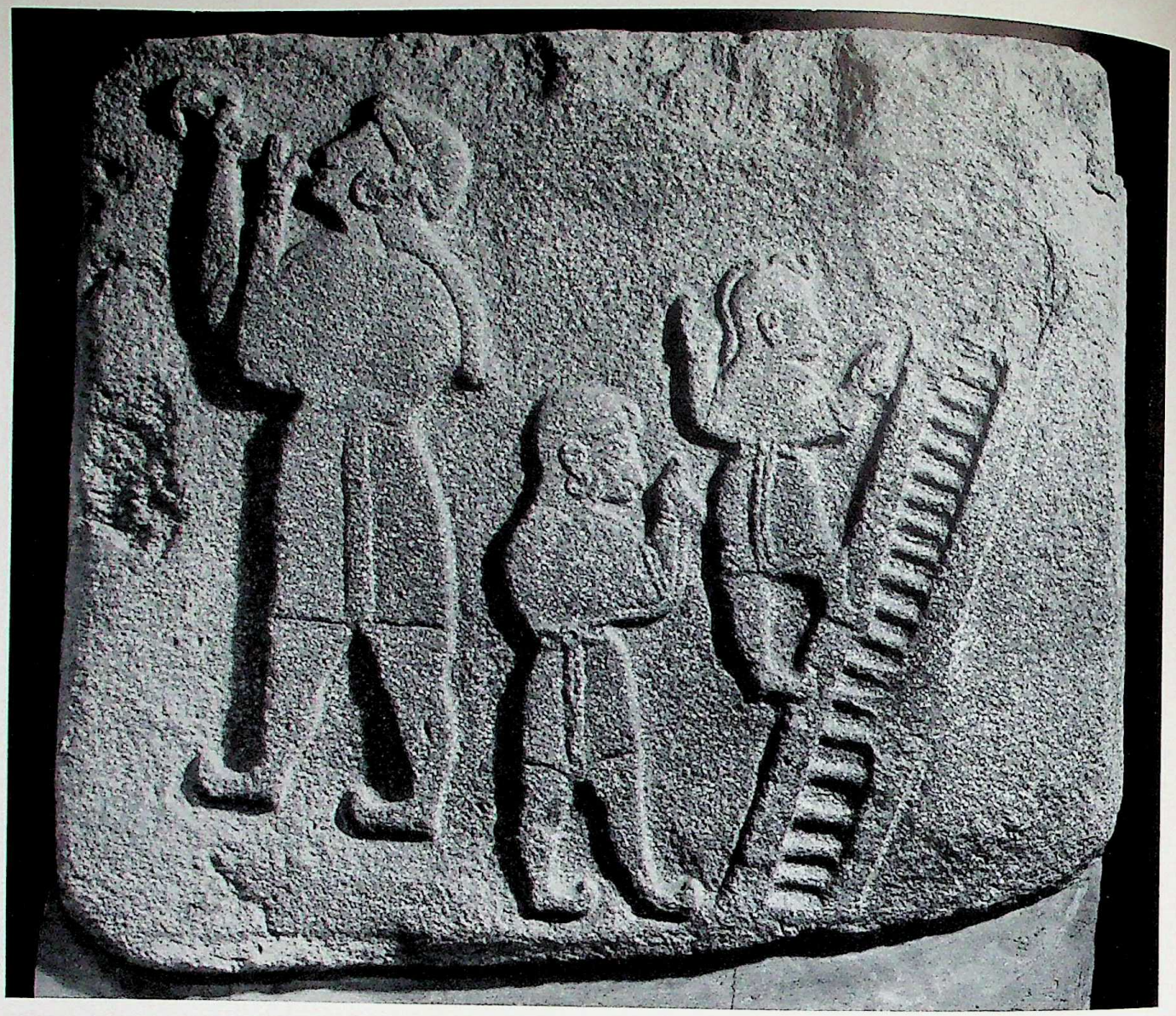

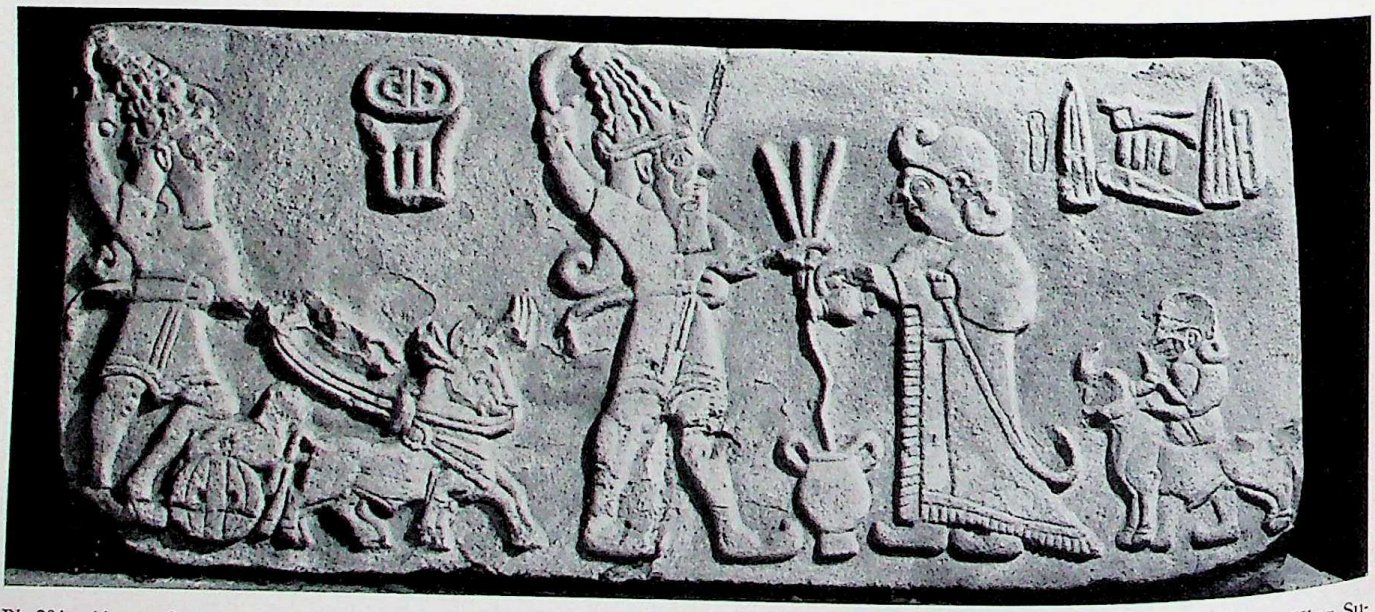

Pl. 284. *Above*: Sword swallower and acrobats, from Alaca Hüyük, Turkey, 14th–13th cent. B.C. Granite. *Below*: Libation of King Sulumeli (?), from Malatya, Turkey, 11th–10th cent. B.C. (?). Limestone, 18½×50 in. Both, Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 285. Relief with battle scene, from Carchemish, Turkey, 8th cent. B.C. Basalt. Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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PI. 286. Relief with King Katuwas and inscription in Hittite hieroglyphics, from Carchemish, Turkey, late 10th–early 9th cent. B.C. Basalt, 4 ft., 2 3/8 in. × 2 ft., 9 1/2 in. Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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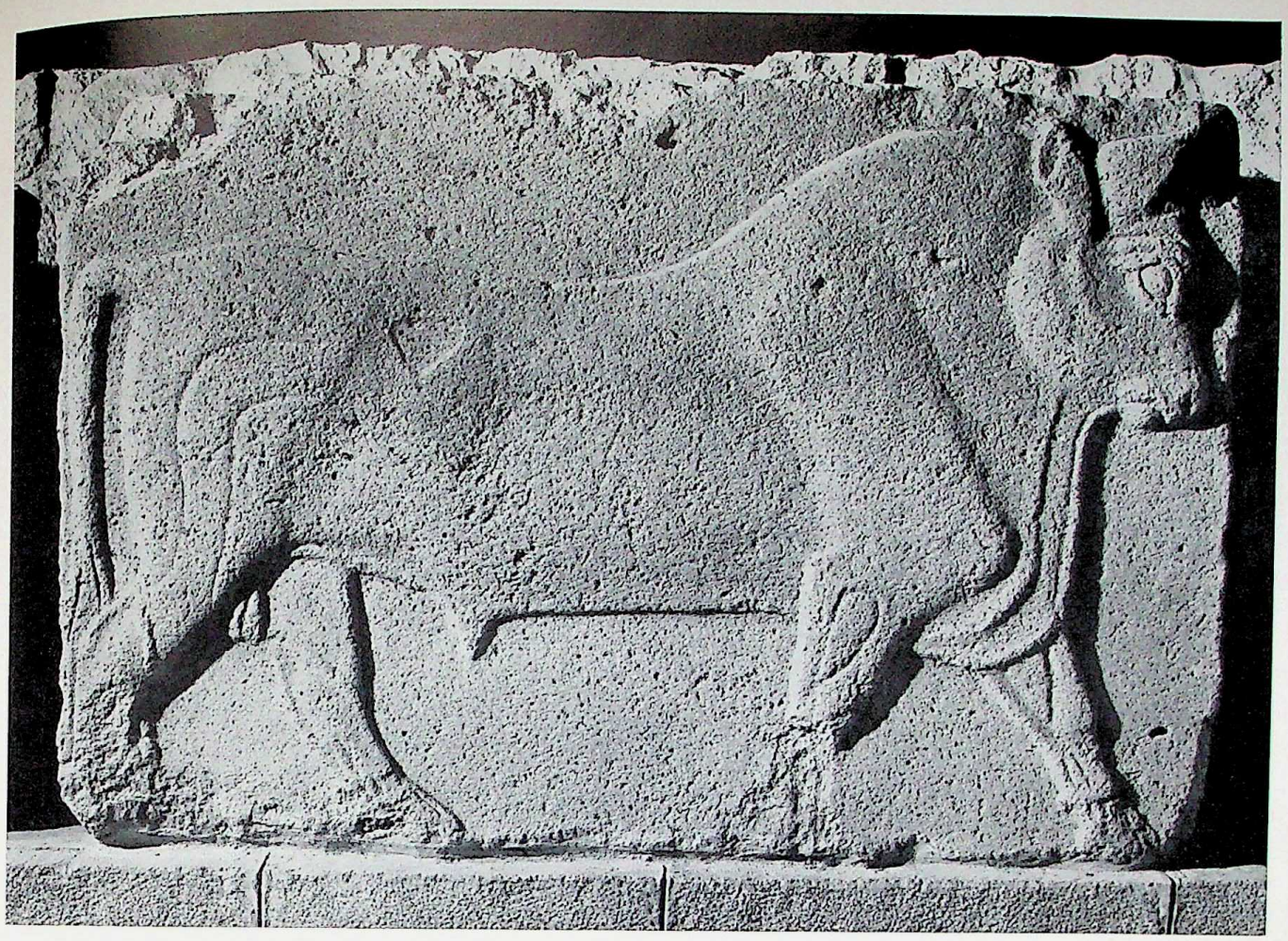

Pl. 287. *Above*: Relief with bull, from Gazi Orman Ciftligi, Turkey, ca. 9th–8th cent. B.C. Basalt. *Below*: Orthostats, from Carchemish, Turkey, ca. 8th cent. B.C. Basalt, ht., 43 1/4 in. (photographed *in situ*; cf. I, PL. 522). Both, Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 288. *Left*: Stele of Tarhunpiyas, from Marash, Turkey, ca. 8th cent. B.C. Basalt, 29½×11 in. *Right*: Stele with the god Teshub, from Til Barsip (mod. Tell Ahmar), Syria, early 1st millennium B.C. Basalt. Both, Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 289. Royal statue, from Malatya, Turkey, 8th cent. B.C. Limestone, ht., 10 ft., 5¼ in. Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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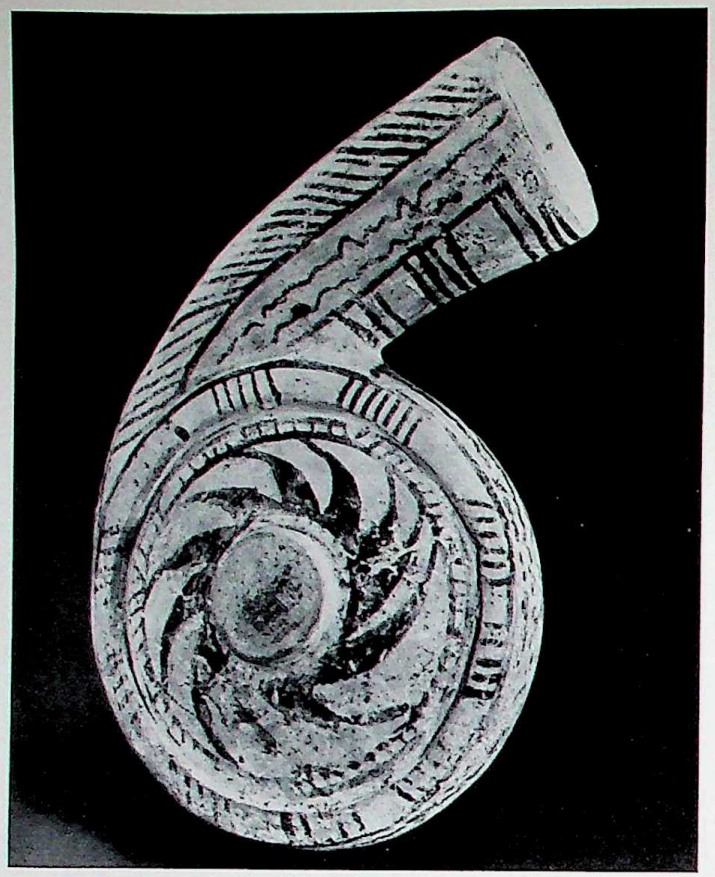

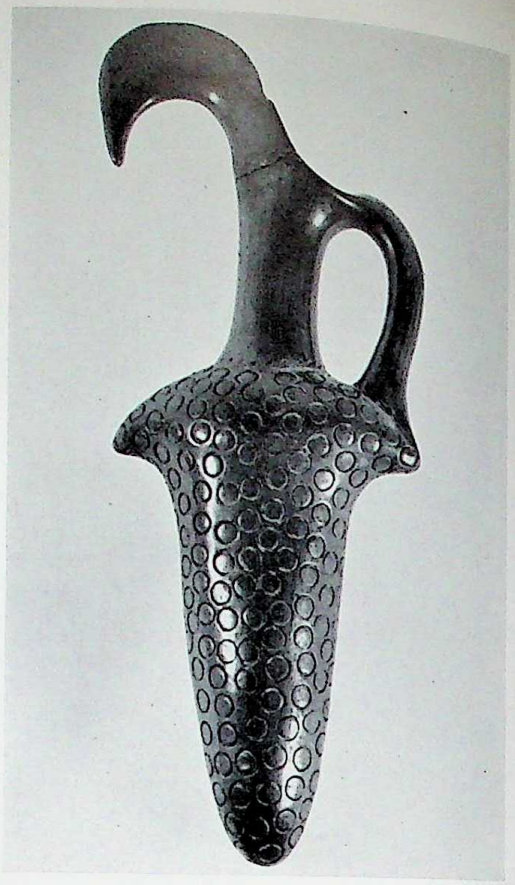

Pl. 290. *Above, left*: Spiral vase, from Kanesh (mod. Kültepe), Turkey, 19th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, $5^{7}/_{8} \times 4$ in. *Right*: Beak-spouted vase, from Tokat, Turkey, 16th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., $11^{3}/_{4}$ in. *Below, left*: Mold, from Kanesh, 18th cent. B.C., $2^{3}/_{8} \times 2^{1}/_{8}$ in. *Right*: Statuette of a divinity, from Tokat, 16th cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., $4^{1}/_{2}$ in. All, Ankara, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 291. The Wedding of Stephen Beckingham and Mary Cox. Canvas, $50^{3}/_{8} \times 39^{3}/_{8}$ in. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

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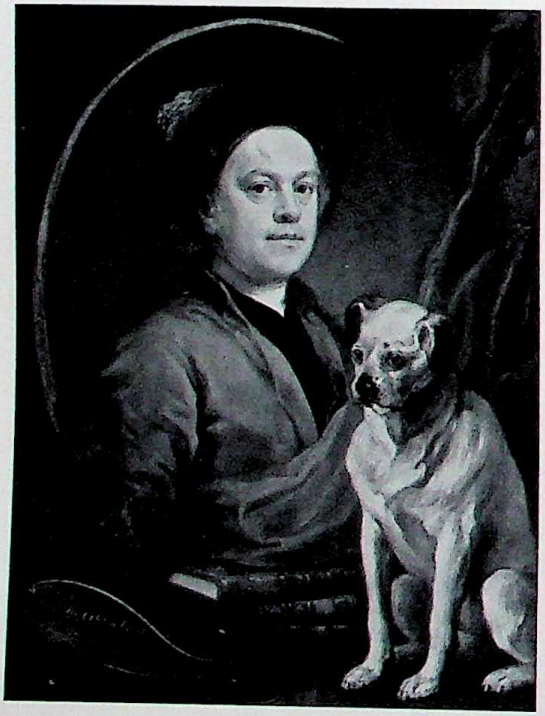

Pl. 292. *Above*: The Graham Children. Canvas, 5 ft., 3 in. × 5 ft., 1 in. *Below, left*: Self-portrait with dog. Canvas, $34^{5}/_{8} \times 26^{3}/_{4}$ in. Both, London, Tate Gallery. *Right*: Portrait of Mrs. Butler. Canvas, 30×25 in. Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Coll.

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Pl. 293. *Above*: A Rake's Progress, The Rake's Levee. Canvas, 24 3/8 × 28 3/4 in. London, Sir John Soane's Museum. *Below*: Marriage à la Mode, Signing the Marriage Contract. Canvas, 28 × 35 7/8 in. London, National Gallery.

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Pl. 294. Marriage à la Mode, The Toilette, detail. Canvas; full size, 27½×35¾ in. London, National Gallery.

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Pl. 295. Marriage à la Mode, The Visit to the Quack Doctor: Canvas, 28×35 7/8 in. London, National Gallery.

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Pl. 296. Ono Waterfall, 1827–30. Woodprint.

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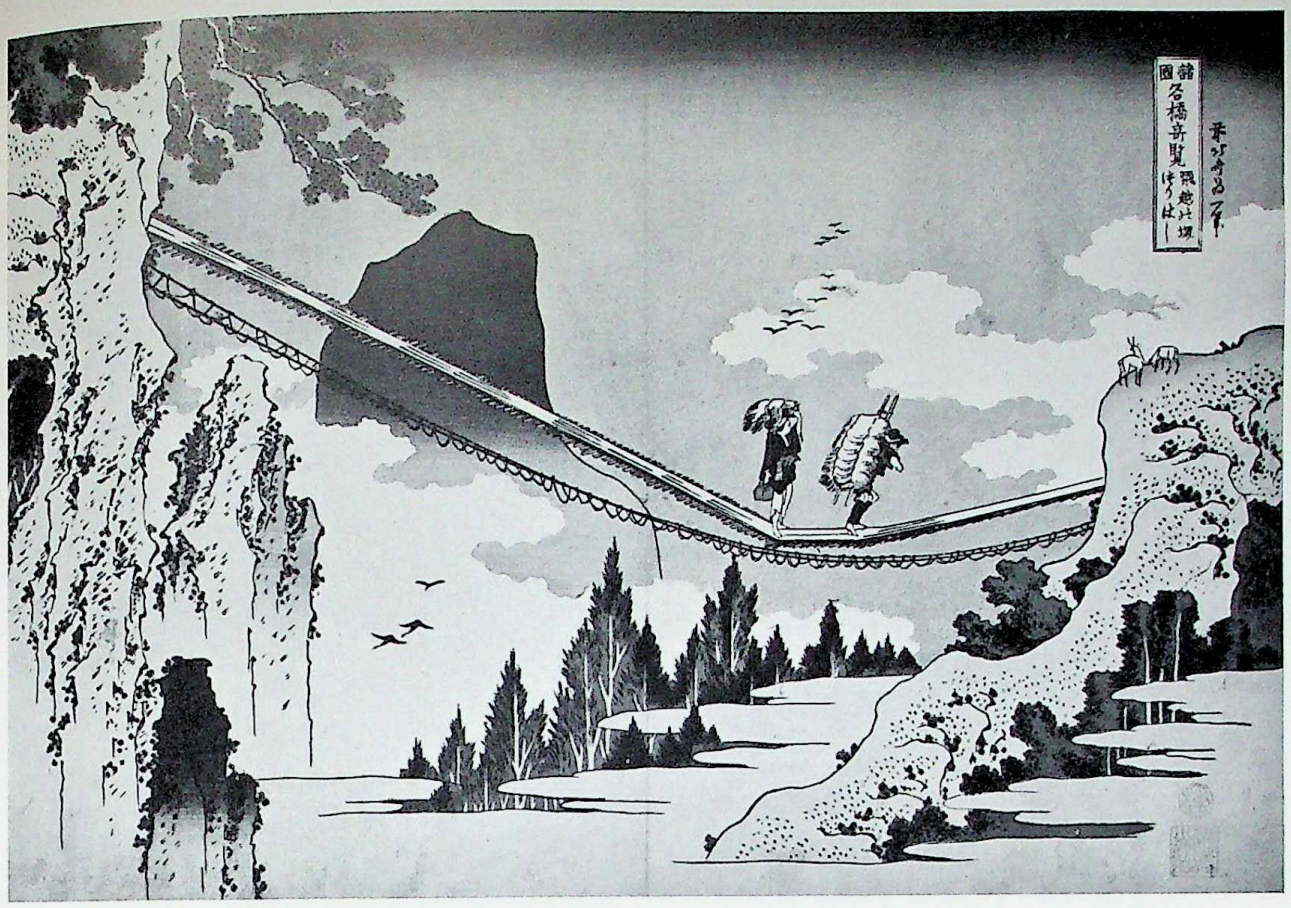

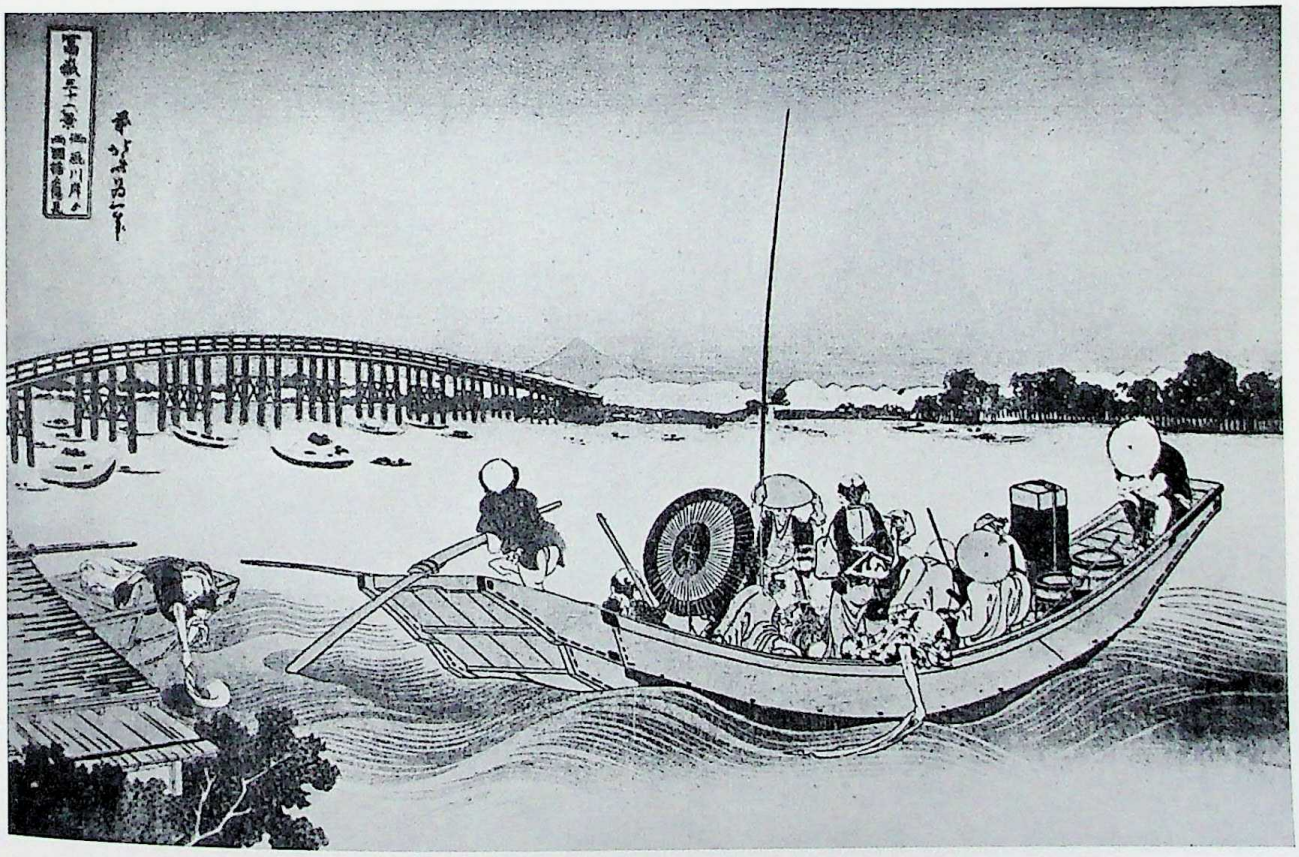

Pl. 297. Woodprints. *Above*: Suspension Bridge at Hietsu-no-Sakai, 1827–30. *Below*: Mt. Fuji Seen from Ryōgoku Bridge.

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Pl. 298. *Above*: Setting up the New Year's Tree, ca. 1819. Water color on paper, 37 × 51 1/8 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Below*: Kanke (thatch-roofed cart). Woodprint.

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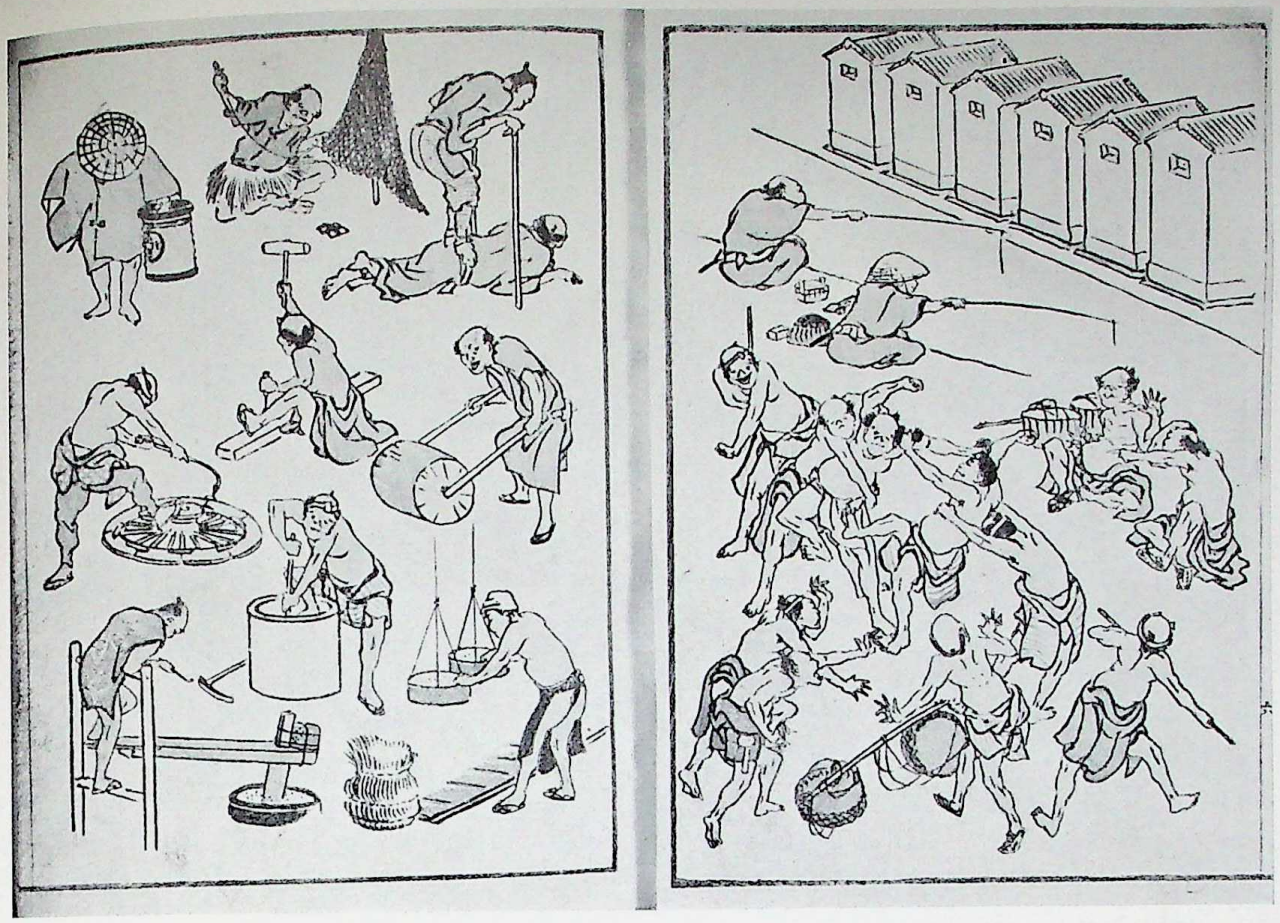

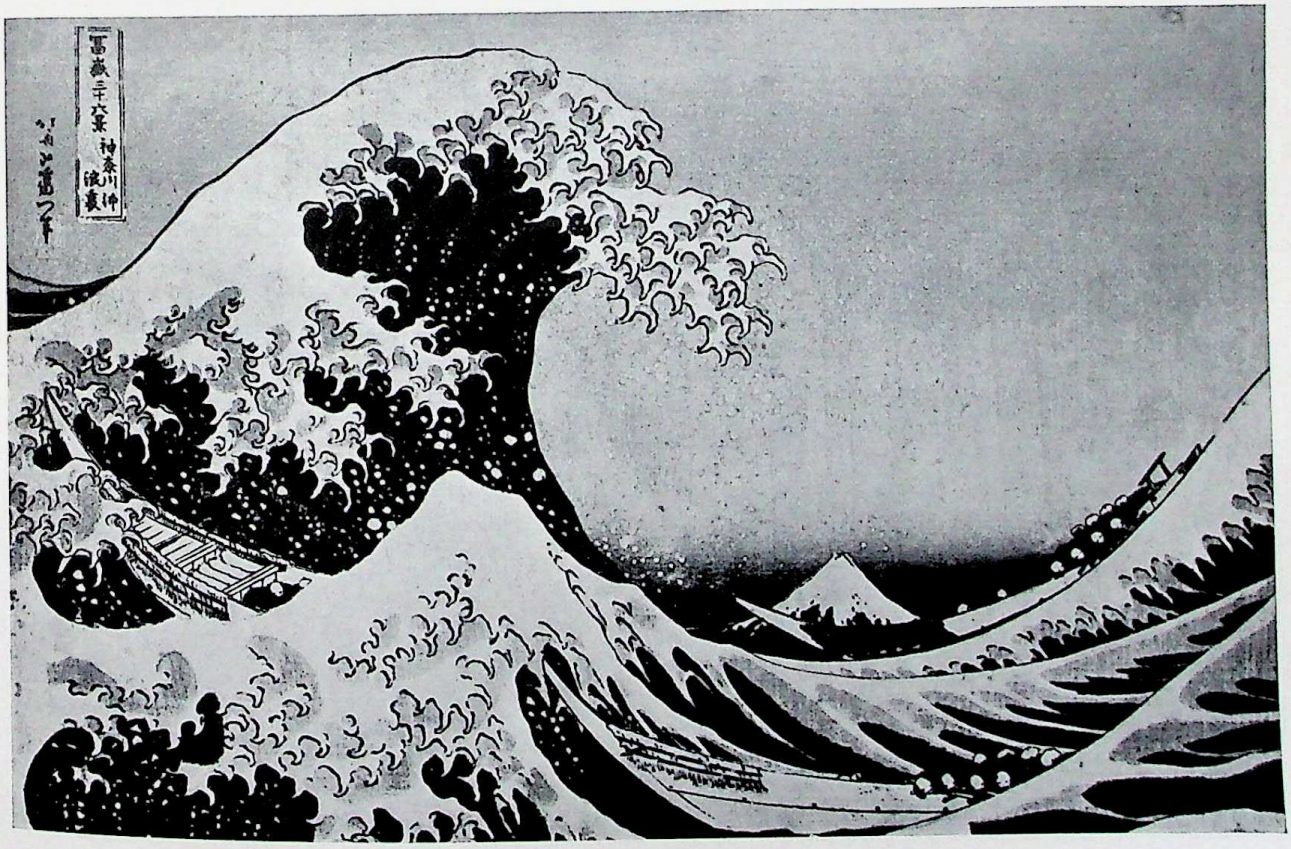

Pl. 299. *Above*: Genre scenes, from the *Mangwa* ("sketchbooks"). Woodprint. *Below*: Wave at Kanagawa, 1823–29. Woodprint.

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Pl. 300. The Ghost of Kiku and the Priest Mikazuki. Woodprint.

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Pl. 301. H. Holbein the Elder, Kaisheimer Altar. Panel. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. *Above, left*: Adoration of the Magi, 4 ft., 7½ in. × 2 ft., 9½ in. *Right*: Presentation of Christ in the Temple, 4 ft., 7½ in. × 2 ft., 9½ in. *Below, left*: Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, detail. Full size, 5 ft., 10½ in. × 2 ft., 8¼ in. *Right*: The Circumcision, detail. Full size, 5 ft., 10⅞ in. × 2 ft., 8¼ in.

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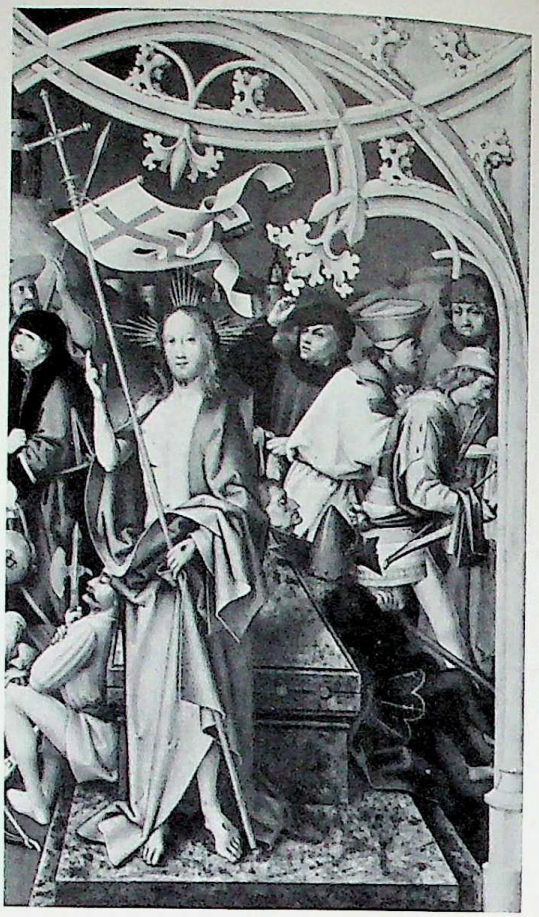

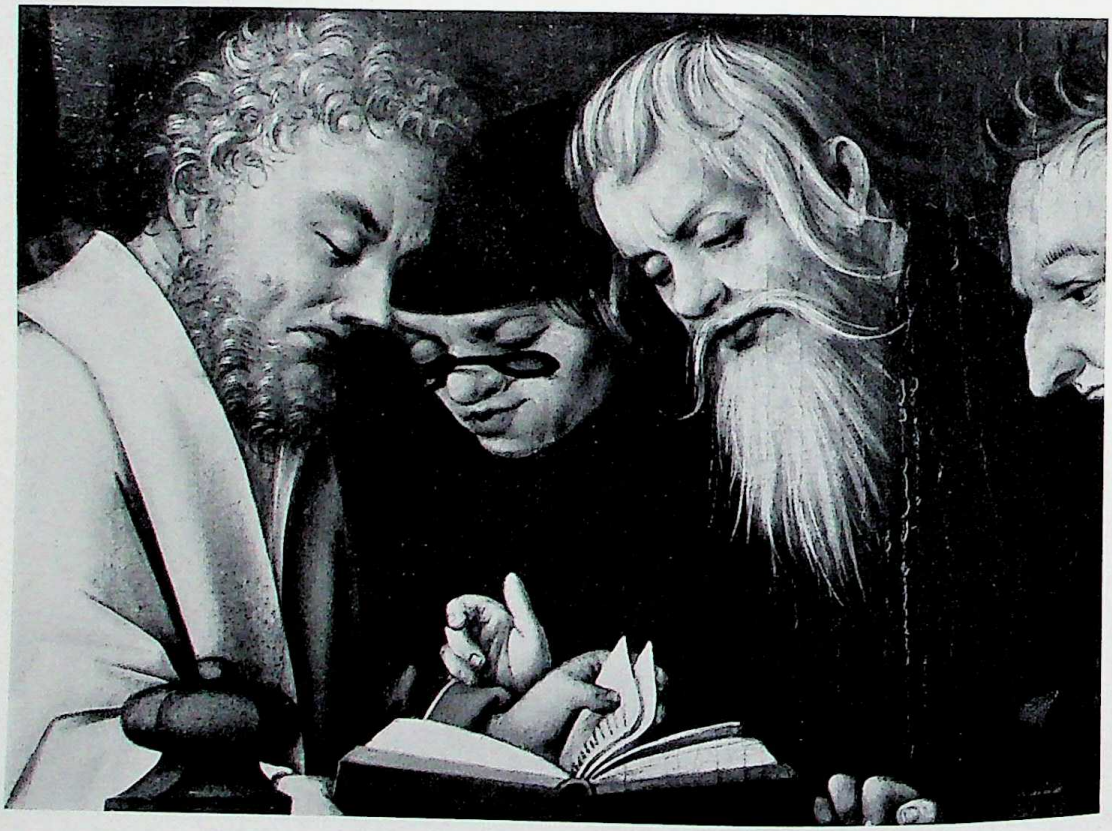

Pl. 302. H. Holbein the Elder, Kaisheimer Altar. Panel. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. *Above, left*: Christ Crowned with Thorns, 4 ft., 7 7/8 in. × 2 ft., 9 1/2 in. *Right*: The Resurrection, 4 ft., 7 1/2 in. × 2 ft., 9 1/8 in. *Below*: The Death of the Virgin, detail. Full size, 5 ft., 10 1/2 in. × 2 ft., 7 7/8 in.

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Pl. 303. H. Holbein the Younger. *Above, left*: Henry VIII. Panel, $10^{3}/_{4} \times 7^{3}/_{4}$ in. Lugano, Switzerland, Thyssen-Bornemisza Coll. *Right*: Jane Seymour. Panel, $26^{1}/_{8} \times 19$ in. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. *Below, left*: Portrait of a Member of the Wedigh Family. Tempera and oil on wood, $16^{1}/_{2} \times 12^{1}/_{2}$ in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Right*: Anne of Cleves. Vellum applied to canvas, $25^{5}/_{8} \times 18^{7}/_{8}$ in. Paris, Louvre.

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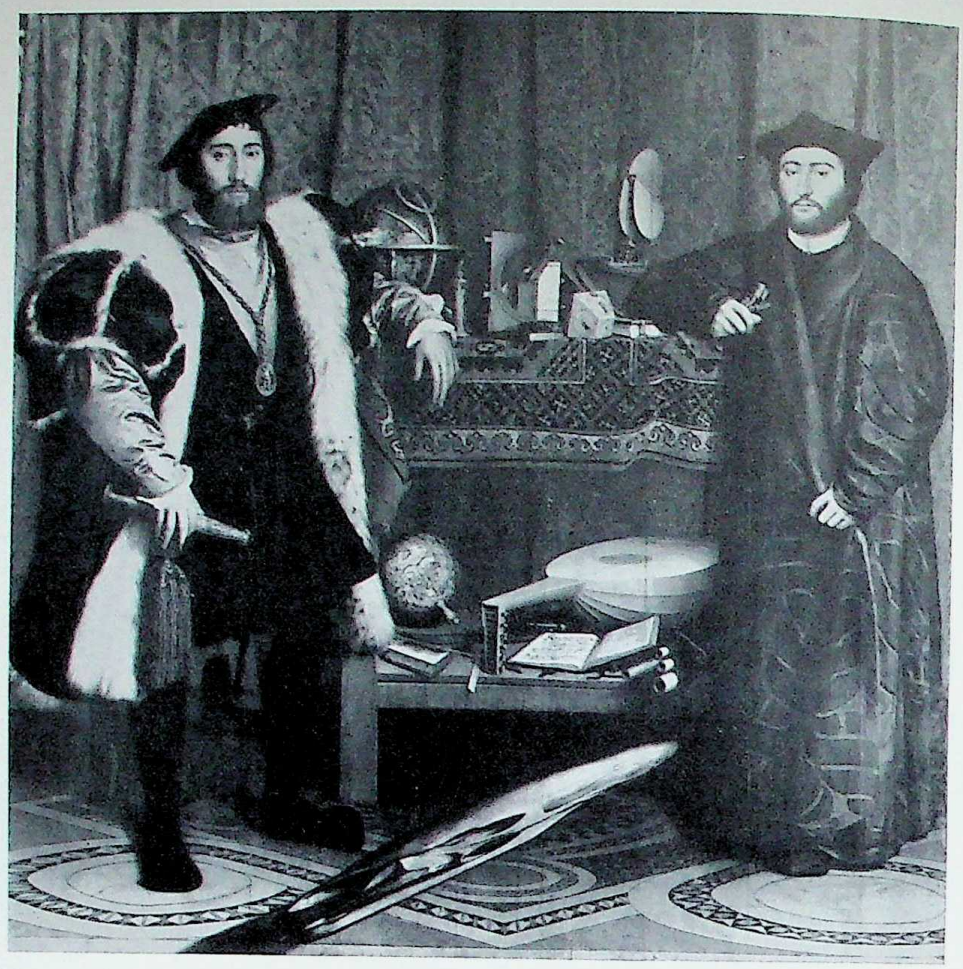

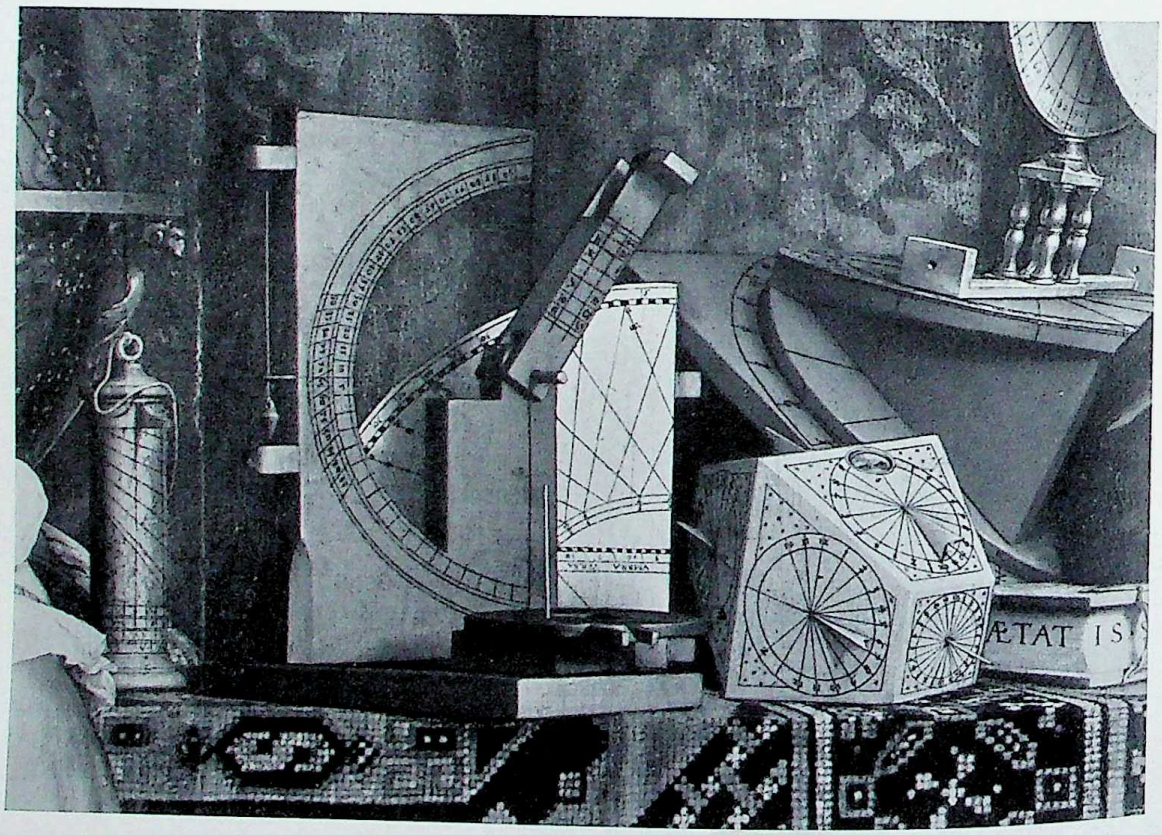


Pl. 304. H. Holbein the Younger, The Ambassadors, whole and detail. Panel, 6 ft., 9½ in. × 6 ft., 10½ in. London, National Gallery.

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Pl. 305. H. Holbein the Younger, The Virgin with the family of Burgomaster Meyer, called the "Meyer Madonna." Panel, 4 ft., 8 3/4 in. × 3 ft., 3 3/4 in. Darmstadt, Germany, Coll. Prince Ludwig von Hessen und bei Rhein.

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Pl. 306. H. Holbein the Younger, portrait of the astronomer Nicholas Kratzer of Munich. Panel, $32^{5}/_{8} \times 26^{3}/_{8}$ in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 307. Giuseppe Balsamo, Conte di Cagliostro. Marble; ht. without base, 24 3/4 in. Washington, D.C., National Gallery.

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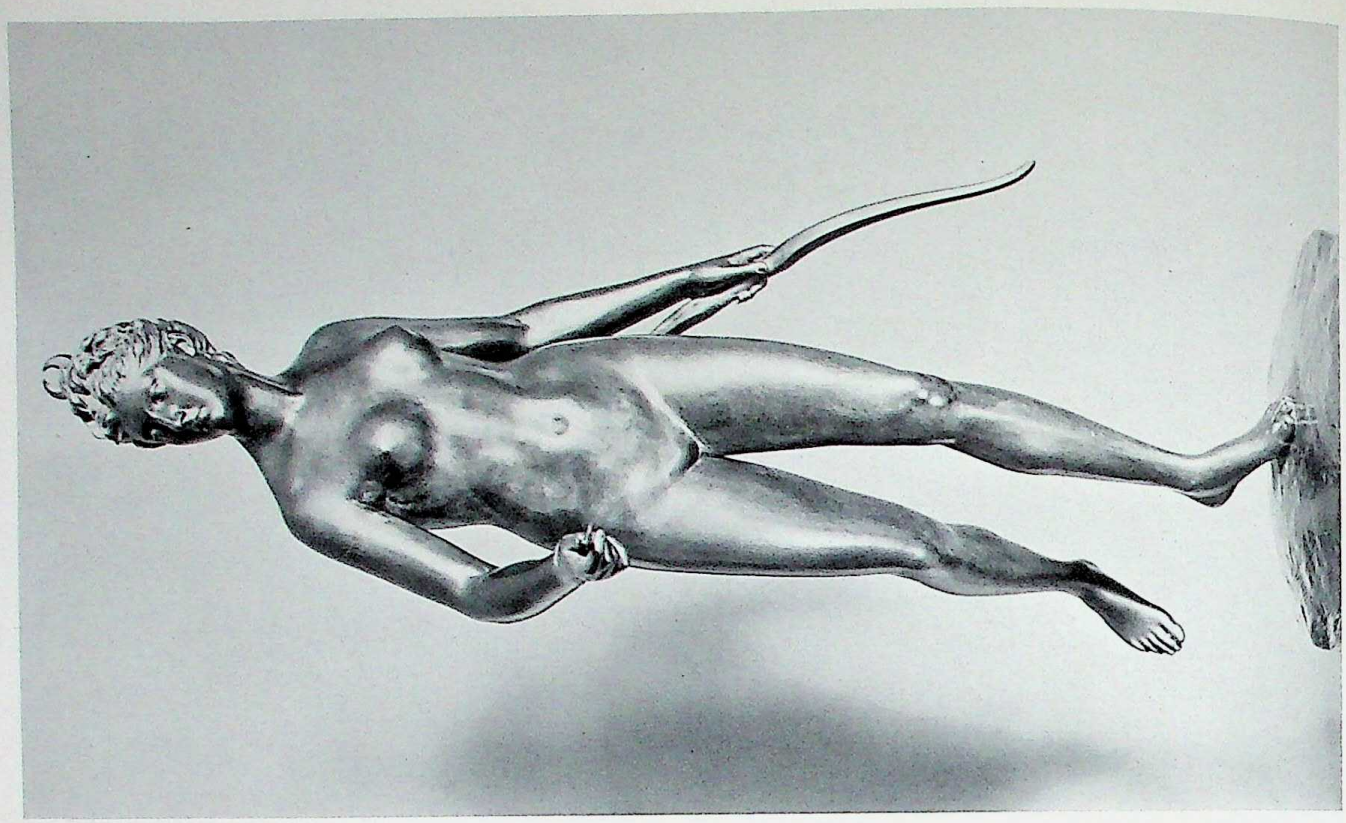

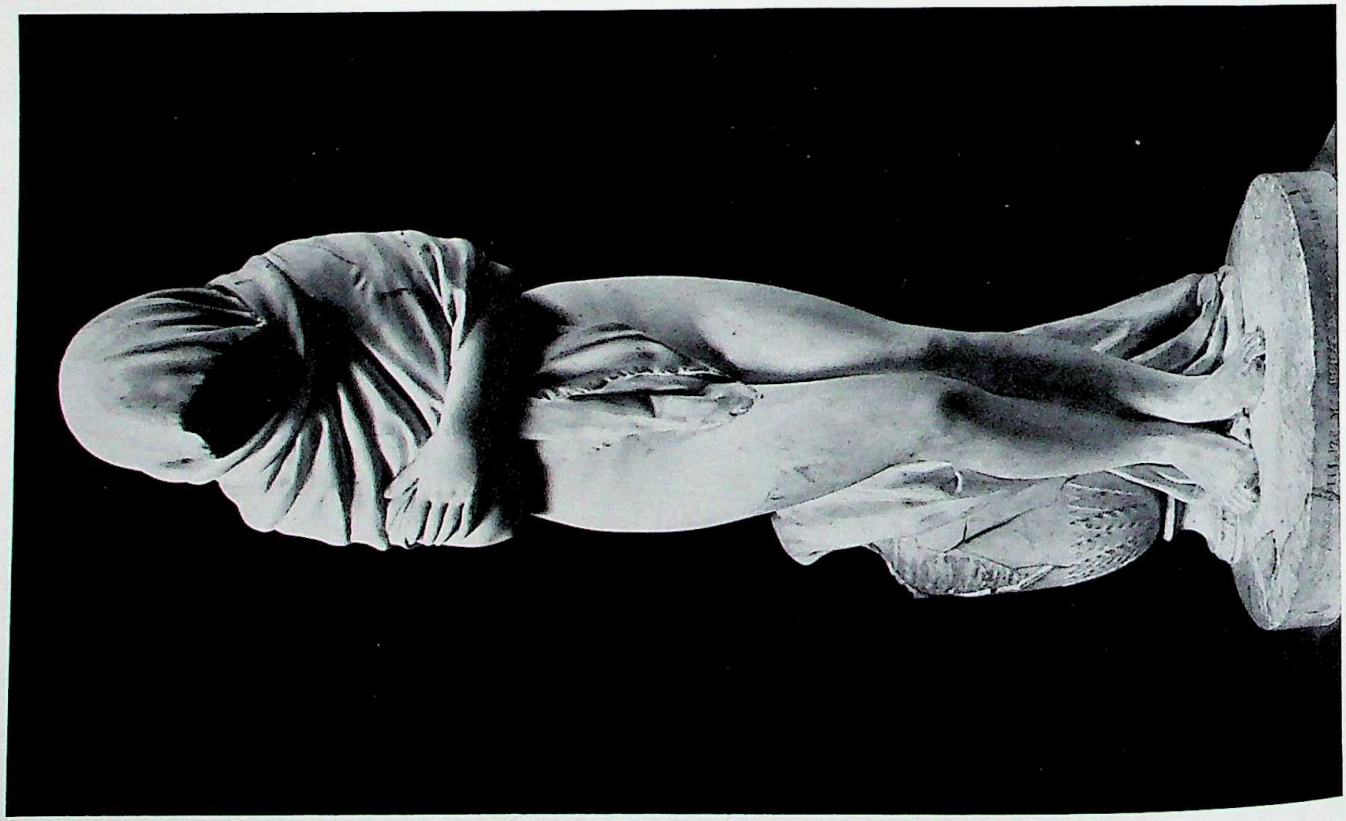

Pl. 308. *Left*: La Frileuse. Marble, life size. Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre. *Right*: Diana. Bronze, ht., 6 ft., 11 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 309. Morpheus. Marble. Paris, Louvre.

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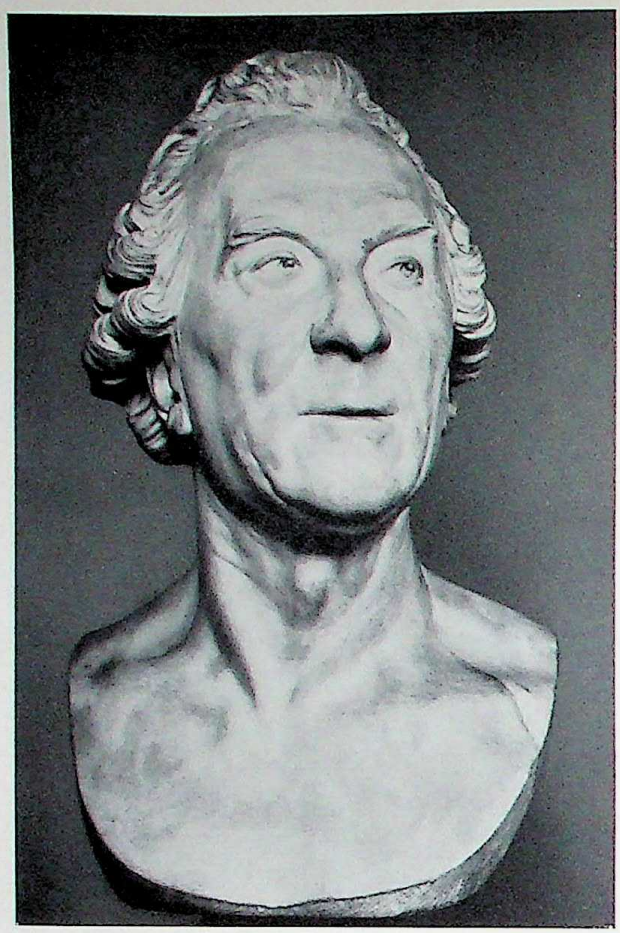

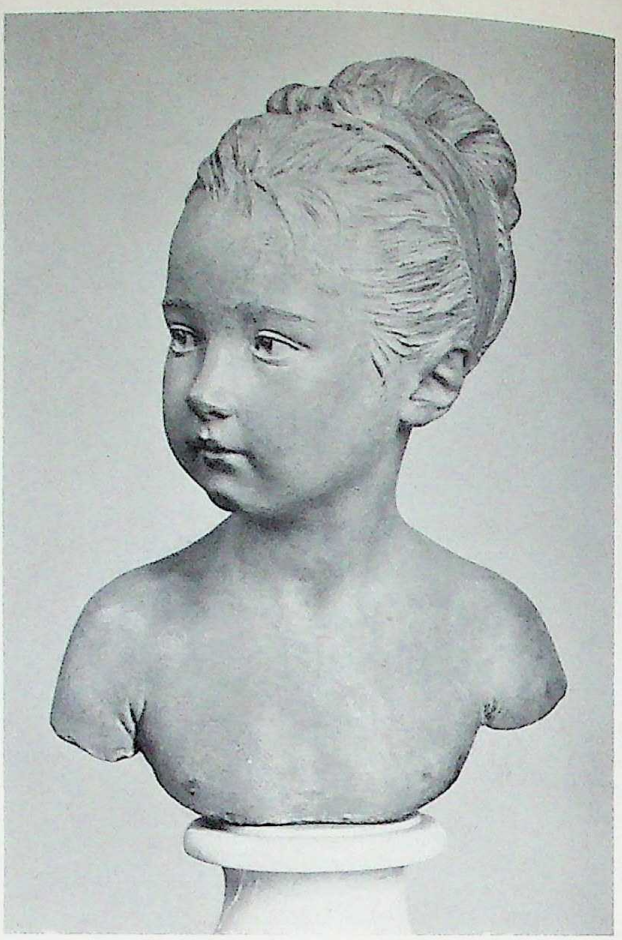

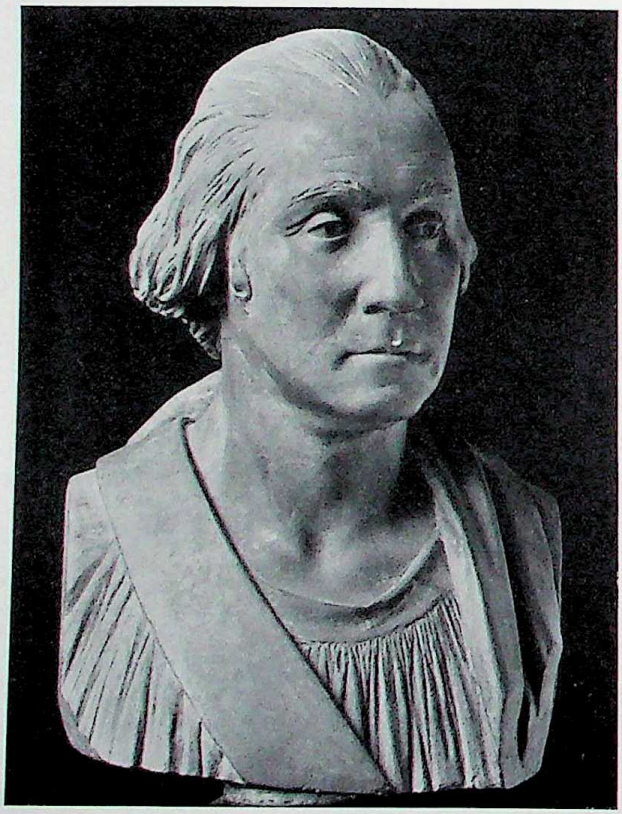

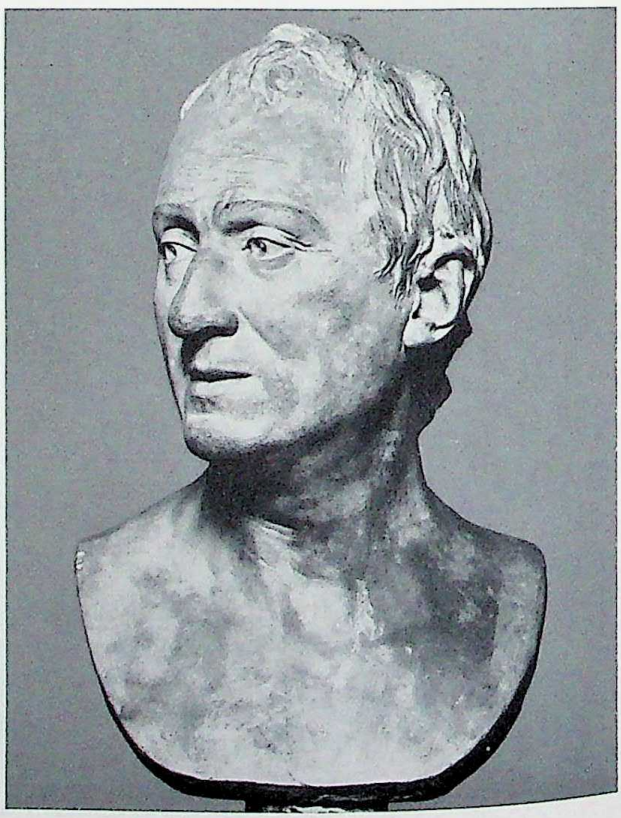

Pl. 310. *Above, left*: Buffon. Marble, ht., 23 3/8 in. *Right*: Louise Brongniart. Terra cotta, ht., 19 5/8 in. *Below, left*: George Washington. Terra cotta, ht., 21 1/2 in. *Right*: Diderot. Terra cotta, ht., 21 1/2 in. All, Paris, Louvre.

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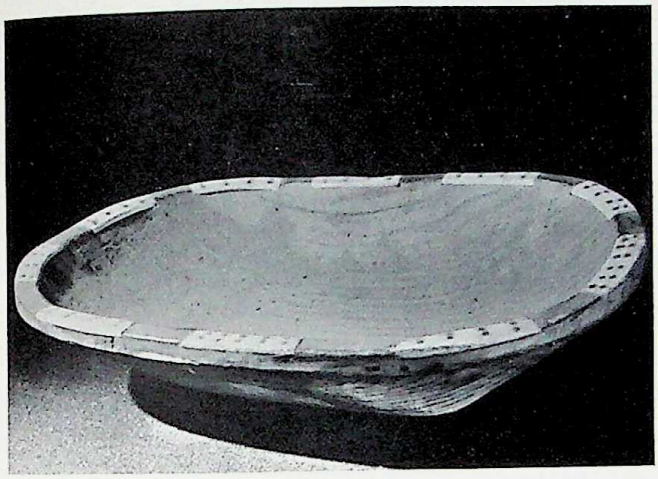

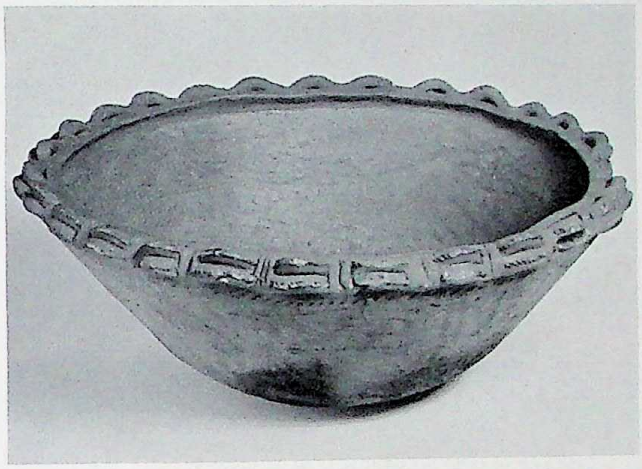

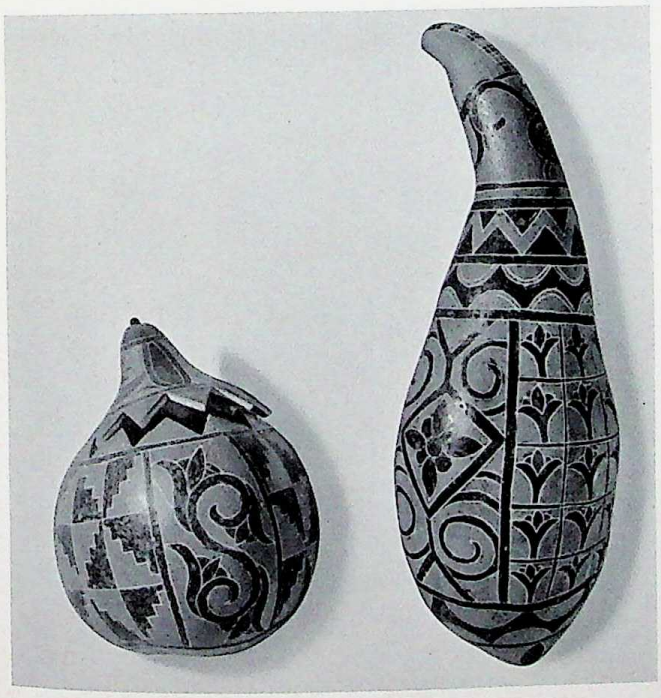

Pl. 311. *Above, left*: Twin vessel, from Mirabella Eclano, near Avellino, Italy, first half of 2d millennium B.C. Clay, ht., $6^{1}/_{4}$ in. Mirabella Eclano, Antiquario. *Right*: Vessel of the Hallstatt culture, Germany, first half of 1st millennium B.C. Pottery. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum. *Center, left*: Eskimo blubber bowl. Wood with whalebone inlay on rim; l., $10^{5}/_{8}$ in. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right*: Melanesian bowl, from Espíritu Santo, New Hebrides. Clay. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Below, left*: Payaguá container and flask, Paraguay. Gourd, ht., $8^{5}/_{8}$ and $16^{7}/_{8}$ in. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right*: Sardinian canteen. Gourd. Rome, Museo delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari.

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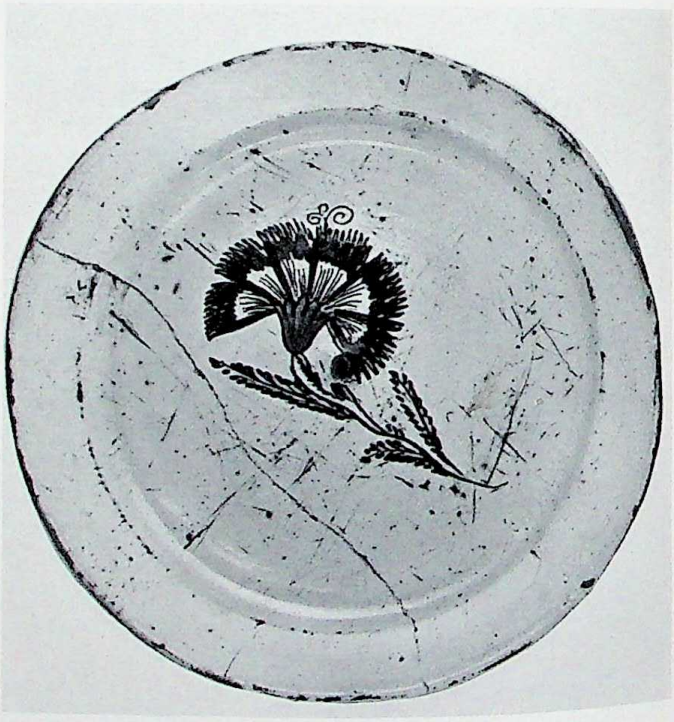

Pl. 312. *Left, above*: Silver patera with chariot race, from the Tivisa Treasure, Tarragona, Spain, 3d cent. B.C. Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico. *Below*: Byzantine silver dish with David and Goliath, from the Cyprus Treasure, early 7th cent. Diam., 19½ in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Right, above*: Ceramic plate, from Manises, near Valencia, Spain, 15th cent. London, British Museum. *Below*: Pottery plate of folk workmanship, from the Simmental, Bern canton, Switzerland. Basel, Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde.

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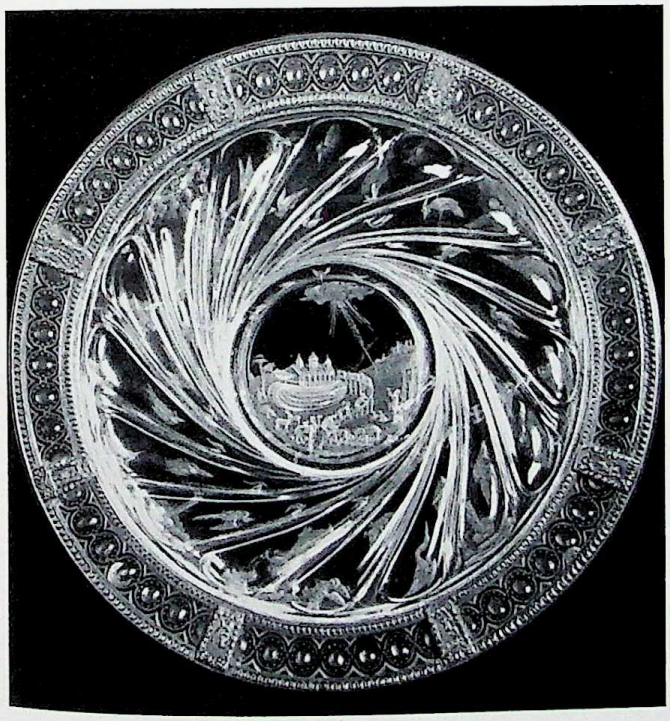

Pl. 313. *Above, left*: Ceramic plate with Hercules and Omphale, Faenza, Italy, 1522. Diam., 11 3/4 in. *Right*: Ceramic plate with floral decoration, Meissen, Germany, ca. 1745–50. Diam., 17 1/2 in. Both, London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Below, left*: Dish with Noah's Ark, Italy, 16th cent. Rock crystal with gilded mounting; diam., 11 3/4 in.; ht., including foot, 2 1/8 in. Florence, Pitti, Museo degli Argenti. *Right*: Venetian-Saracenic dish, early 16th cent. Engraved brass damascened with silver. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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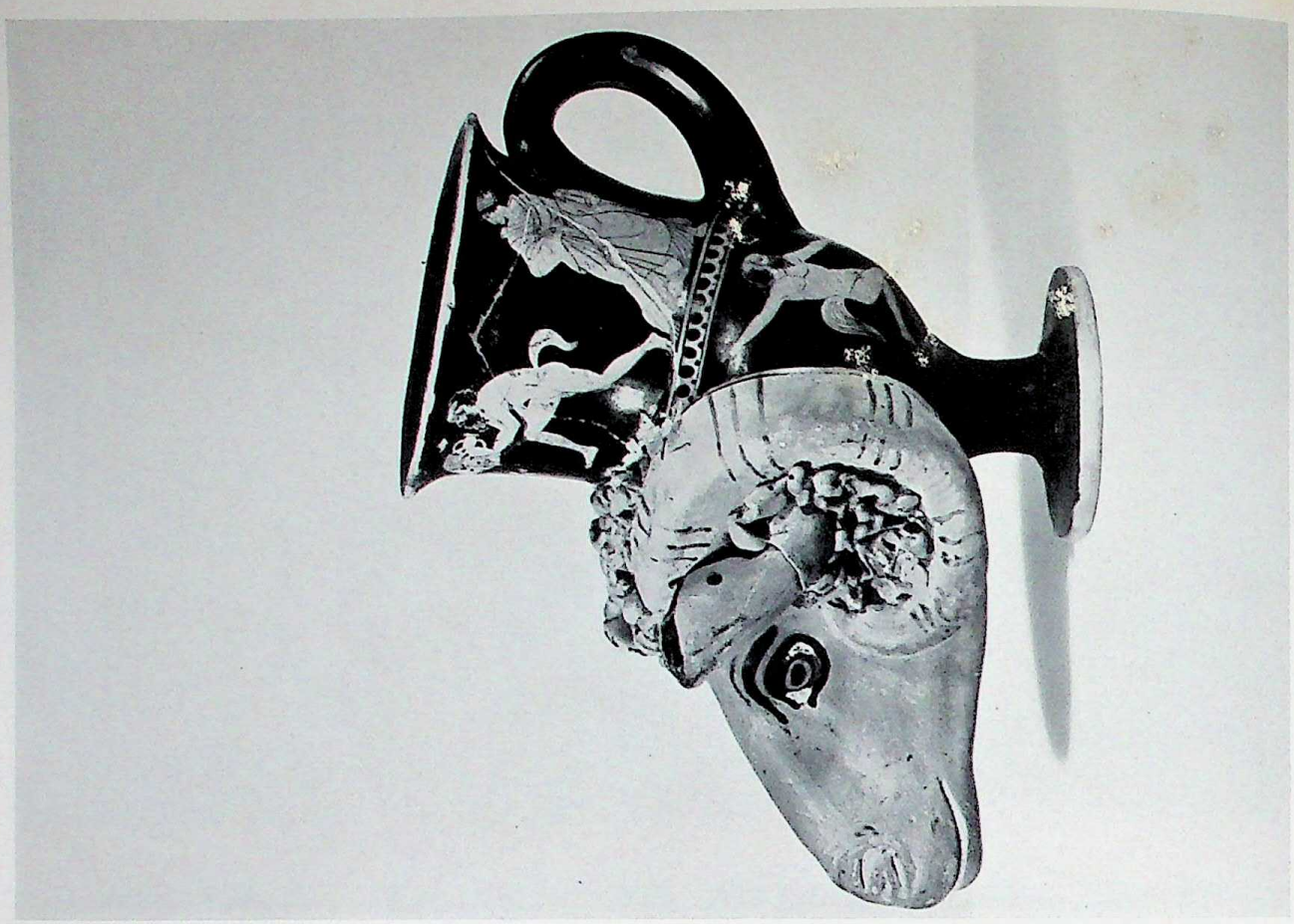

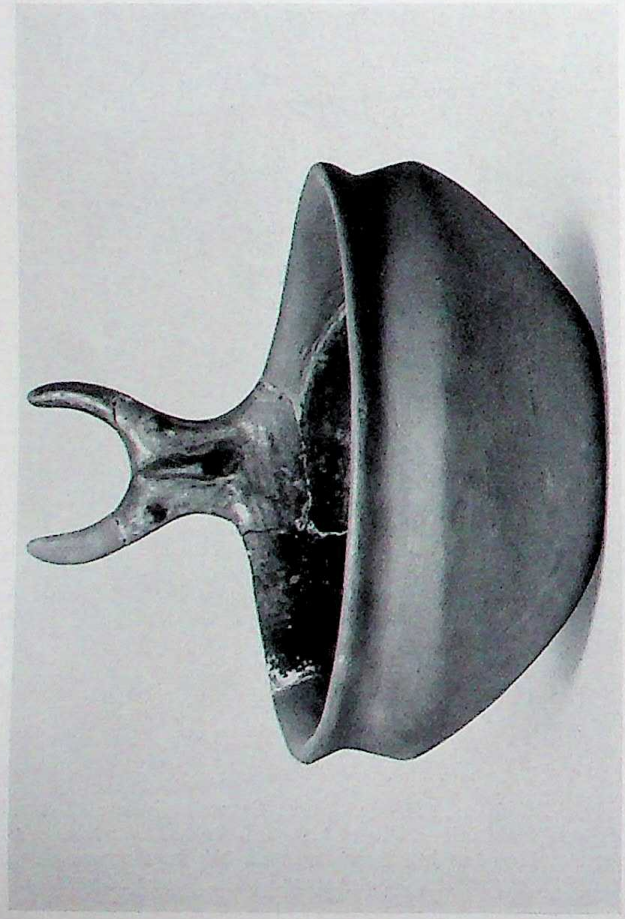

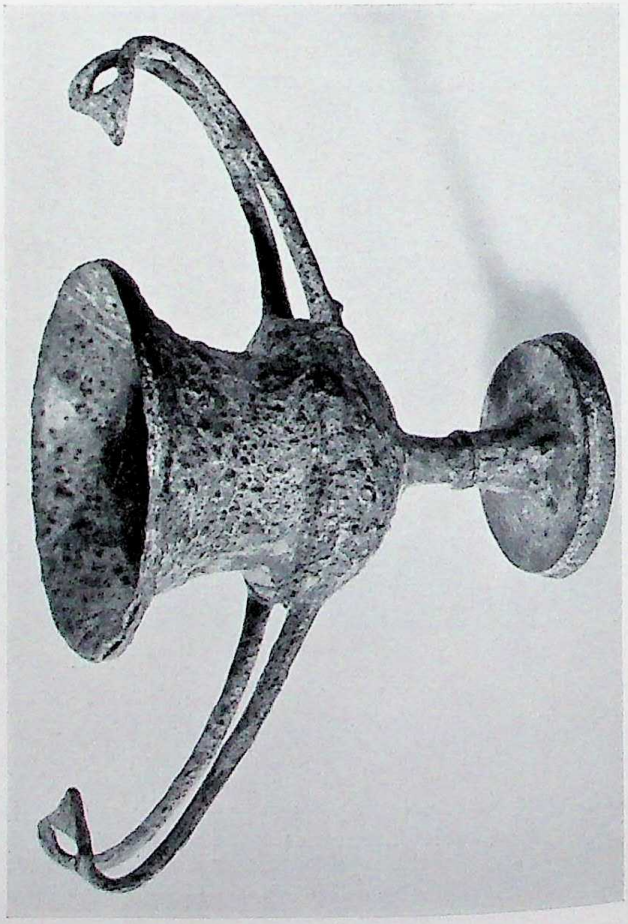

Pl. 314. *Left, above:* Bowl with horn-shaped handle, from the island of Lipari, Italy, Ausonian II culture, ca. 1150–850 B.C. Pottery, ht., 11 3/4 in. Lipari, Museo Eoliano. *Below:* Kantharos, from Eleutherai, Greece, 4th-3d cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 4 3/8 in. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum. *Right:* Rhyton with ram's head, attributed to the Eretria Painter, from Spina, Italy, 430–420 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 7 1/2 in. Ferrara, Italy, Museo Archeologico.

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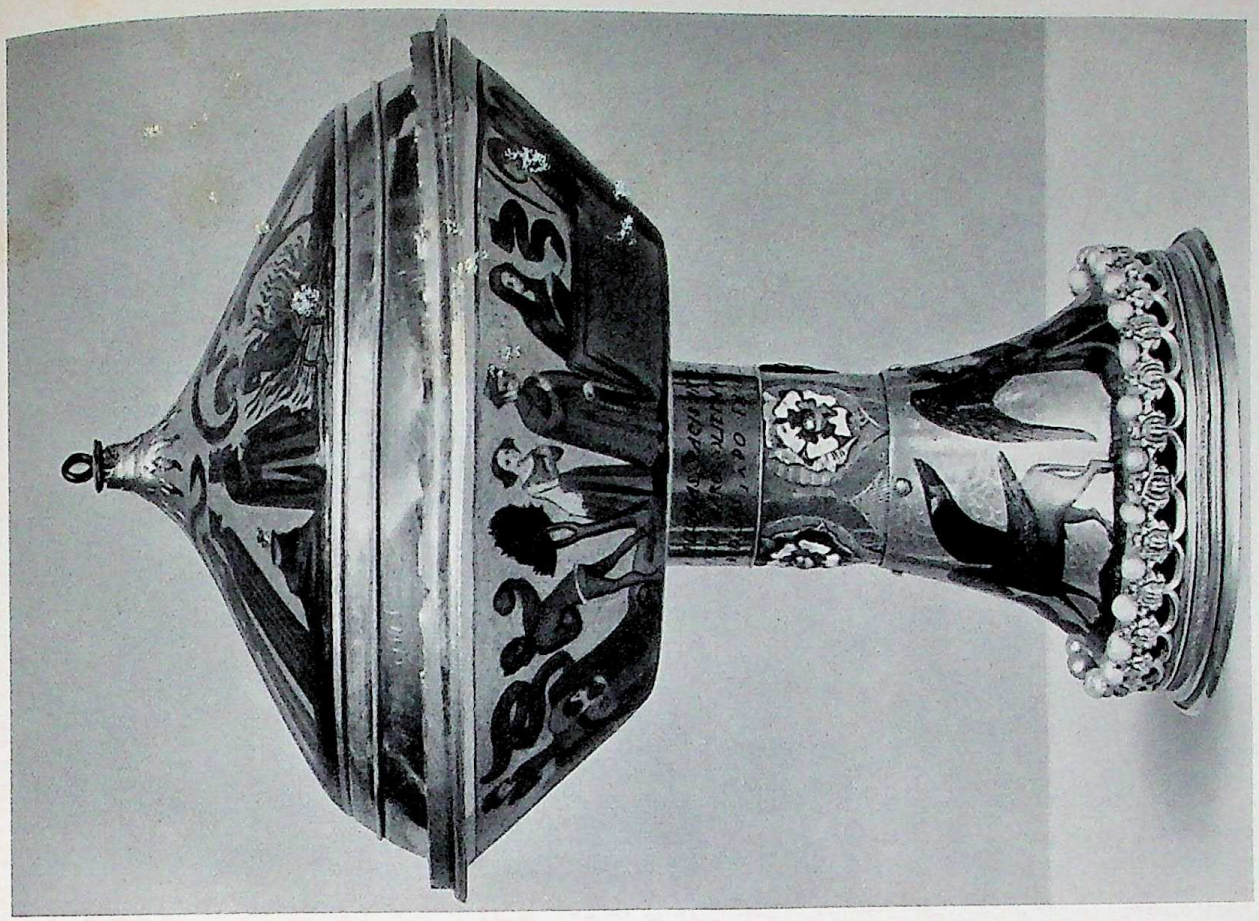

Pl. 315. *Left, above:* Chalice and two double cups (called "saltcellars," use unconfirmed), from the Boscoreale Treasure, Italy, late 1st cent. B.C. Silver, ht., 6 1/8 and 2 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Below:* Byzantine chalices, 10th–11th cent. Sardonyx with garnets, pearls, enamels, and gold (*left*); chalcedony (*right*); both with gilded silver mountings; ht., ca. 4 1/2 in. Venice, Treasury of S. Marco. *Right:* Cup made for the Duc de Berry, France, ca. 1380. Gold, enamels, pearls, and precious stones. London, British Museum.

From Spina, Italy, 430–420 B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 7 1/2 in. Ferrara, Italy, Museo Archeologico.

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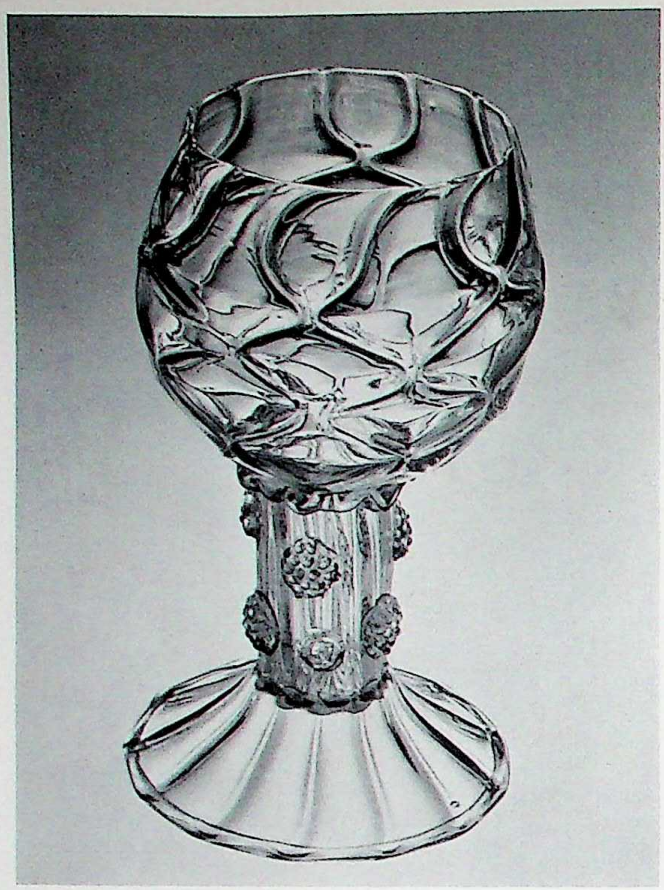

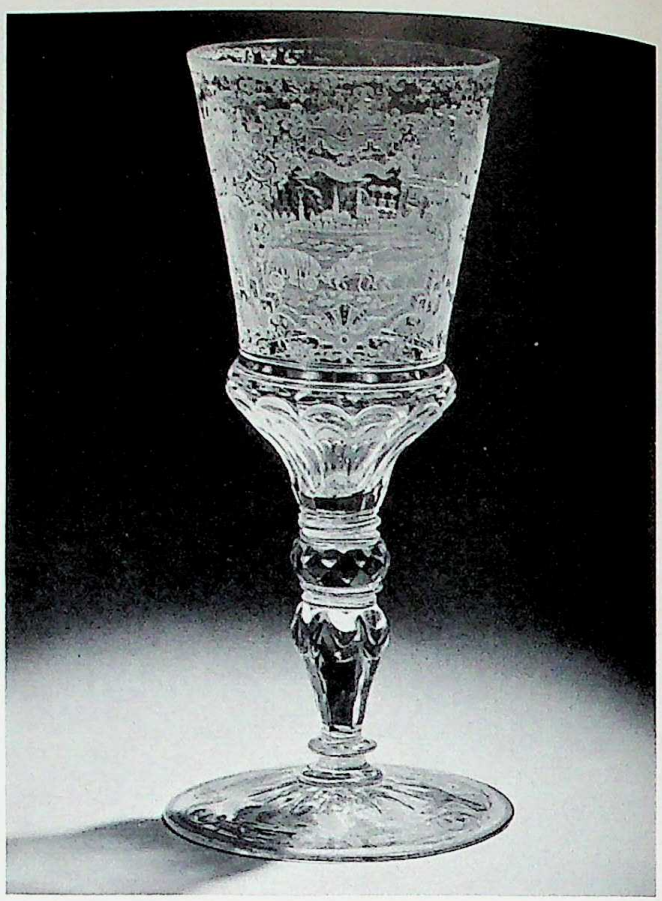

Pl. 316. *Above, left*: Goblet with applied and tooled decoration, from the glasshouse of G. Ravenscroft, England, ca. 1677. Lead glass, ht., 7¼ in. *Right*: Cut and engraved goblet, probably from Bohemia or Silesia, ca. 1725–35. Free-blown clear glass; ht., 10 3/16 in. Both, Corning, N.Y., Museum of Glass. *Below*: Tumblers, designed by Kaj Franck (b. 1911) for Wärtsilä, Finland. Glass.

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Pl. 317. *Above*: Cups from St. Petersburg and Ludwigsburg factories, 18th cent. Hard porcelain. Sèvres, France, Musée de Céramique. *Below*: Meissen ware, painted by C. F. Heroldt, ca. 1730–35. Hard porcelain. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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Pl. 318. Zoomorphic vessels. *Above*: Etruscan polychrome askos, from Clusium (Chiusi), 4th–3d cent. B.C. L., 7 5/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Below*: Flemish bronze ewer, 14th cent. Florence, Museo Nazionale.

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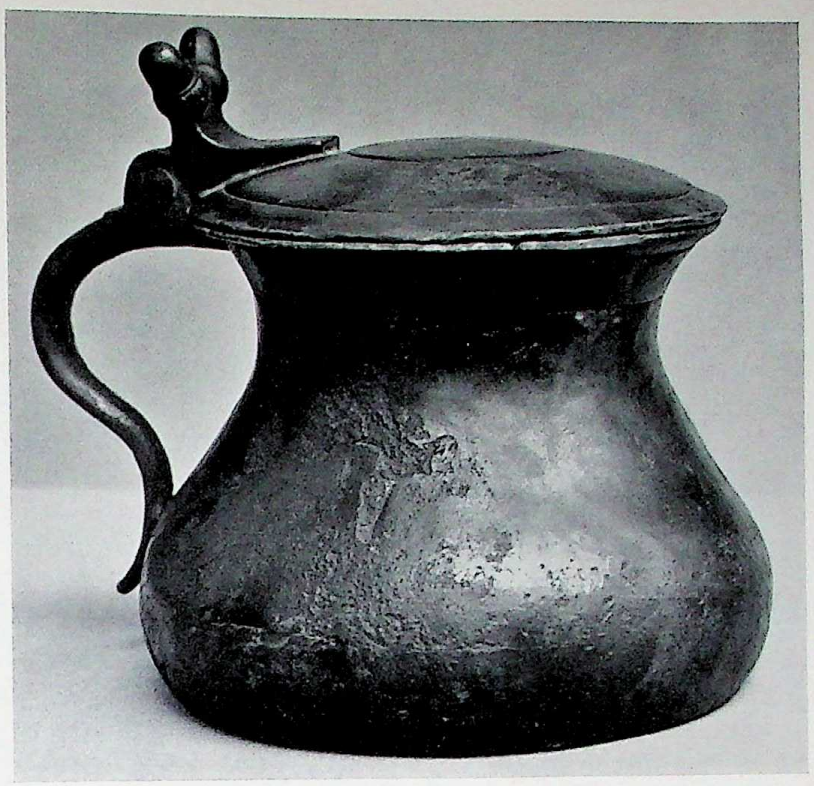

Pl. 319. *Above, left*: Wine bottle, from Hunedoara, Romania. Linden wood. Paris, Musée de l'Homme. *Right*: Jug, northern Germany, second half of 15th cent. Tin. Frankfort on the Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk. *Below*: Coffeepot with leaf designs, early 20th cent. Chiseled and engraved silver, ht., 5 1/8 in. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

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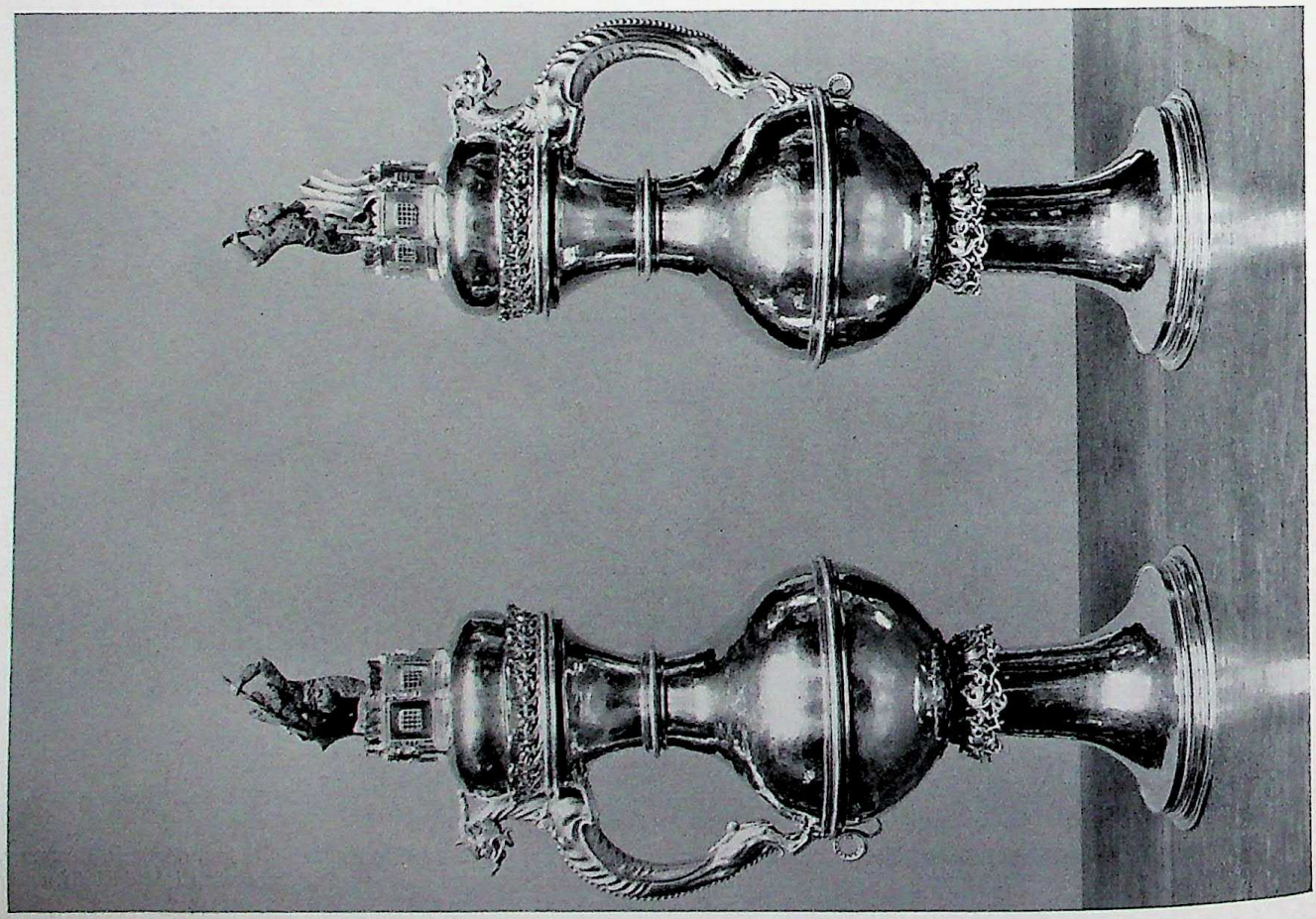

Pl. 320. *Left*: Pair of ewers, from the Treasury of the Teutonic Knights, Vienna, made in Germany, ca. 1500. Gilded silver with painted enamels; ht., 25 in. *New York, Metropolitan Museum*. *Right*: Tankard, Germany, late 16th cent. Gilded copper, ht., 7 in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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Museum. *Right*: Tankard, Germany, late 16th cent. Gilded copper, ht., 7 in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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Pl. 321. *Left*: Saltcellar, one of a pair, Italy, late 16th cent. Gilded bronze, ht., 12 in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Right*: Wine cistern, England, ca. 1700. Silver, ht., 21 7/8 in. London, Coll. Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

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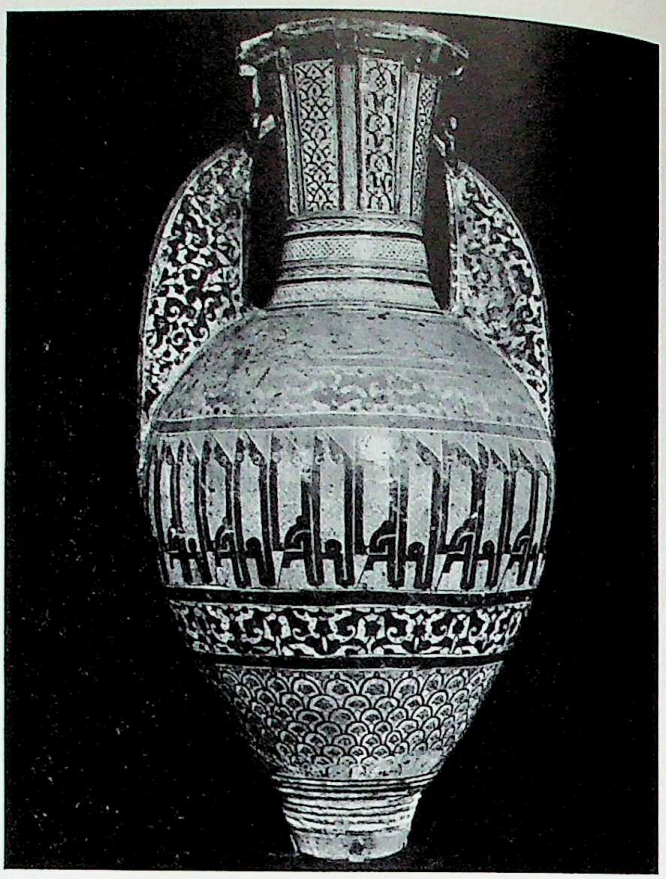

Pl. 322. *Above, left*: Hellenistic painted vase of Hadra type, from the Hadra necropolis, near Alexandria, Egypt, 3d cent. B.C. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum. *Right*: Hispano-Moresque wing-handled porcelain vase of so-called "Alhambra" type (cf. X, PL. 169), 14th cent. Palermo, Sicily, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. *Below, left*: Chinese porcelain vase with *millefleurs* design, Ch'ing period. Paris, Musée Guimet. *Right*: Ukrainian glazed ceramic flowerpot. Ht., 11 in. Paris, Musée de l'Homme.

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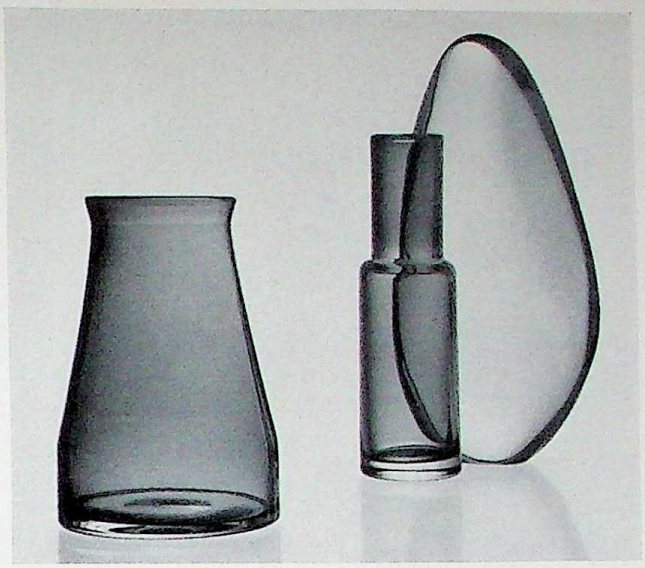

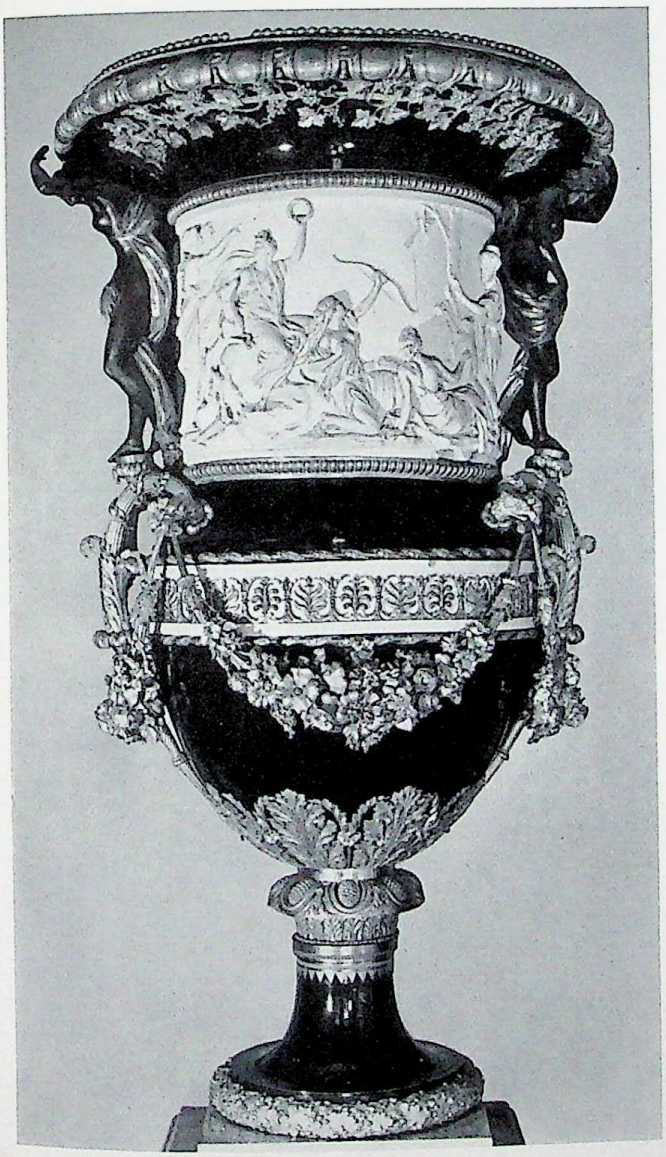

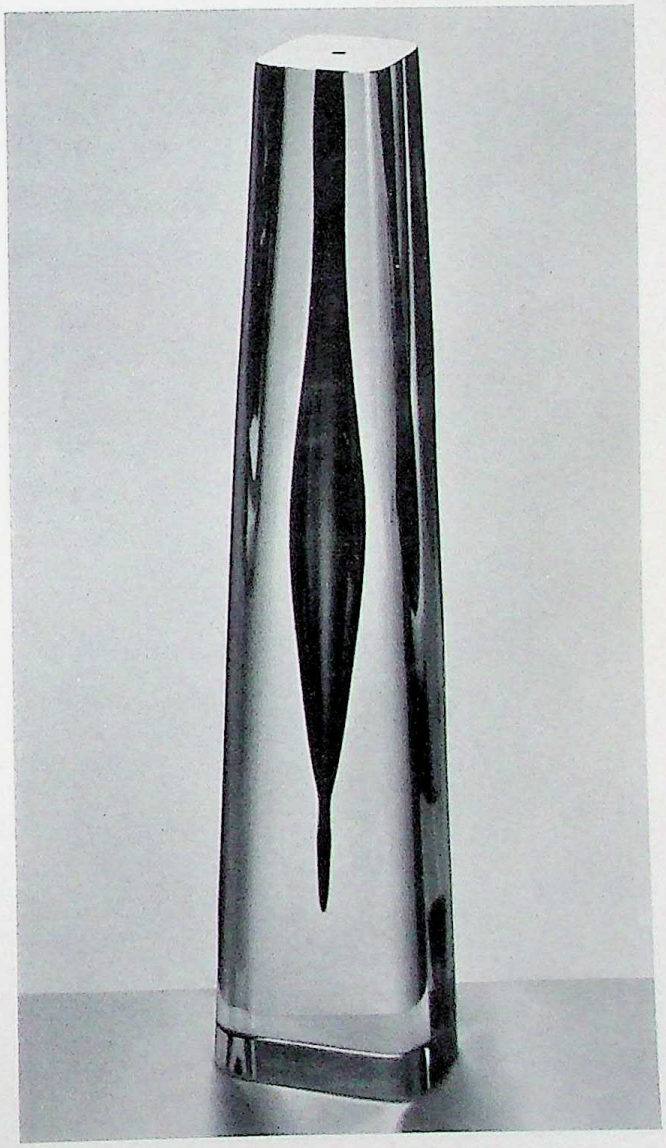

Pl. 323. *Left, above*: Archaic majolica, from Orvieto, Italy, 14th cent. Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia. *Below*: Sèvres vase by L.-S. Boizot with bronzes by P.-P. Thomire, 1783, from the Château de Saint-Cloud, France. Paris, Louvre. *Right*: Twentieth-century glass. *Above*: J. Selbing, vases, executed by Orrefors Glasbruk, Sweden. *Below*: A. Matura, blown and cut crystal vase with brown interior, executed at Nový Bor, Czechoslovakia. Prague, Museum of Decorative Arts.

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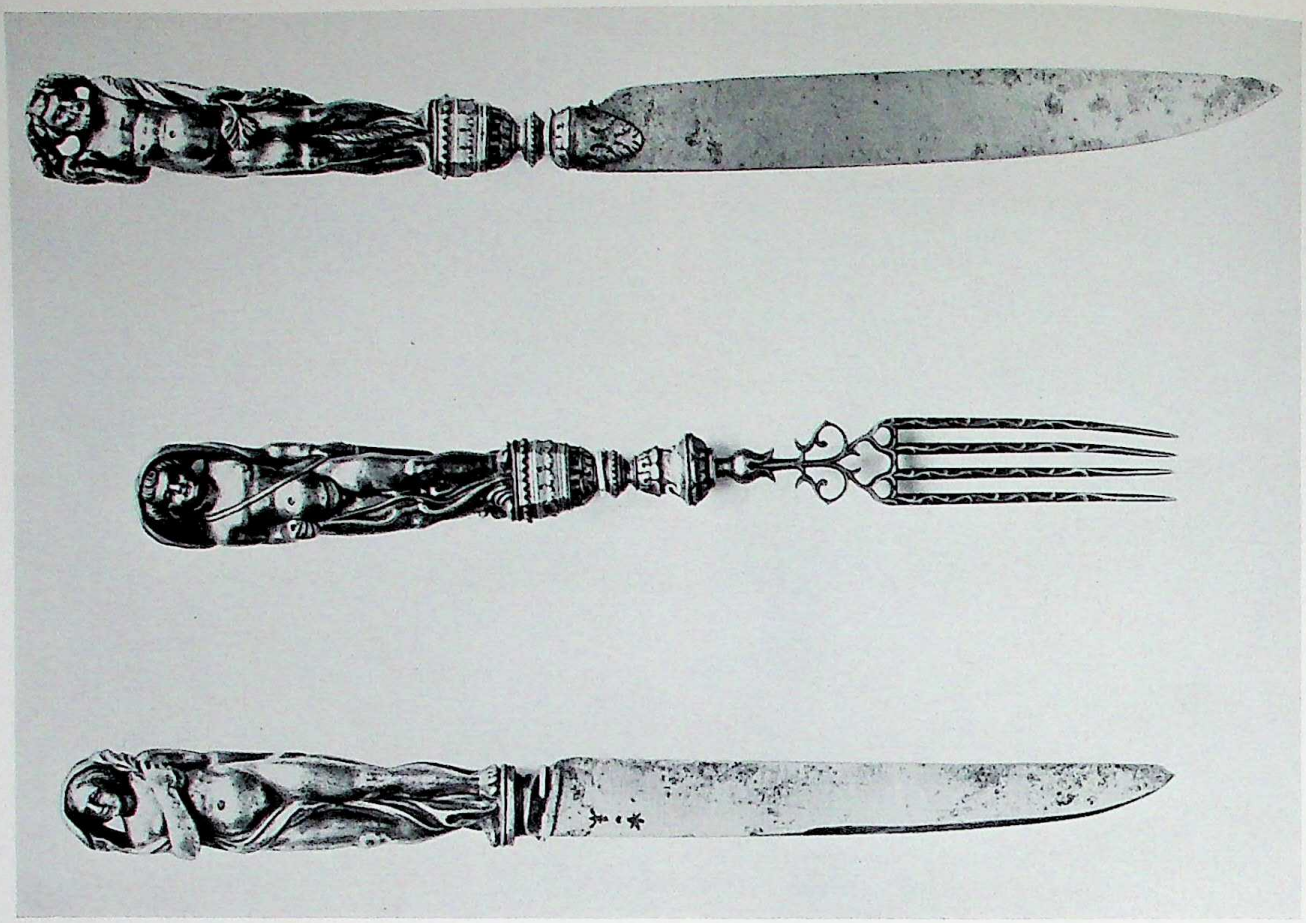

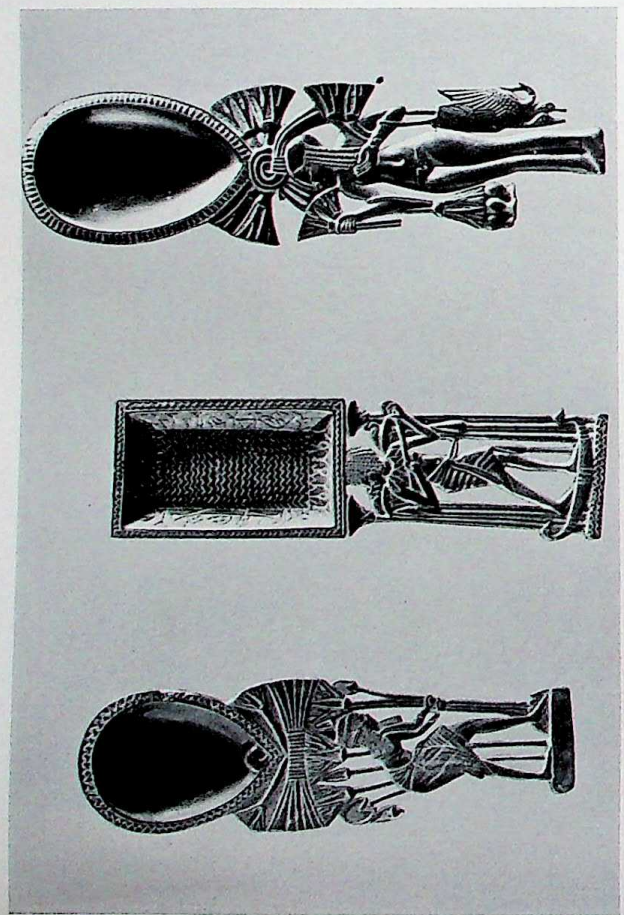

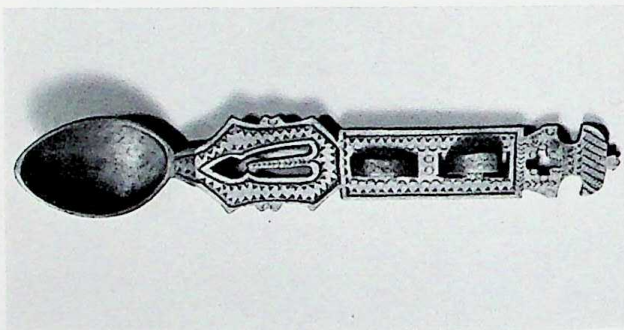

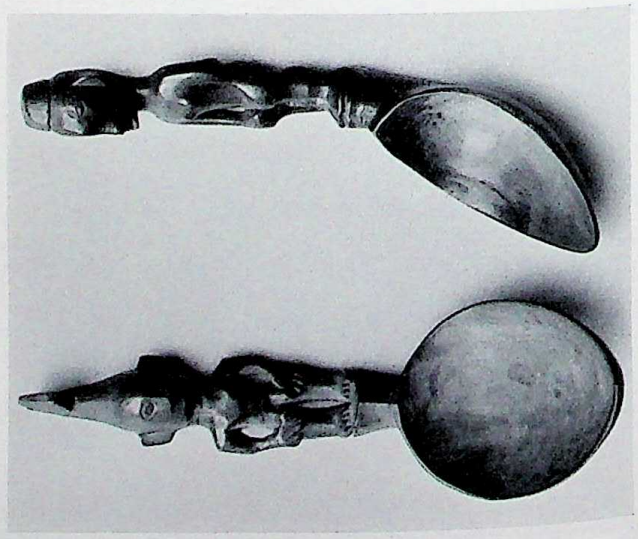

Pl. 324. *Left*: Carved wooden spoons. *Above*: From Egypt, New Kingdom (used for cosmetics). Paris, Louvre. *Below*: From the Philippines. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet. *Center*: From Suceava, Romania. Paris, Musée de l'Homme. *Right*: Knife with chiseled iron handle, knife and fork with chiseled steel handles, from Germany, 17th cent. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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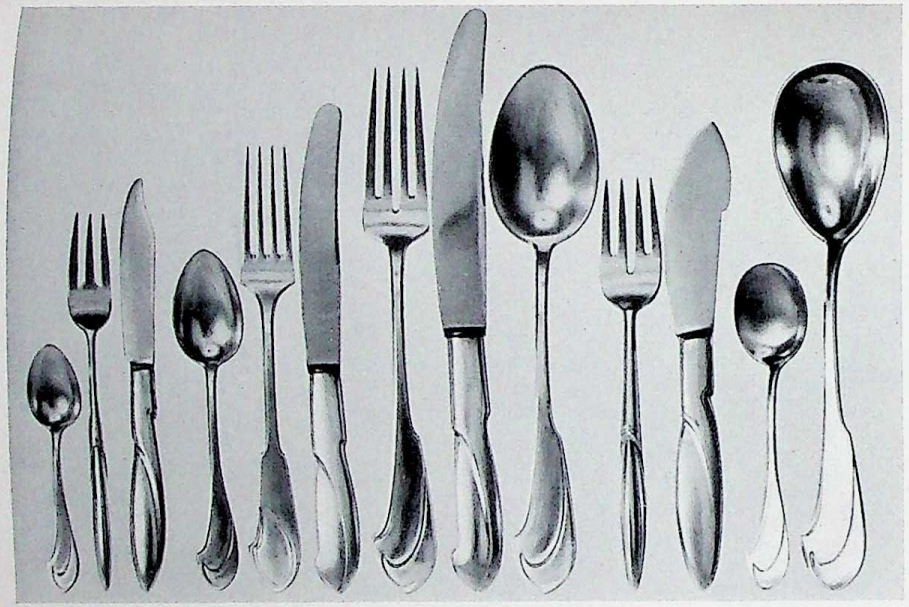

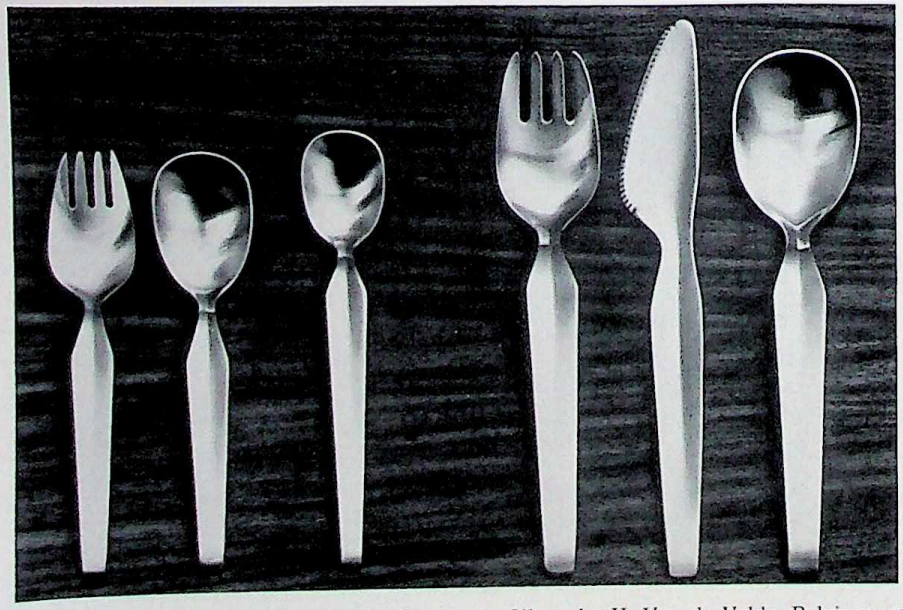

Pl. 325. Twentieth-century cutlery. *Left, above*: Silver, by H. Van de Velde, Belgium, ca. 1900. Zurich, Kunstgewerbemuseum. *Below*: Stainless steel (for children), designed by G. Kupetz for Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik, Germany. *Right*: Stainless steel and plastic, designed by F. Arnström for Aktiebolag Gense (shown with Orrefors blown glass bowls by S. Palmquist), Sweden.

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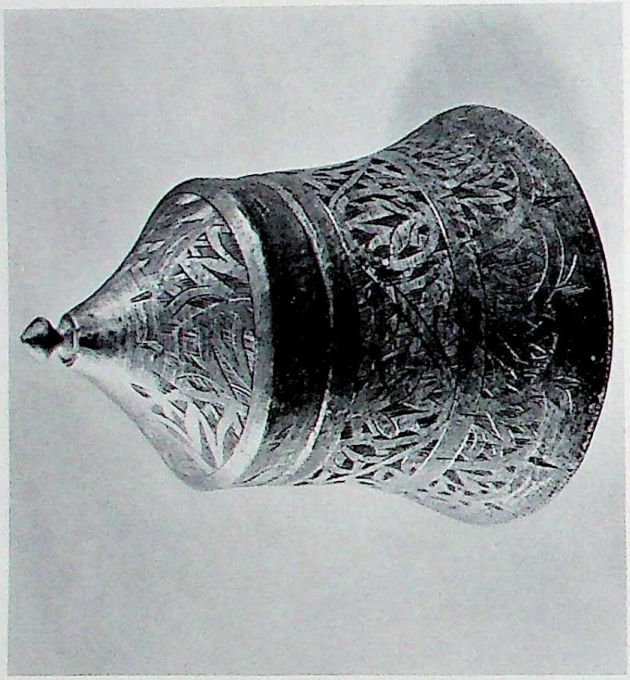

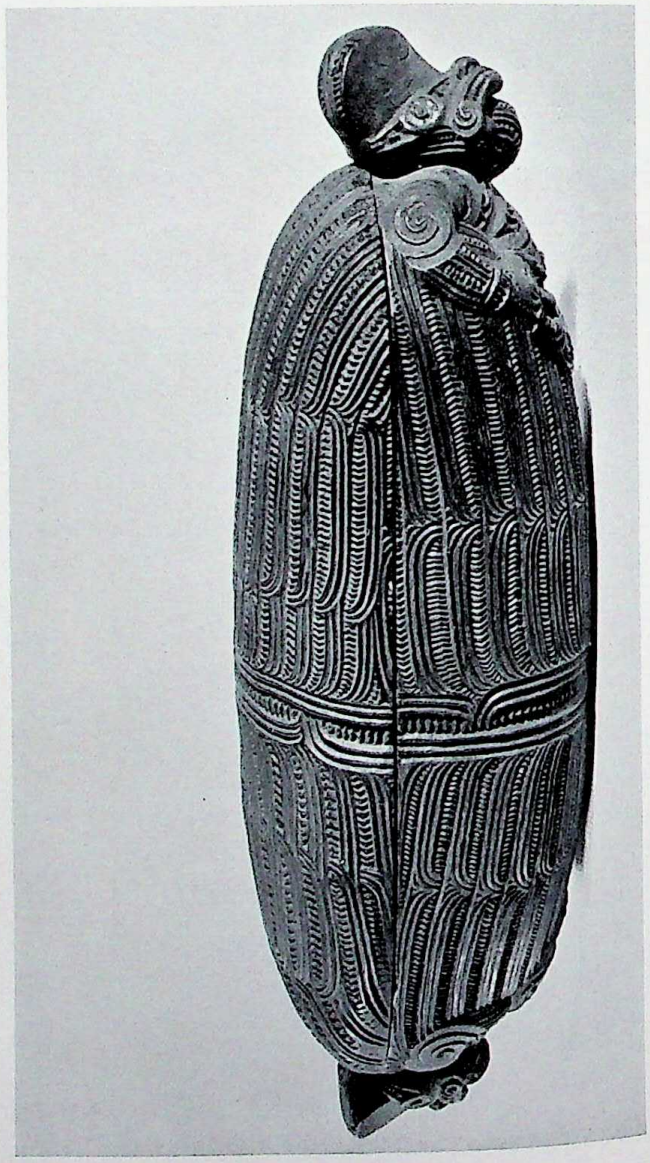

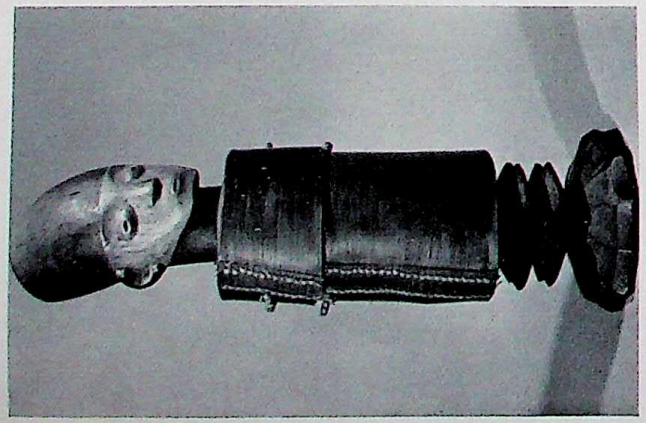

Pl. 326. *Above, left:* Mangbetu cylindrical box with carved head, Congo. Bark and wood. Tervueren, Belgium, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale. *Center:* Sugar container, from Bosnia, Yugoslavia. Copper and tin. Paris, Musée de l'Homme. *Right:* Pyxis (showing cover), from Canusium (Canosa di Puglia, Italy), 4th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, diam., 13 3/8 in. Lyons, Musée des Antiquités Gallo-romaines. *Below, left:* Maori treasure box, New Zealand. Carved wood. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right:* Pyxis with apostles and Sacrifice of Abraham, from Antioch (?), 4th–5th cent. Ivory. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 327. Polychrome glass, 1st cent., found in Pompeii: pyxis (*left*) and askos. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

13 3/8 in. Lyons, Musée des Antiquités Gallo-romaines. *Below, left*: Maori Treasure Box, New Zealand. Carved wood. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right*: Two apostles and Sacrifice of Abraham, from Antioch (?), 4th–5th cent. Ivory. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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Pl. 328. Two-handled cups, from the double grave at Dollerup, East Jutland, Denmark, probably of Roman provincial workmanship, *1st cent. Silver with gold-plated ornamentation;* ht., 3 1/16 in. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

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ht., $3^{1}/_{6}$ in. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

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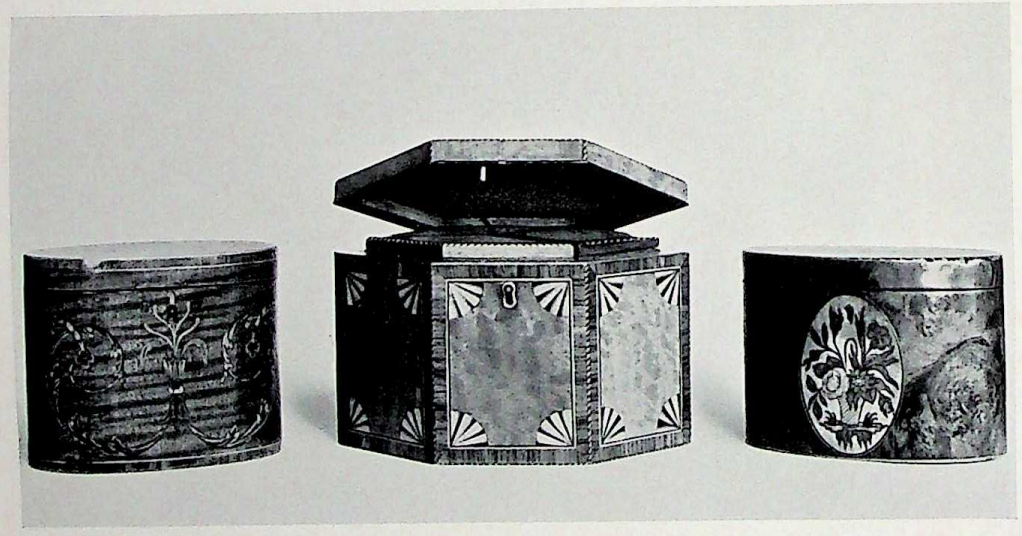

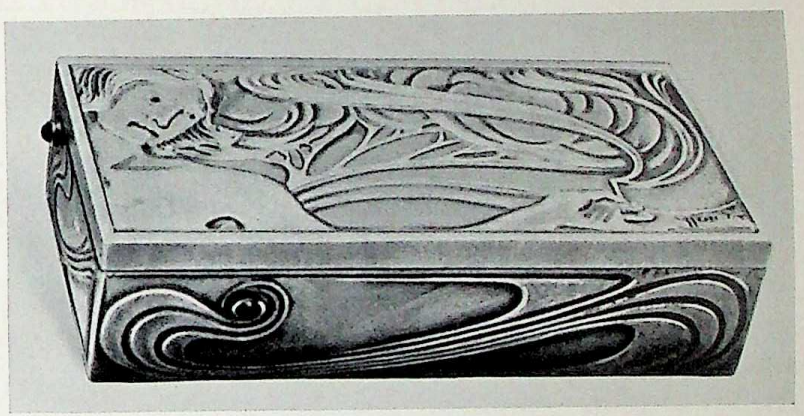

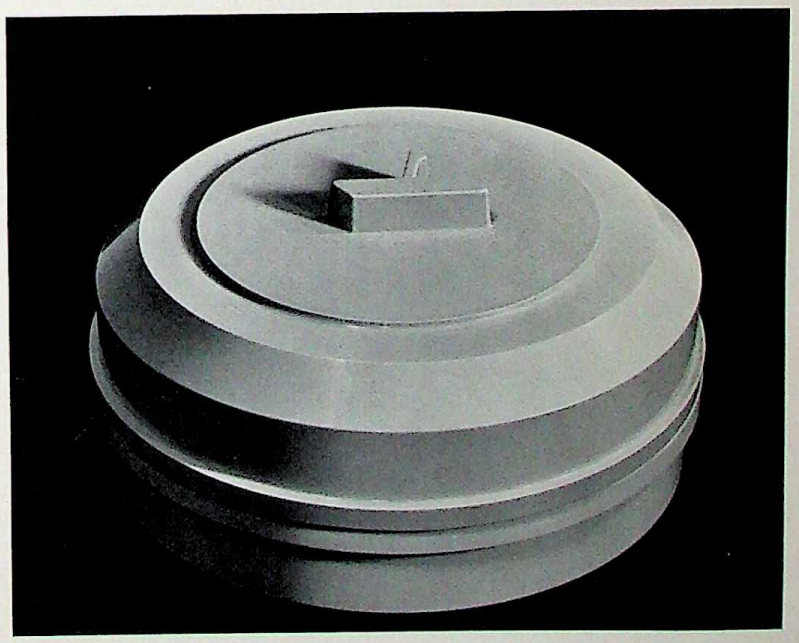

Pl. 329. *Left, above*: Tea caddies, England, ca. 1790. Inlaid (left to right) harewood, satinwood, walnut; ht., $4^{5}/_{8}$ in., 5 in., $4^{3}/_{8}$ in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Below*: Cosmetics box (*tebako*) with pattern of wheels floating in water, Japan, Heian period. Lacquer with gold *maki-e* and mother-of-pearl inlay. Tokyo, National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties. *Right, above*: P. Follot, silver cigarette box, Paris, 1902. *Below*: Plastic box exemplifying standardized production, Italy, ca. 1960.

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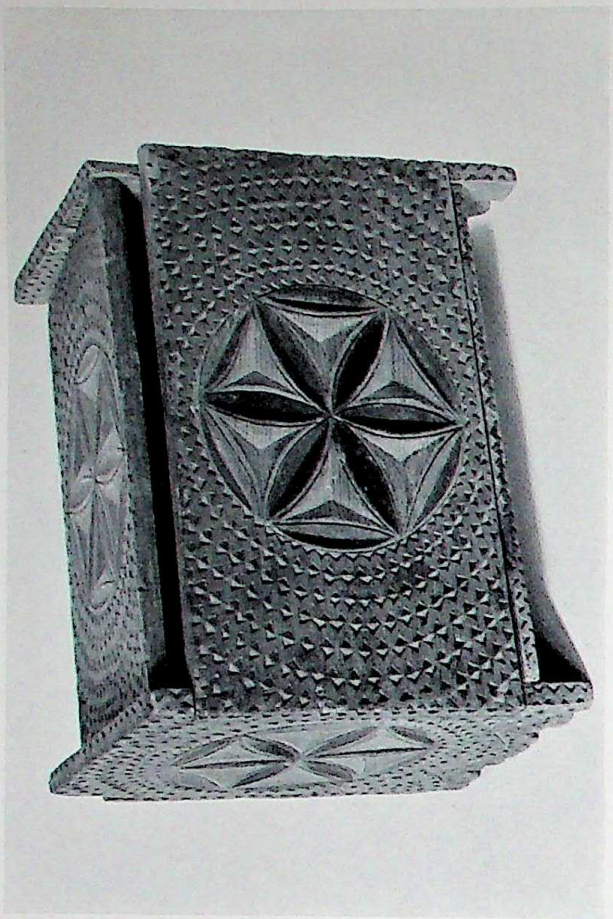

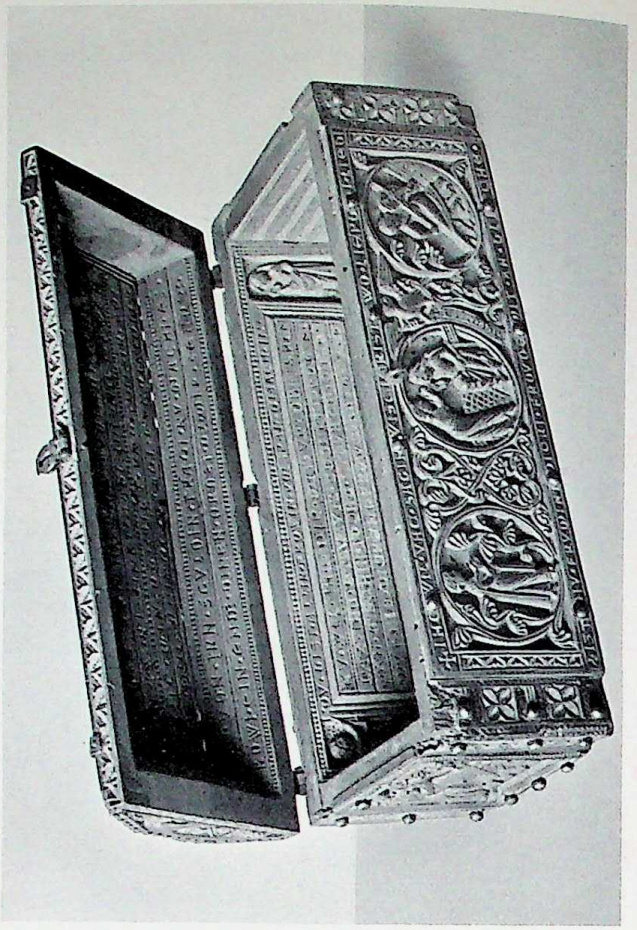

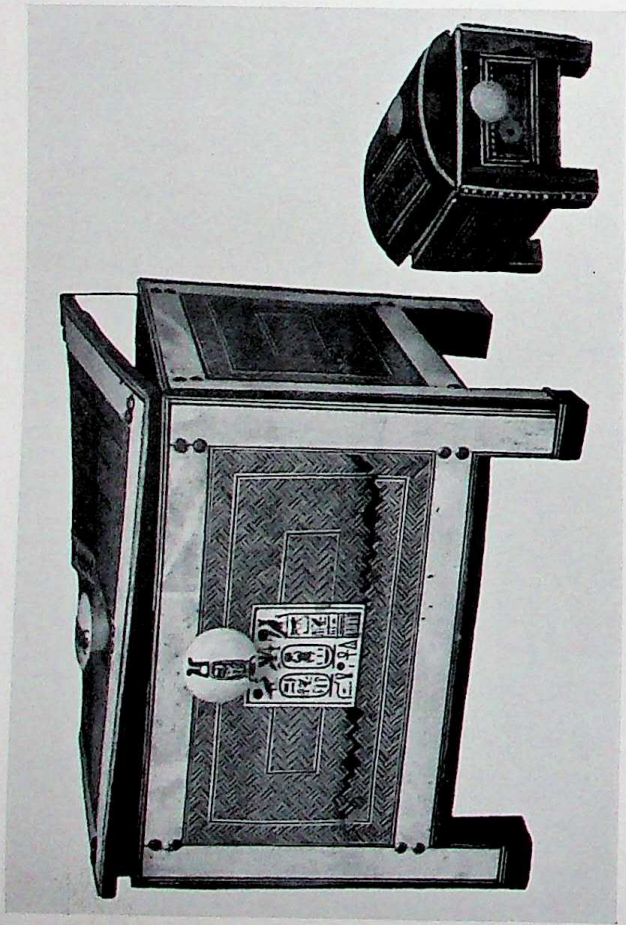

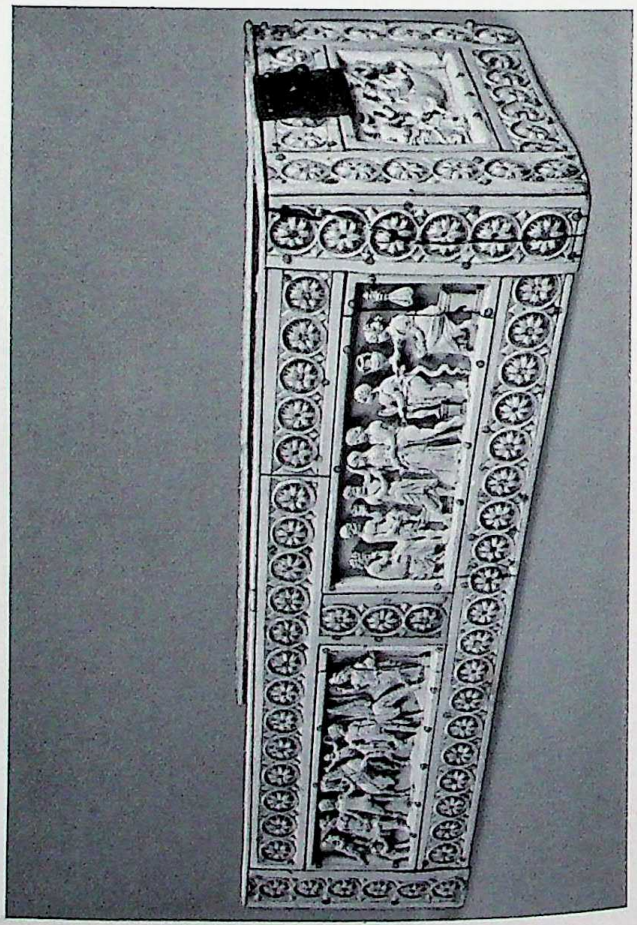

Pl. 330. *Above, left:* Treasure casket and box from the tomb of Tutankhamen, Valley of the Kings, Thebes, ca. 1350 B.C. Wood and ivory. Cairo, Egyptian Museum. *Right:* Box with rosette motif, from the Lötschental, Valais (Wallis) canton, Switzerland, 1733. Chip-carved wood. Basel, Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde. *Below, left:* Byzantine casket illustrating classical themes, from Veroli, Italy, 10th cent (?). Ivory, ht., 4½ in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. (*Cf. II, PL. 481.*) *Right:* *Minnekästchen* (love casket), a traditional courtship gift, Upper Rhine, ca. 1260–80. Linden wood. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

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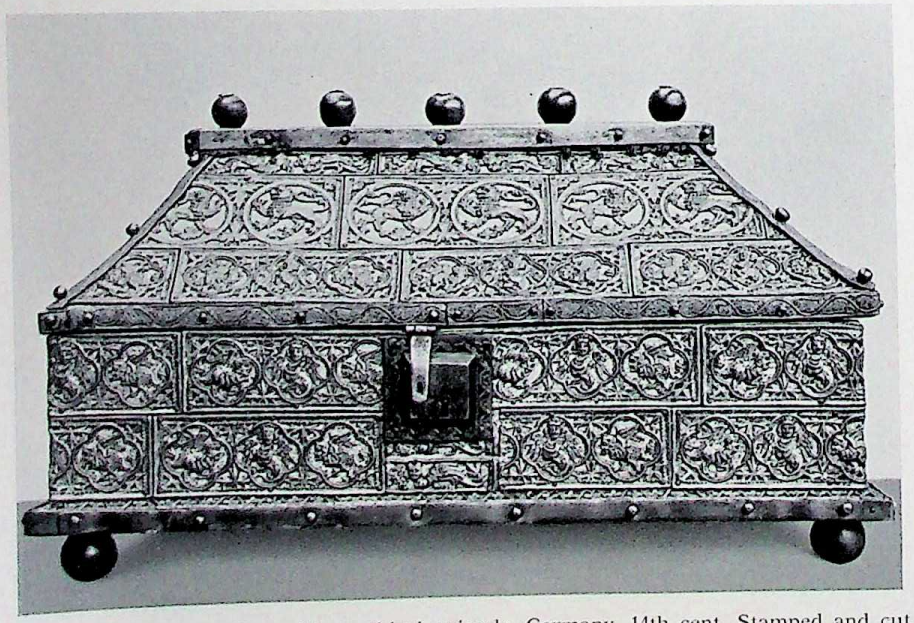
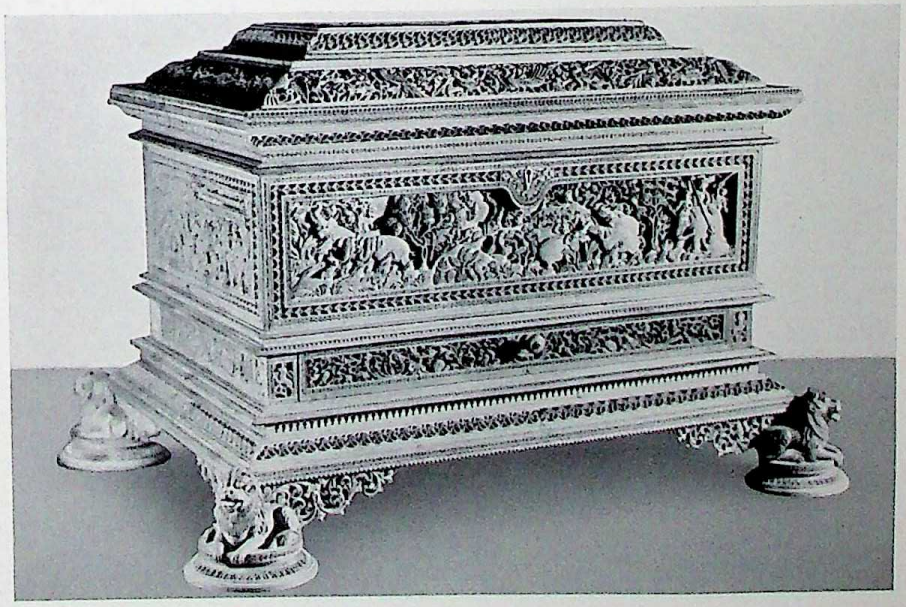
casket illustrating classical themes, from Veroli, Italy, 10th cent (?). Ivory, ht., 4½ in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. (*Cf. II*, PL. 481.) *Right*: *Minnekästchen* (love casket), a traditional courtship gift, Upper Rhine, ca. 1260–80. Linden wood. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.





Pl. 331. *Above, left*: Box with mythical animals, Germany, 14th cent. Stamped and cut leather over wood. Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches National-Museum. *Right*: Coffer, Lombardy, second half of 15th cent. Bronze. London, Wallace Coll. *Below, left*: Marriage chest, decorated with chimeras and lions, France or Spain, 14th cent. Wood covered with lead openwork plaques and copper bands; 16×7½×9½ in. Paris, Musée de Cluny. *Right*: Casket, from Mysore, India, 19th cent. Carved wood.

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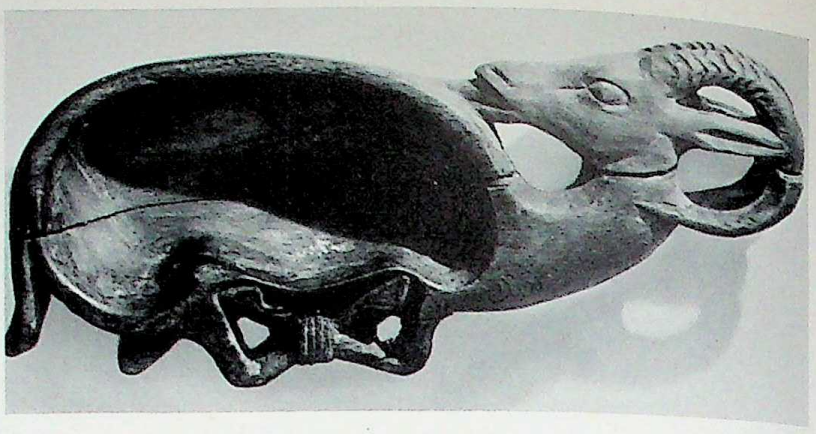

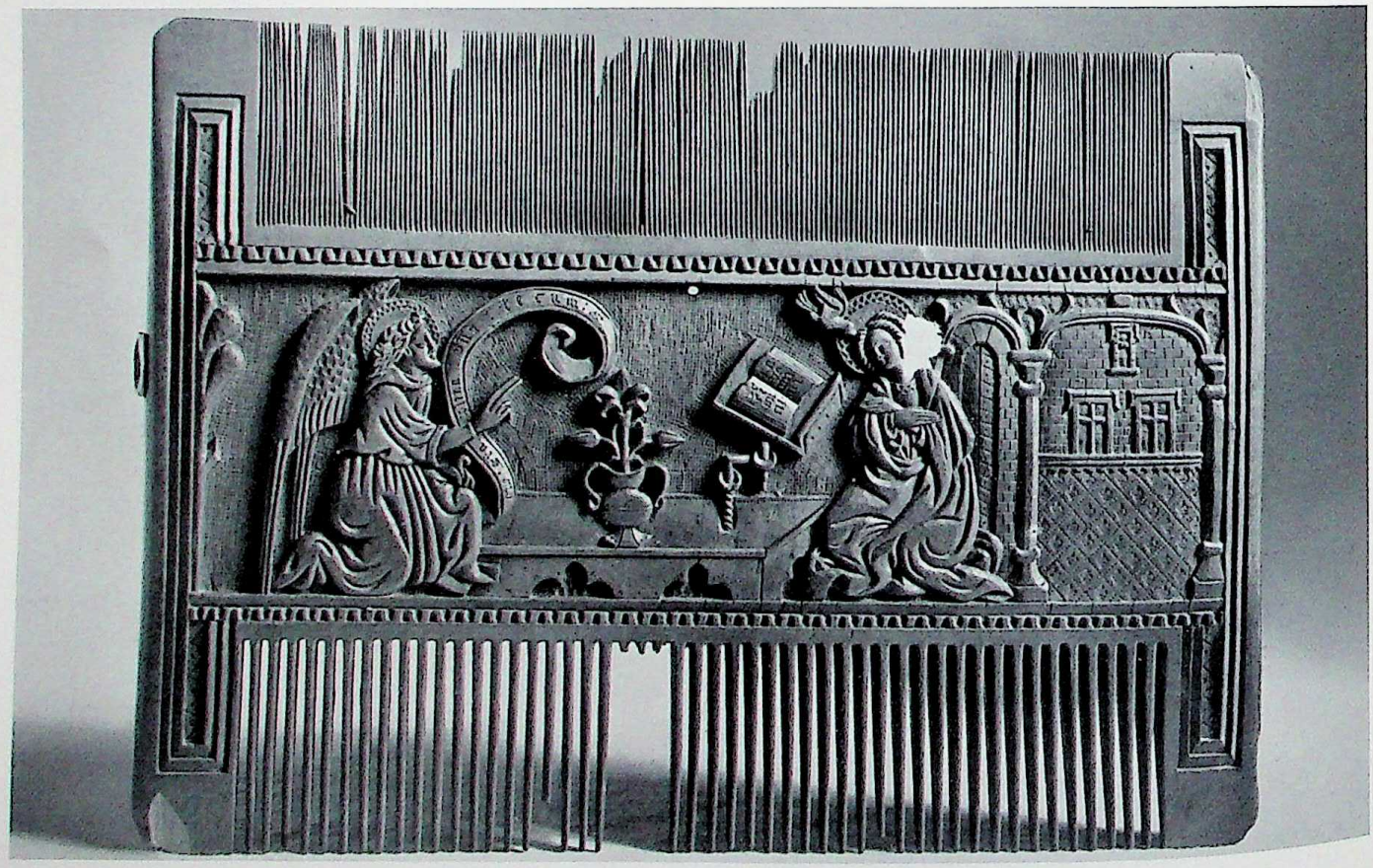

Pl. 332. *Above, left*: Egyptian comb, 18th dynasty. Ivory. *Right and center*: Egyptian cosmetics dishes, New Kingdom. Wood. All three, Paris, Louvre. *Below*: Spanish comb with Annunciation, 15th cent. Chestnut wood. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

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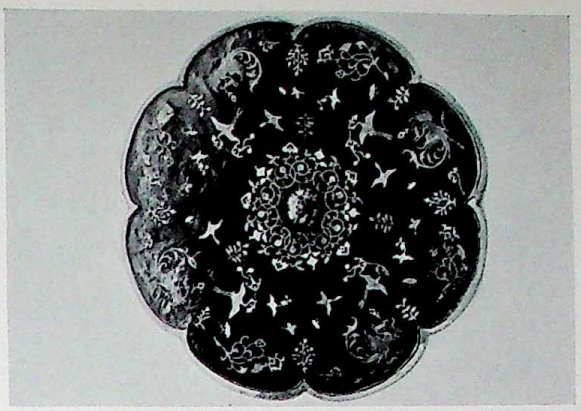

Pl. 333. *Above*: Bronze mirror backs. *Left*: Etruscan, with Hercules and Mlacuch, from Atri, Italy, 5th cent. B.C. Diam., 7 in. London, British Museum. *Right*: Japanese (?), decorated in T'ang style, with black lacquer, gold, and silver, ca. 8th cent. Nara, Shōsōin. *Right, center*: Fatimid, with sphinxes and Kufic characters, 11th–12th cent. Athens, Benaki Museum. *Below*: Mirror frame, detail, with emblems of the good and evil life, Italy, early 16th cent. Walnut. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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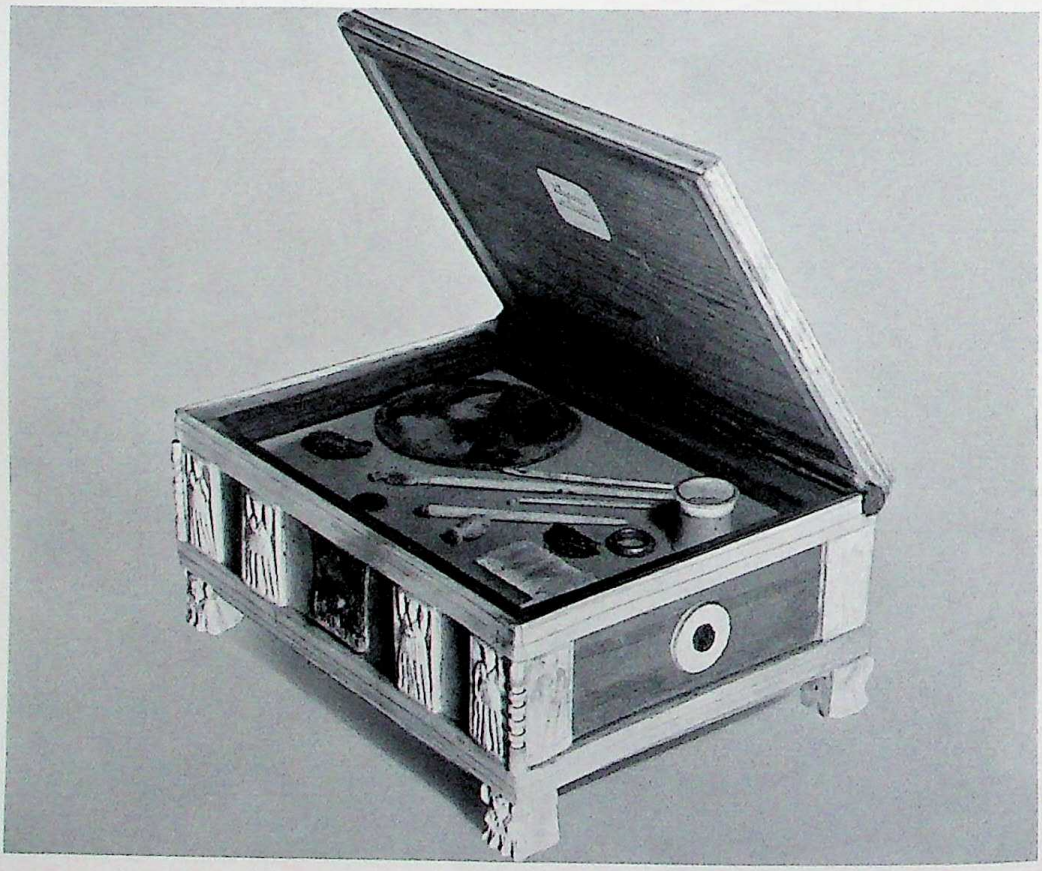

Pl. 334. *Above*: Toilet articles of the princess Sat-Hathor-Yunet, from Lahun, Egypt, 12th dynasty: inlaid ebony casket, mirror (reproduction), gold-mounted obsidian jars, silver rouge dish, razors and whetstones. Ht. of casket, 14³/₄ in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Below*: Coffer reconstructed with ornaments of the Hellenistic period, shown with toilet and other articles, from the necropolis of Cumae, Italy. Ht., 5³/₈ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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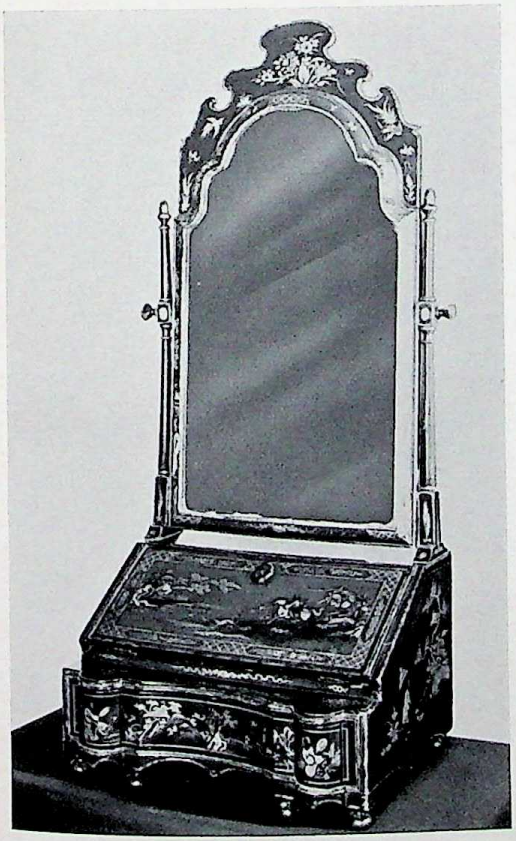

Pl. 335. *Above*: Rhenish *bisamapfel* (scent container), ca. 1470. Nielloed silver. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. *Below, left*: Mirror and chest, London, ca. 1730. Lacquered wood, ht., 40 1/8 in. Cologne, Lackmuseum Herbig-Haarhaus. *Right*: Royal traveling kit, Augsburg, Germany, 1755–57. Leather-covered wood, velvet, and gilded silver; ht., 26 in. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum.

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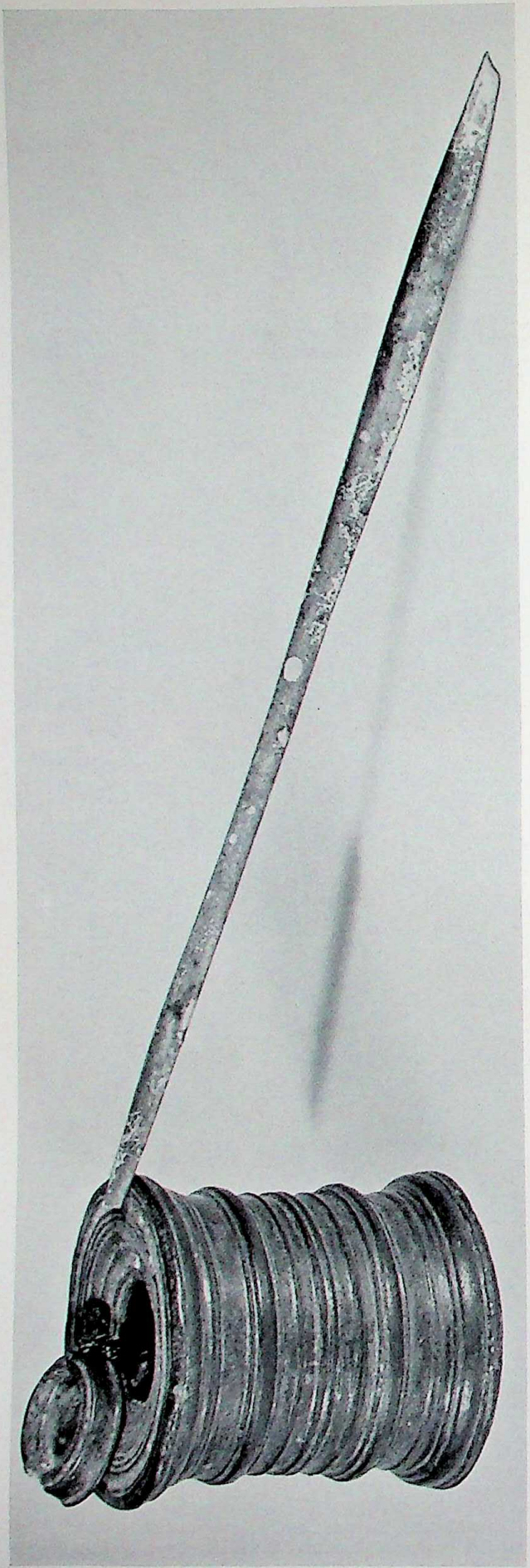

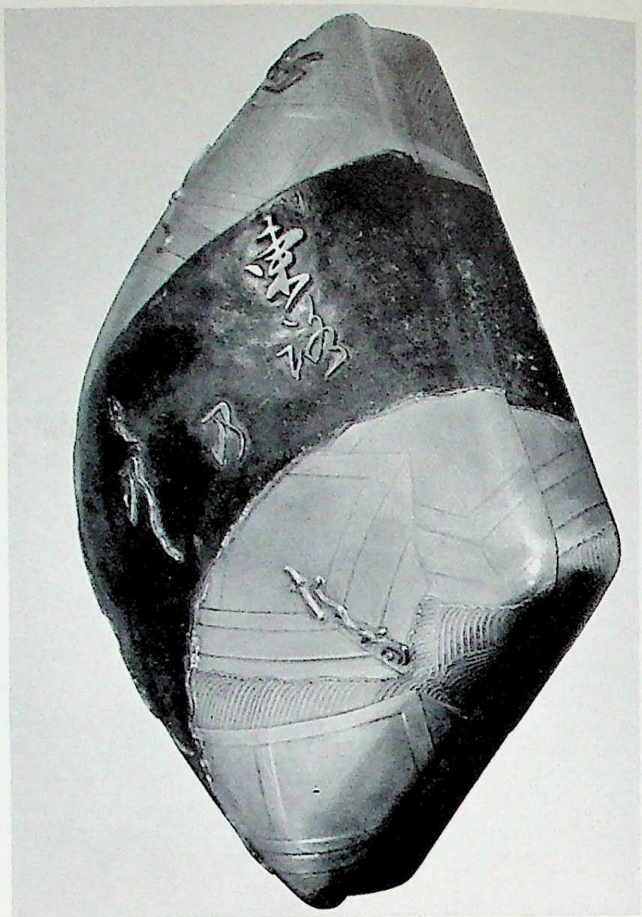

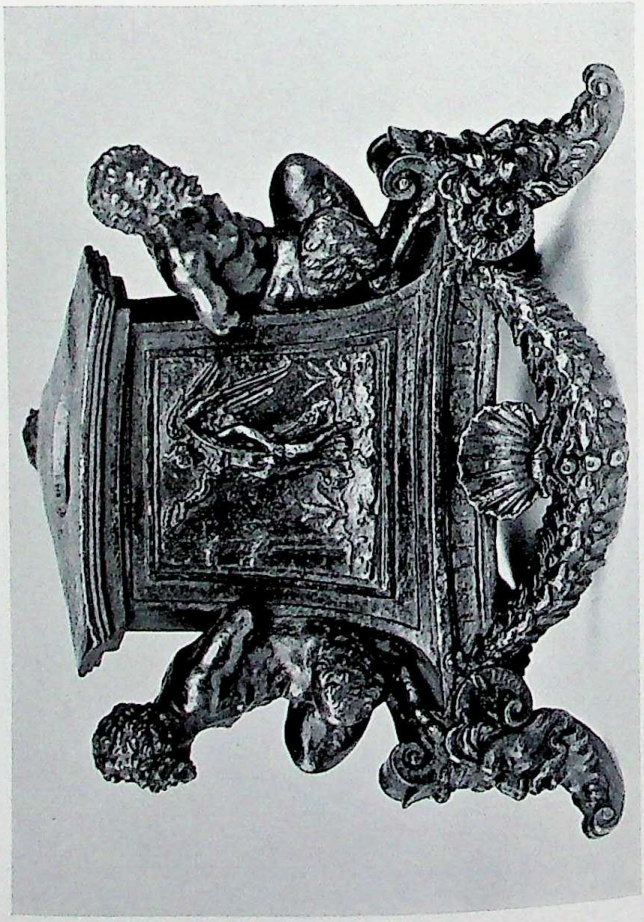

Pl. 336. *Above:* Inkwell with pen, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze, ht., 1½ in. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below, left:* A. Briosco (Riccio), inkstand, *Italy, 16th cent.* Bronze. London, Wallace Coll. *Right:* Hon-ami Kōetsu (d. 1367), inkstone case symbolizing a bridge over pontoons and water, *Japan. Lacquer with gold maki-e, lead band, raised* silver characters. Tokyo, National Museum.

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Pl. 337. Pieces from a porcelain dinner service, Germany, early 19th cent. Rome, private coll.

London, Wallace Coll. *Right*: Hon-ami Koetsu (d. 1637), inkstone case symbolizing a bridge over pontoons and water, Japan. Lacquer with gold maki, lead dust, raised silver characters. Tokyo, National Museum.

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Pl. 338. Chest, ca. 1525, with the arms and heraldic badges of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon (figures of Mars, Venus, and Cupid after woodcuts of H. Burgkmair, ca. 1510). Covering of painted and gilded leather; $9^{5}/_{8} \times 16^{1}/_{2} \times 11^{1}/_{2}$ in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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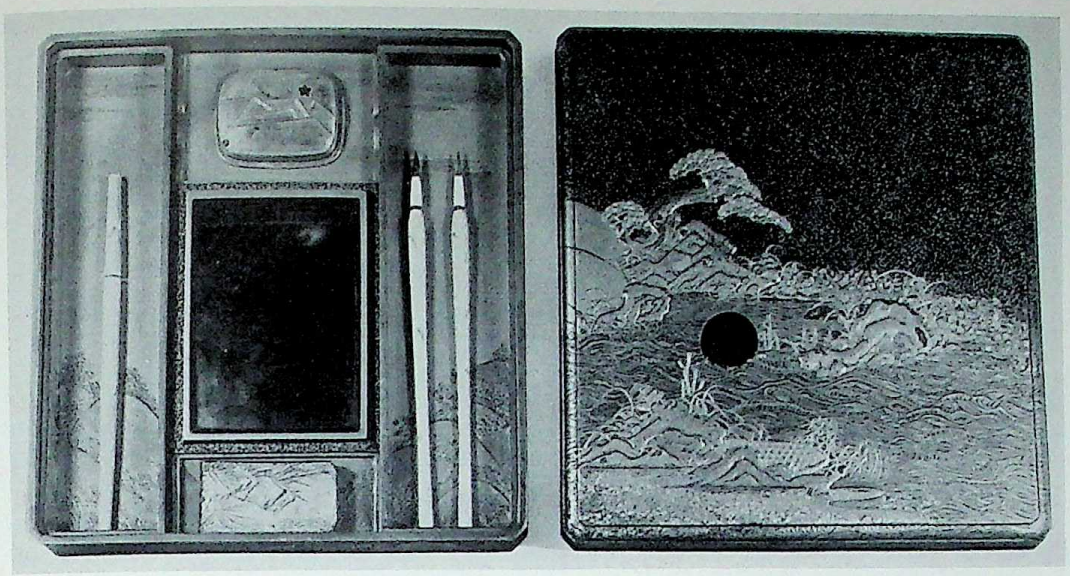

Pl. 339. *Above*: Lacquered box for writing materials, attributed to O. Ryōsei, Japan, mid-17th cent. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Below*: Lacquered reading stand, Japan, ca. 1605. Tokyo, National Museum.

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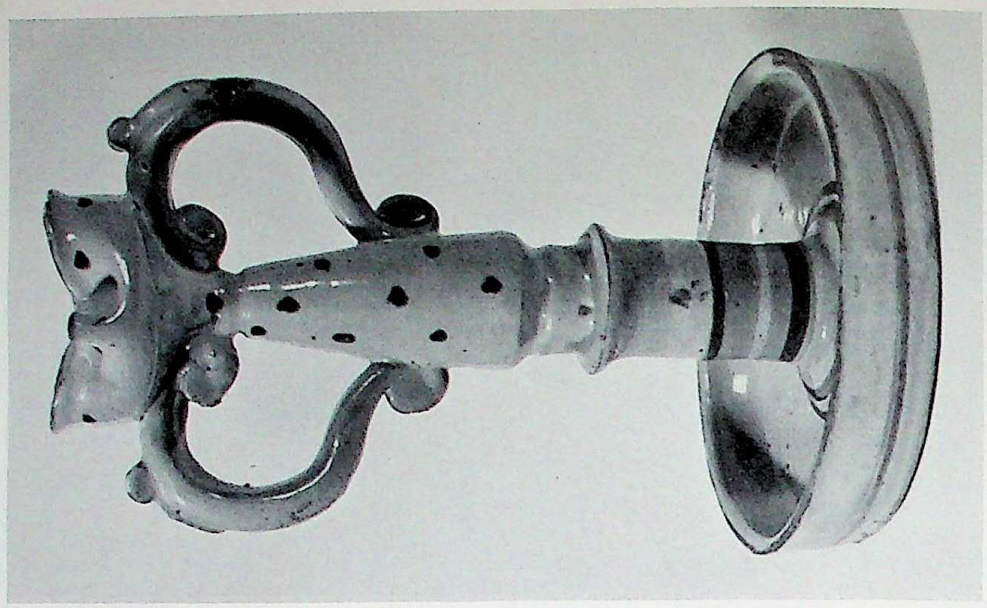

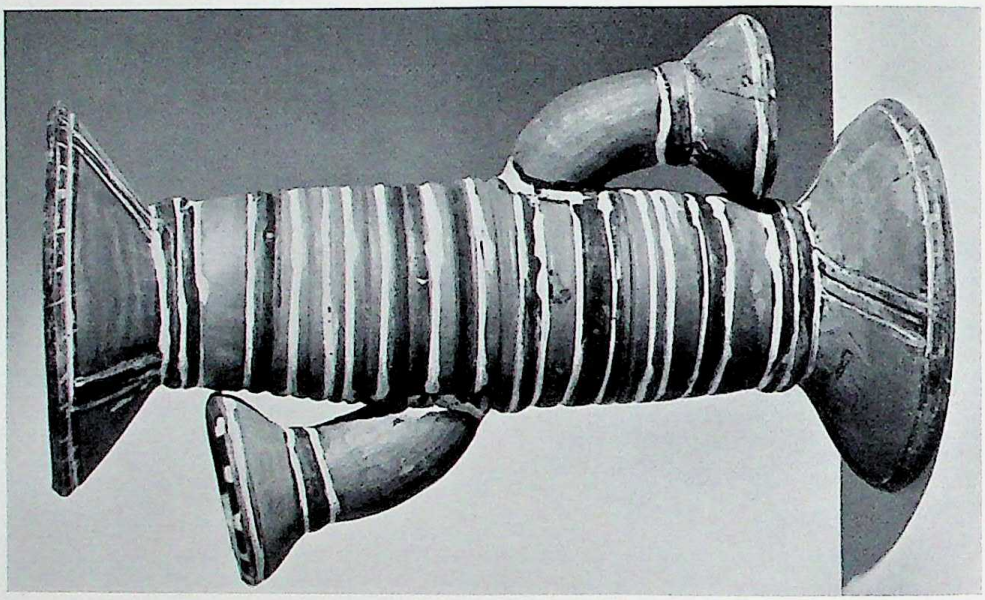

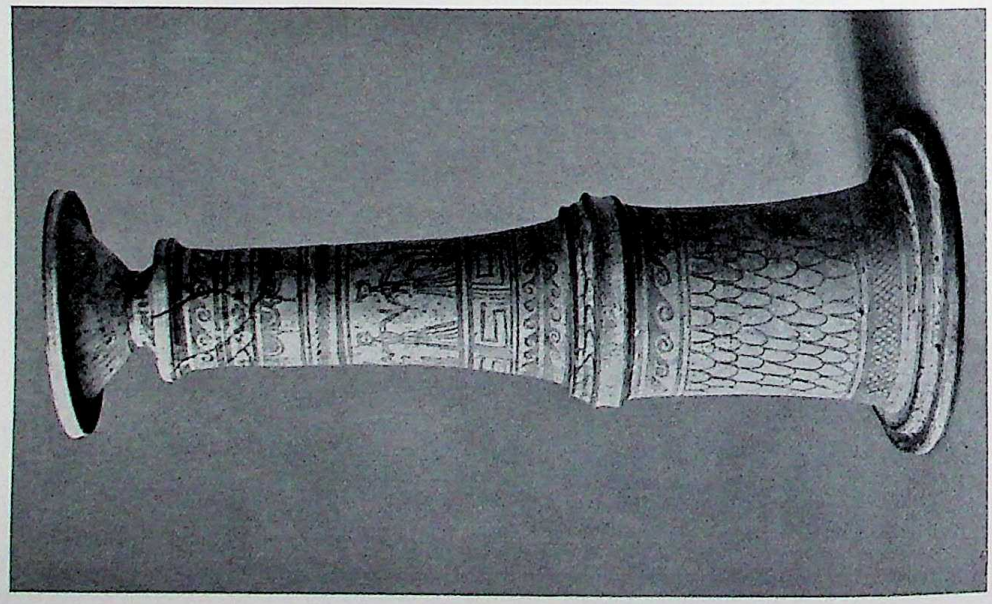

Pl. 340. *Left*: Candlestick, from Canusium (Canosa di Puglia, Italy), 4th-3d cent. B.C. Painted terra cotta, ht., 17¼ in. Bari, Italy, Museo Archeologico. *Center*: Nupe lamp, from Nigeria. Red clay, painted with black and white. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right*: Oil lamp, from Campania, Italy. Pottery. Rome, private coll.

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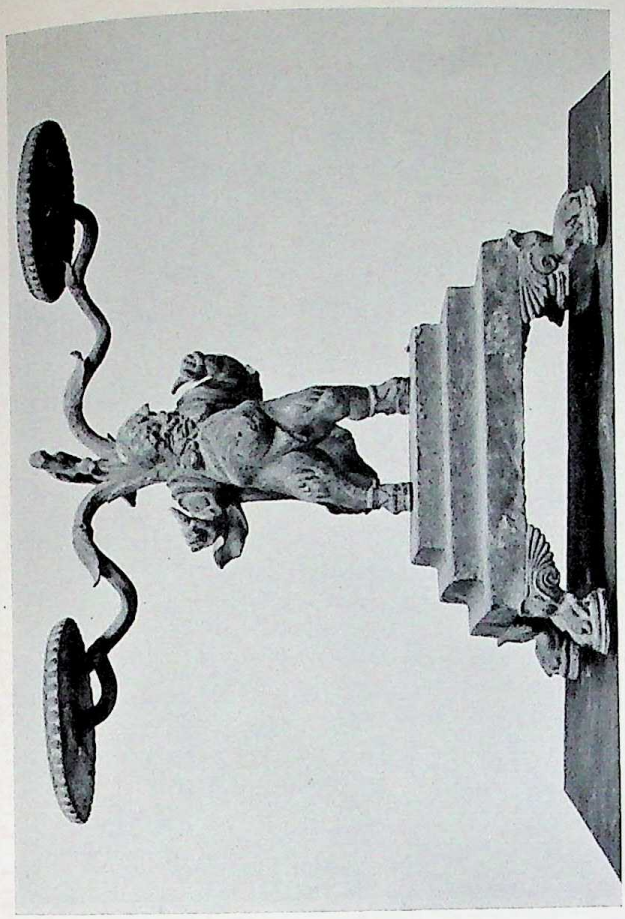

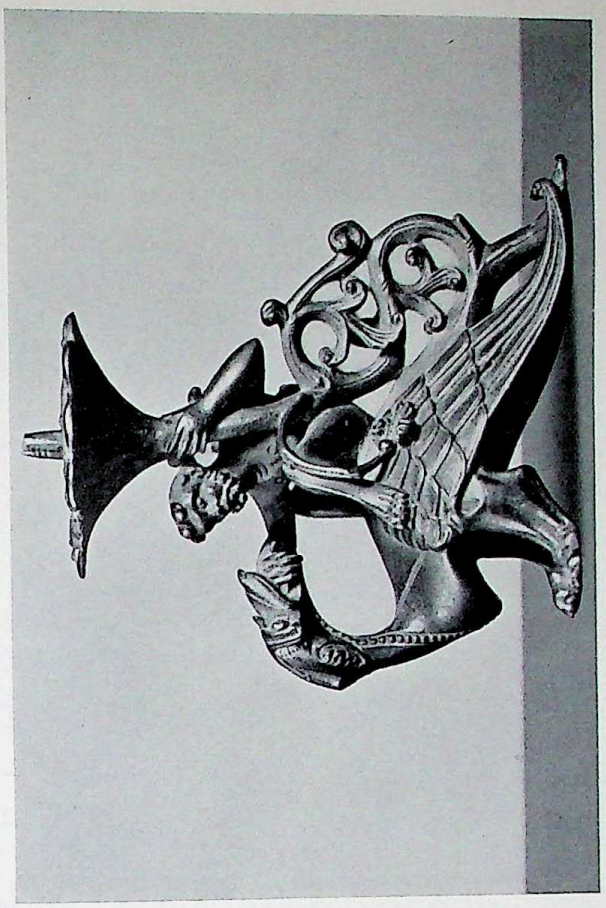

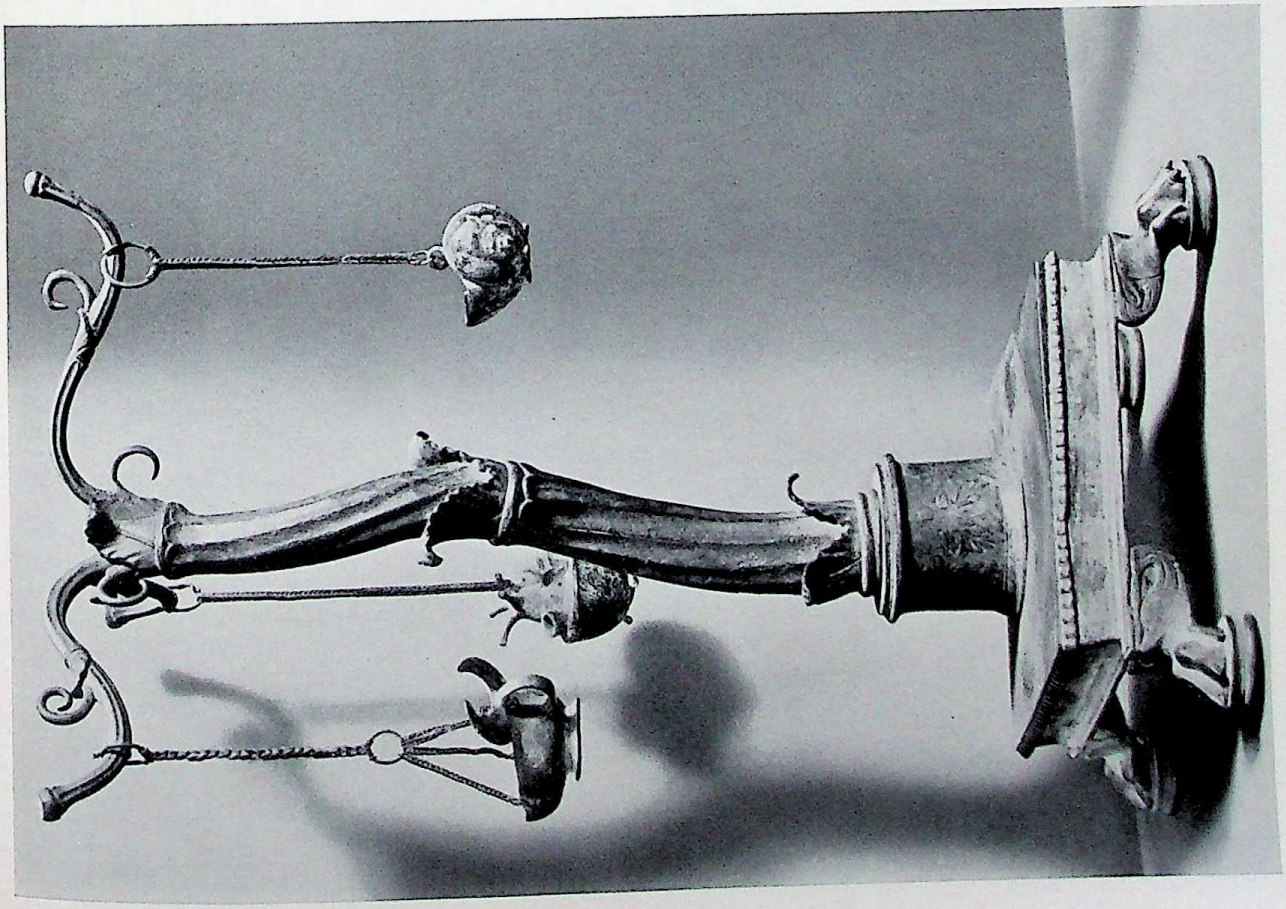

Pl. 341. *Left:* Lampstand, with suspended single-wick lamps, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze, silver inlay on pedestal. *Right, above:* Lampstand, with drunken silenus, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Both, Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Below:* Candlestick in the form of a dragon, Germany, second quarter of 12th cent. Bronze. Florence, Museo Nazionale.

Nigeria. Red clay, painted with black and white. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Right:* Oil lamp, from Campania, Italy. Pottery. Rome, private coll.

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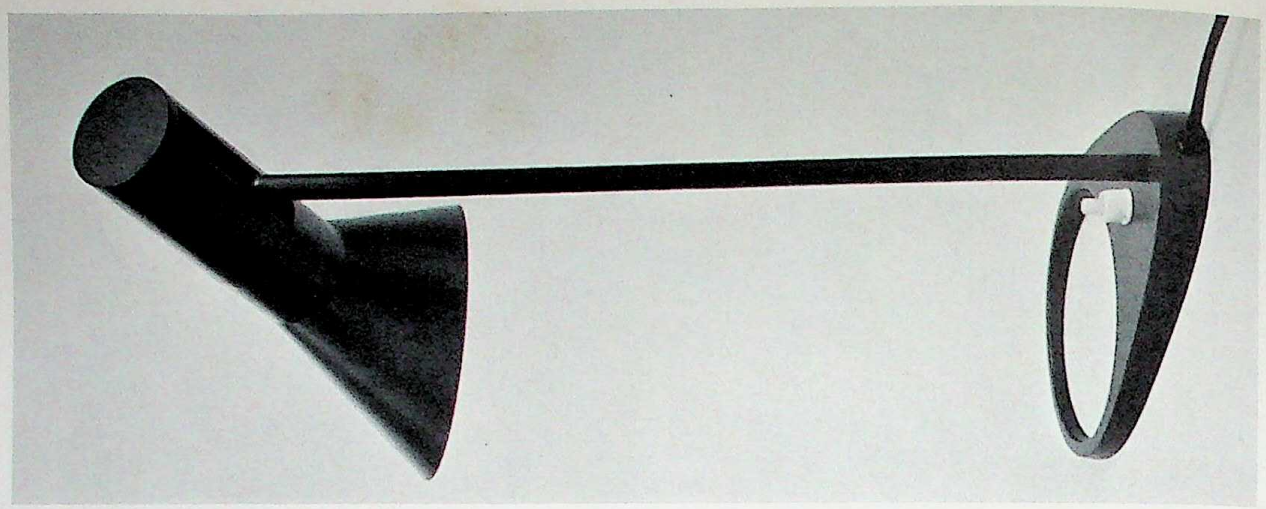

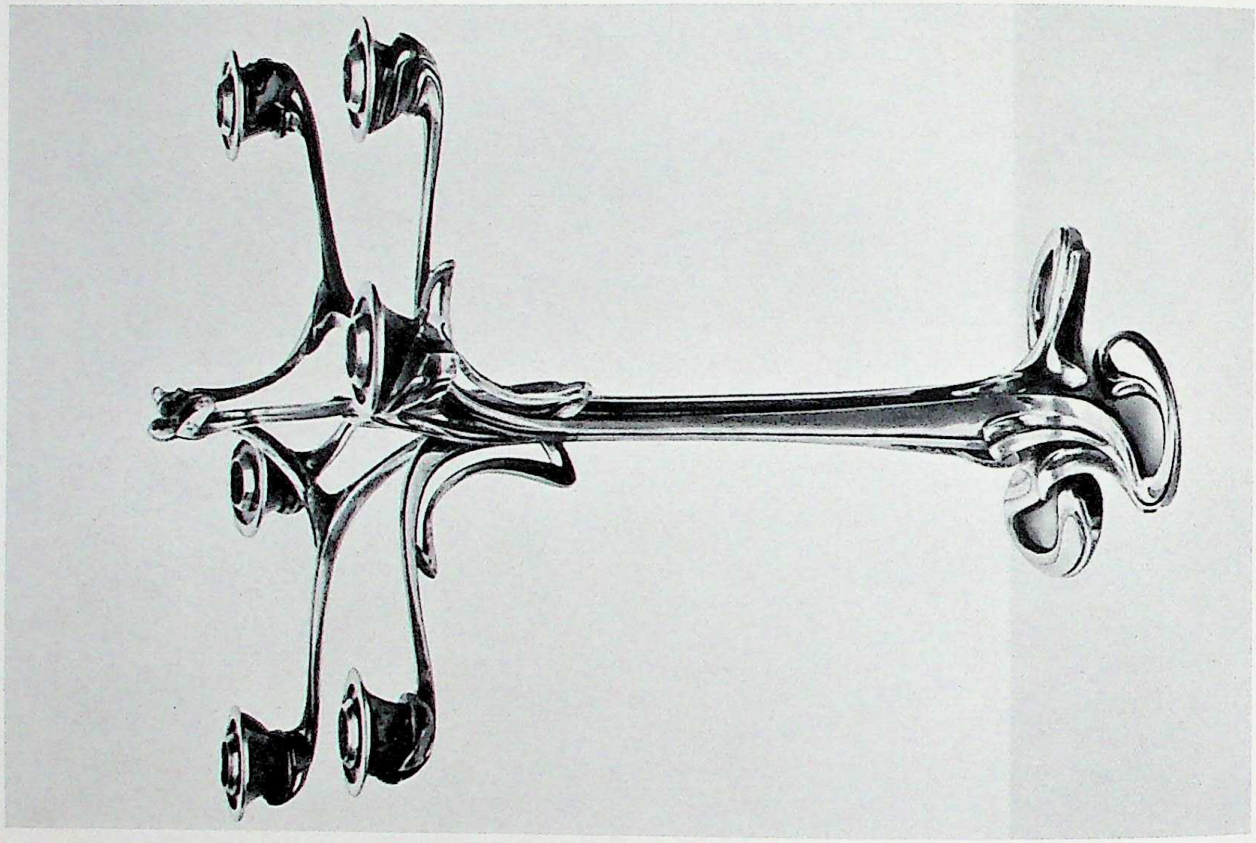

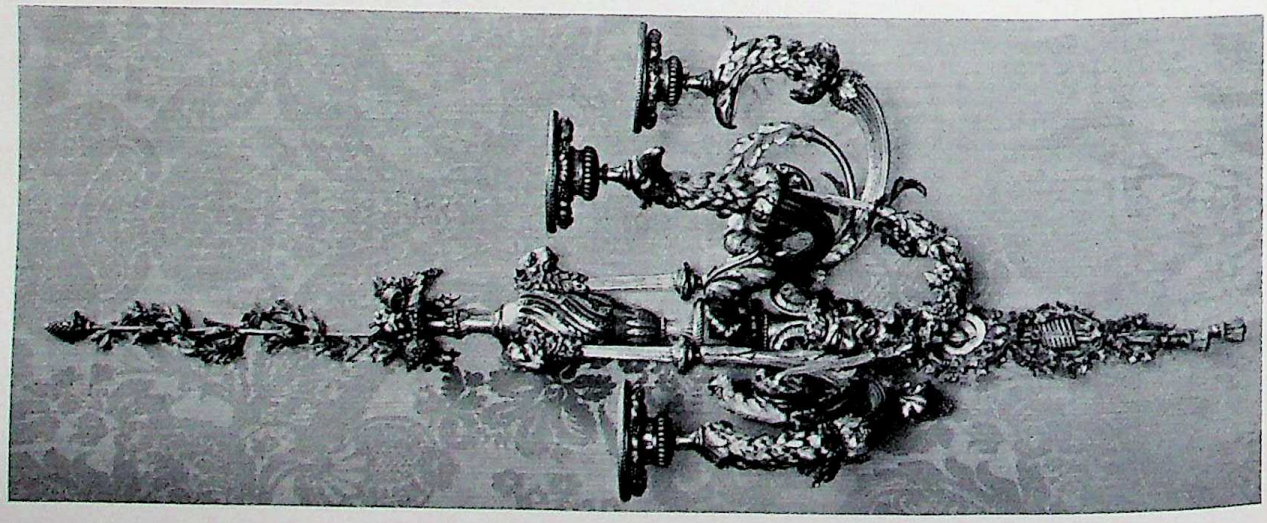

Pl. 342. *Left*: Wall lights in the style of P. Gouthière, France, second half of 18th cent. Cast, chased, and gilded bronze. London, Wallace Coll. *Center*: H. Van de Velde, candlestick, ca. 1902. Silver. Trondheim, Norway, Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseum. *Right*: A. Jacobsen (b. 1902), table lamp, Denmark. Iron.

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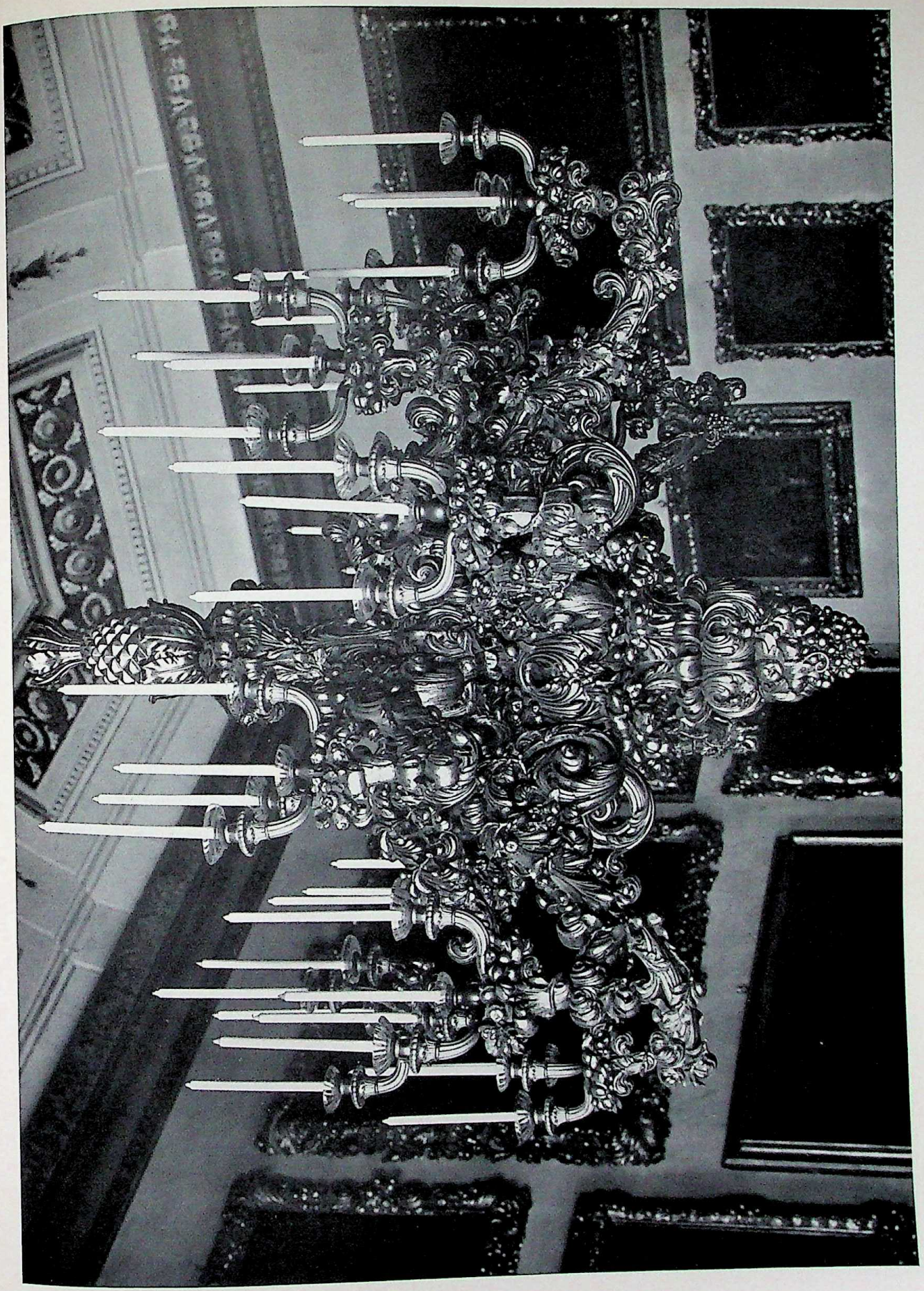

Pl. 343. Chandelier, in the Villa di Castello, near Florence, 16th cent. Gilded bronze.

ca. 1902. Silver. Trondheim, Norway, Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseum. *Right:* A. Jacobsen (b. 1902), table lamp, Denmark. Iron.

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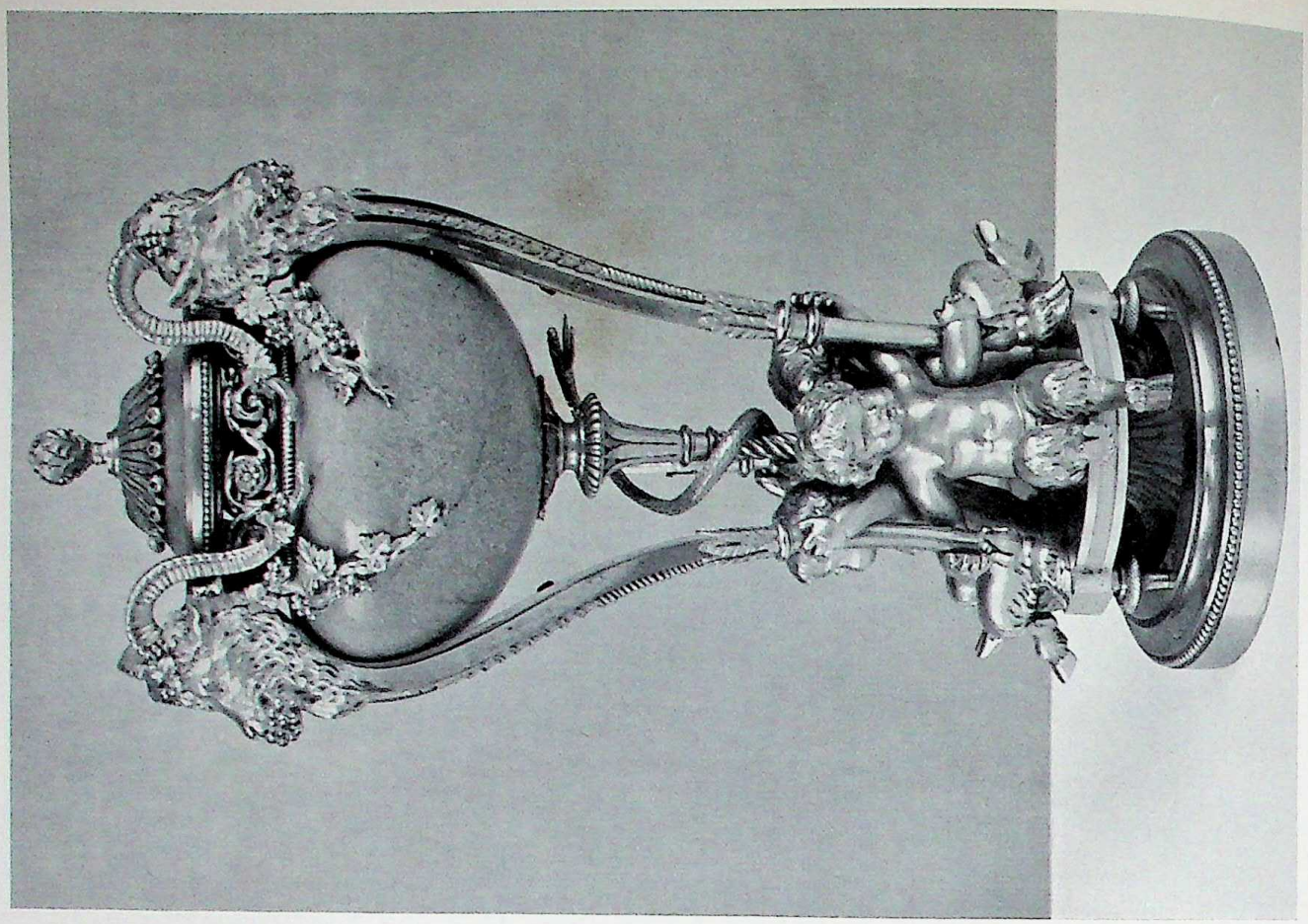

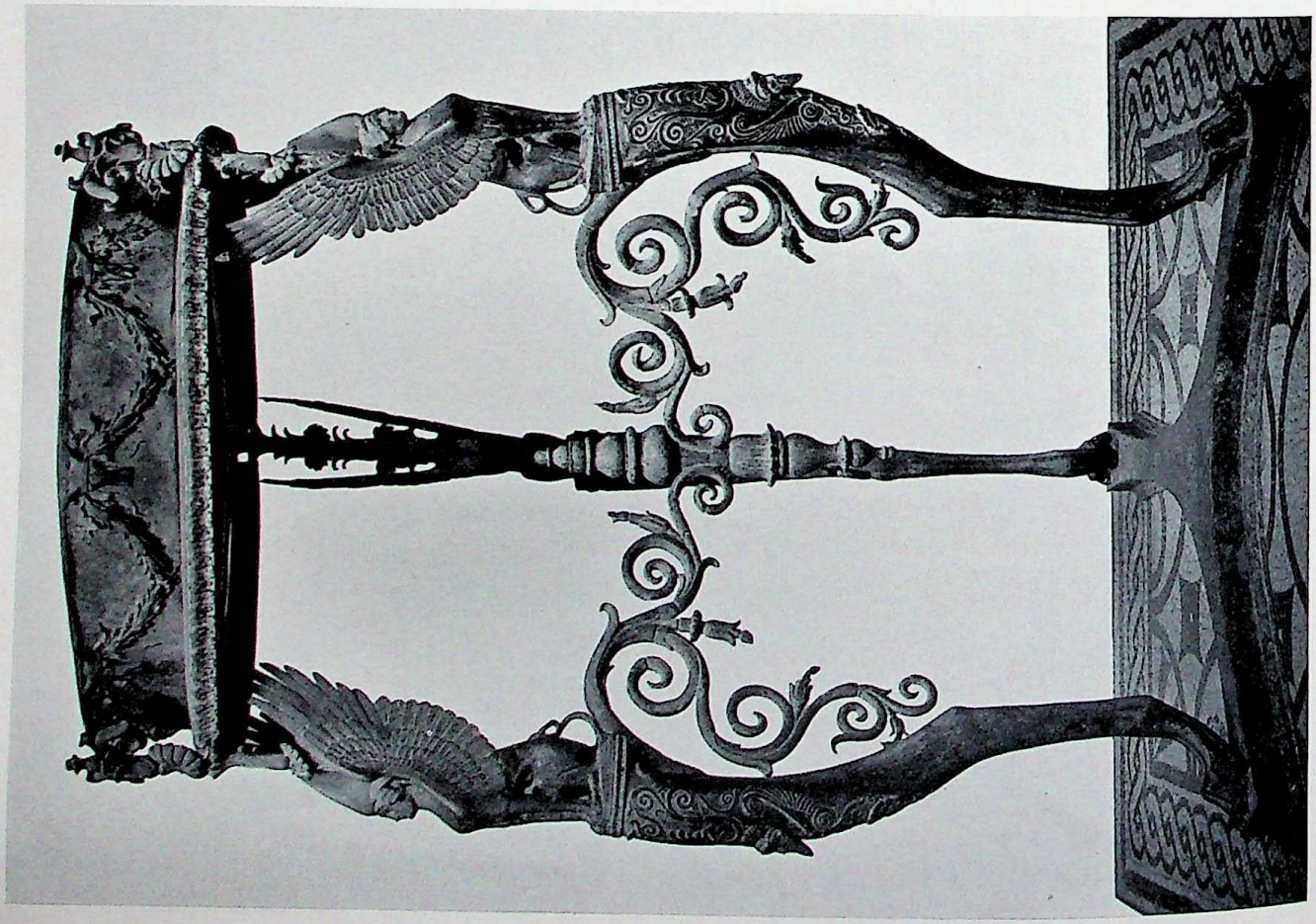

Pl. 344. *Left*: Tripod, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Perfume burner, France, 18th cent. Gilded bronze and *pietra dura*. London, Wallace Coll.

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Pl. 344. *Left*: Tripod, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze. Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Perfume burner, France, 18th cent. Gilded bronze and *pietra dura*. London, Wallace Coll.

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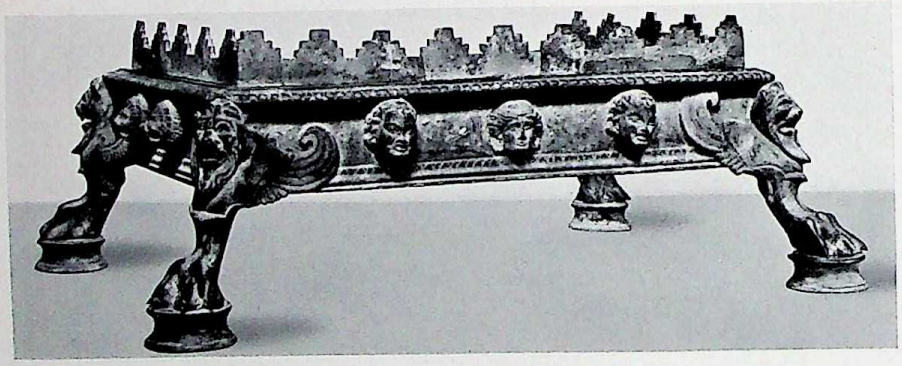

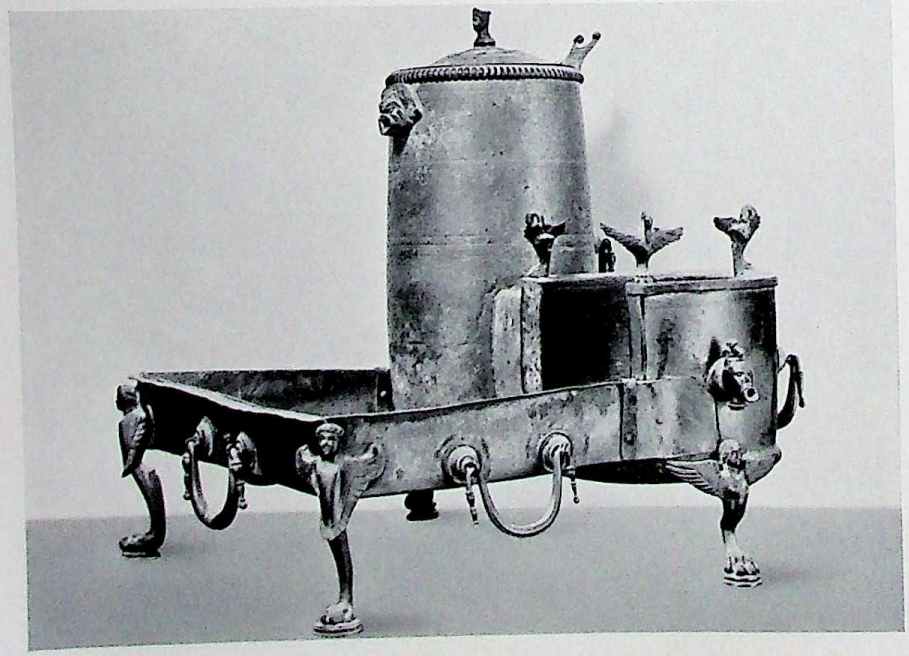

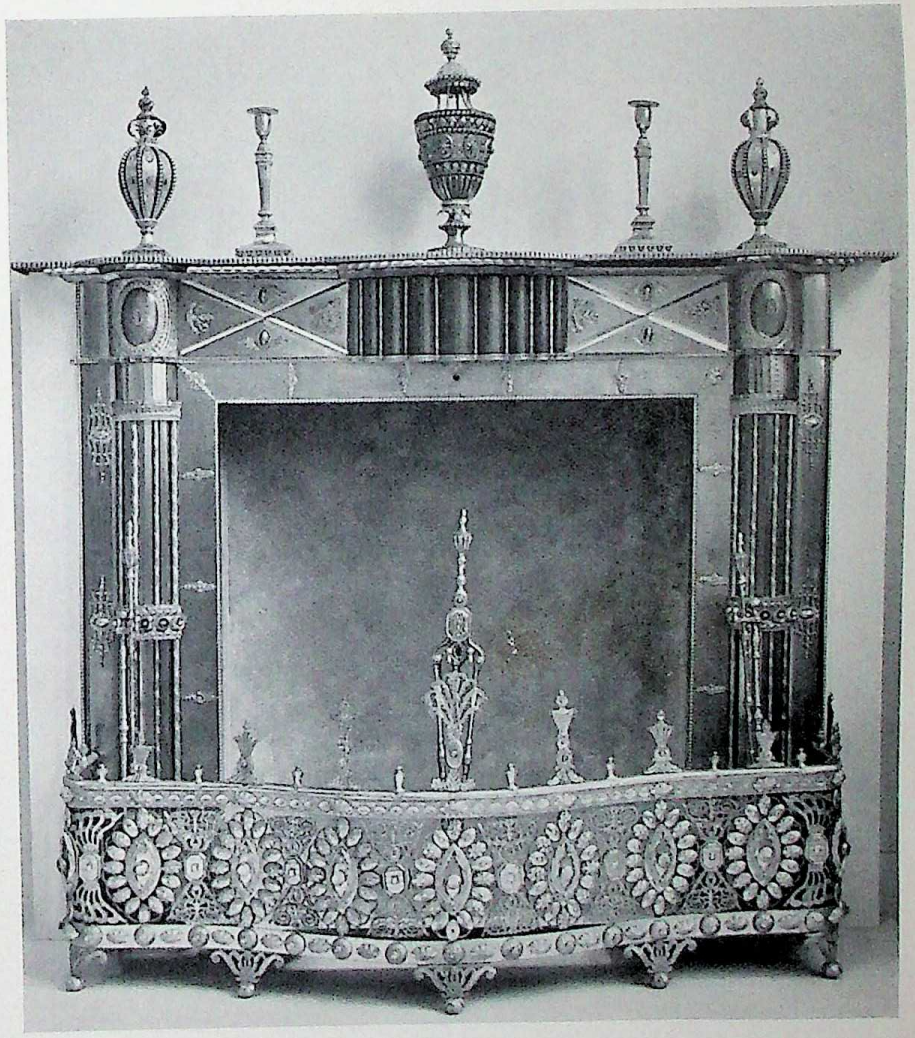

Pl. 345. *Left, above*: Brazier, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze (pan missing). *Below*: Heating apparatus, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Bronze with iron pan. Both, Naples, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: Fireplace with fender, fire irons, and ornaments, made at the Russian Imperial Arms Factory, Tula, near Moscow, late 18th cent. Steel with gilded copper and brass. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

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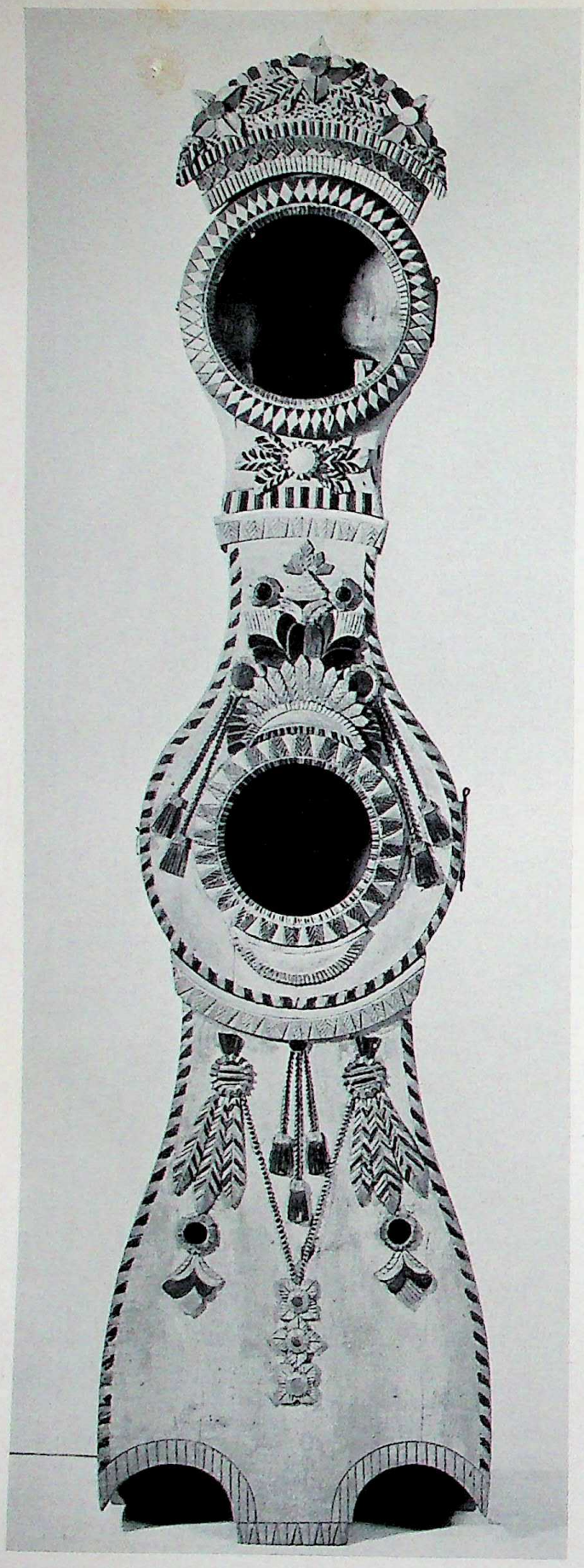

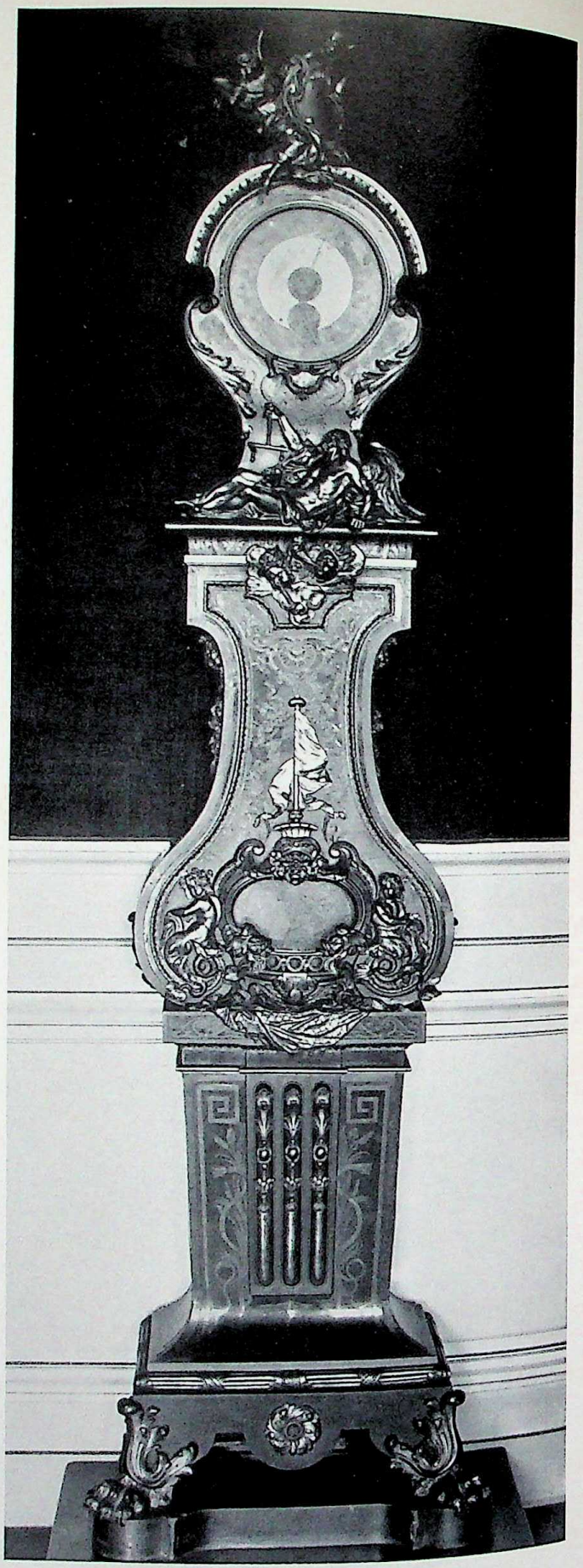

Pl. 346. *Left*: Clockcase, from Finsvik, Ångermanland, Sweden, ca. 1820. Painted pine, ht., 7½ ft. Stockholm, Nordiska Museet. *Right*: Pendulum clock from the Boulle workshop, France, 18th cent. Inlaid ebony with ormolu. Paris, Louvre.

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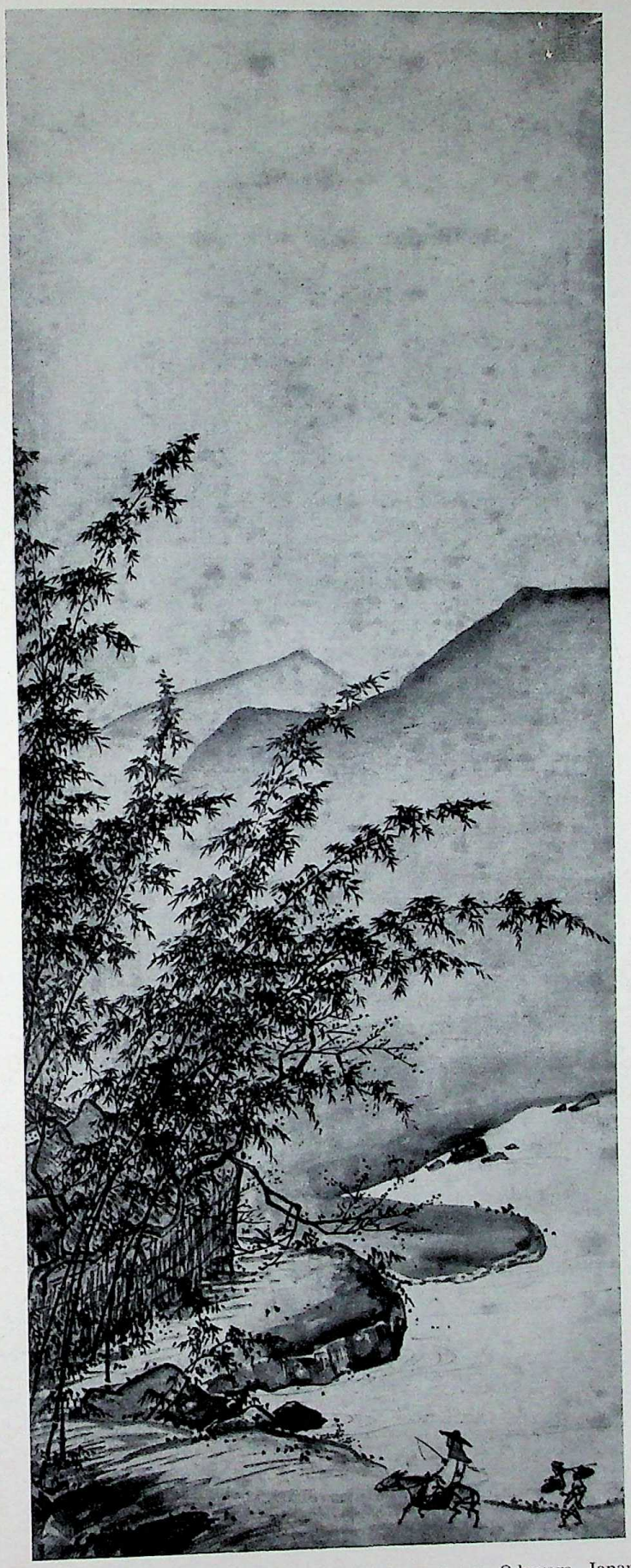

Pl. 347. Scholar Riding a Donkey. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Odawara, Japan, Asano Coll.

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Pl. 348. Clear Distant Views of Streams and Mountains, two details. Hand scroll, ink on paper. Taichung, Formosa, National Palace Museum.

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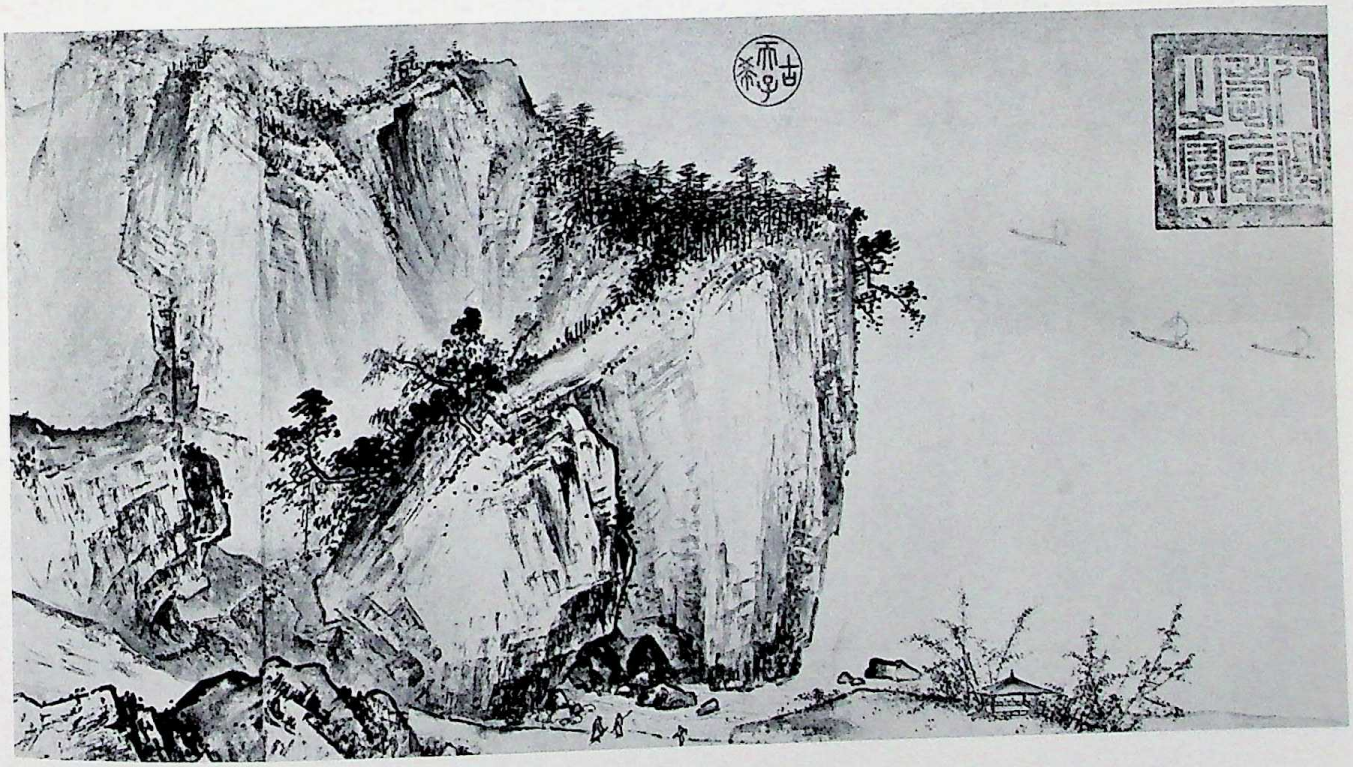

Pl. 349. Clear Distant Views of Streams and Mountains, two details. Hand scroll, ink on paper. Taichung, Formosa, National Palace Museum.

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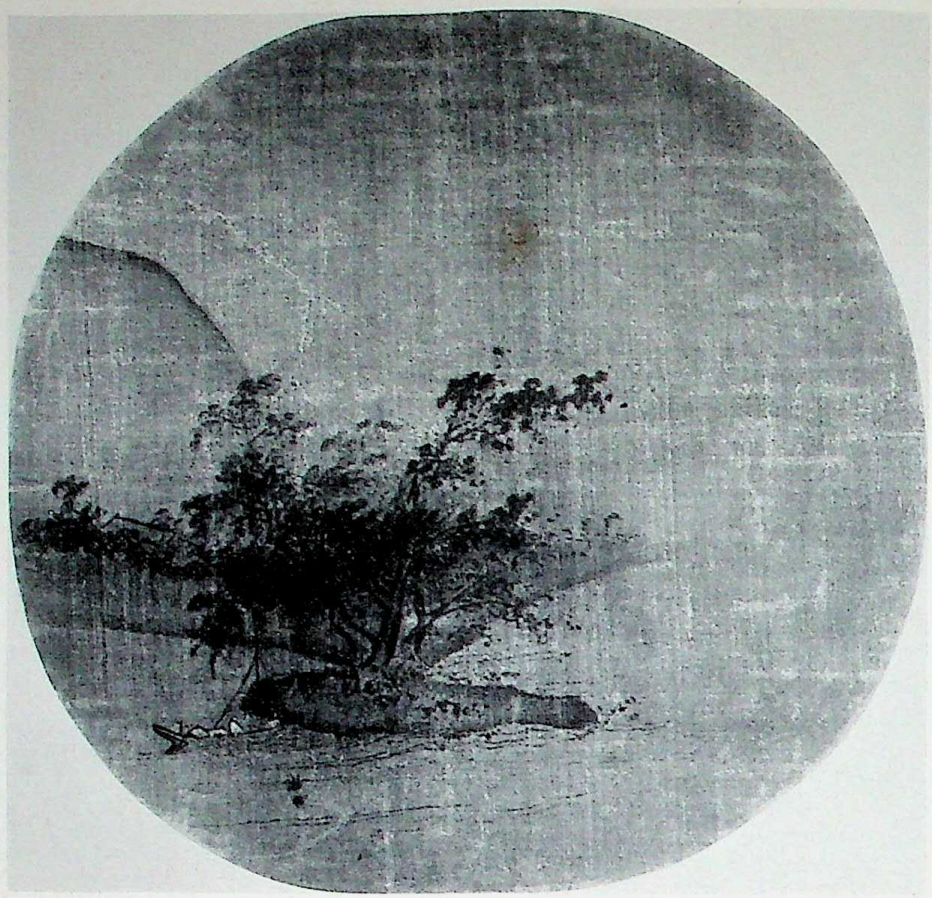

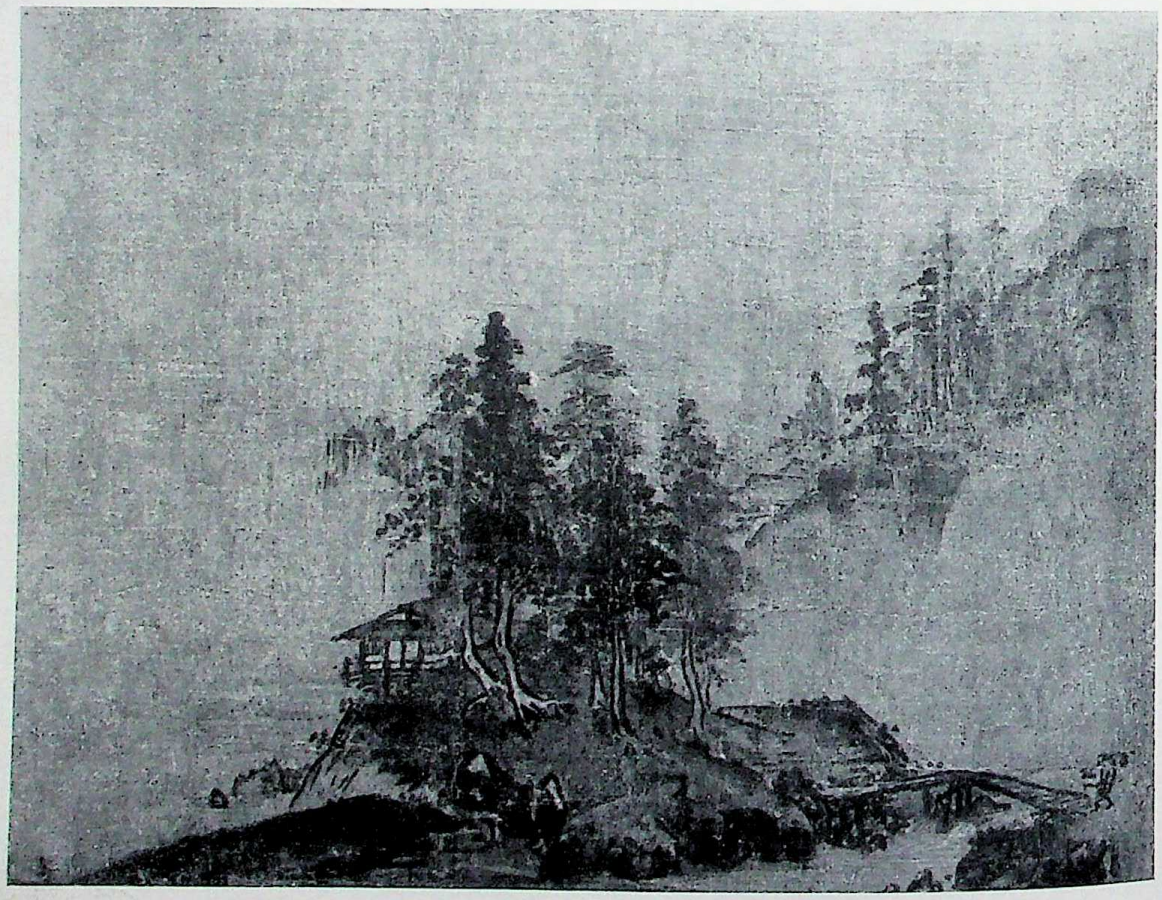

Pl. 350. Album leaves, from the album called *Hikko-en*. Ink on silk. *Above*: Landscape. *Below*: Misty Landscape. Tokyo, Nakamura Coll.

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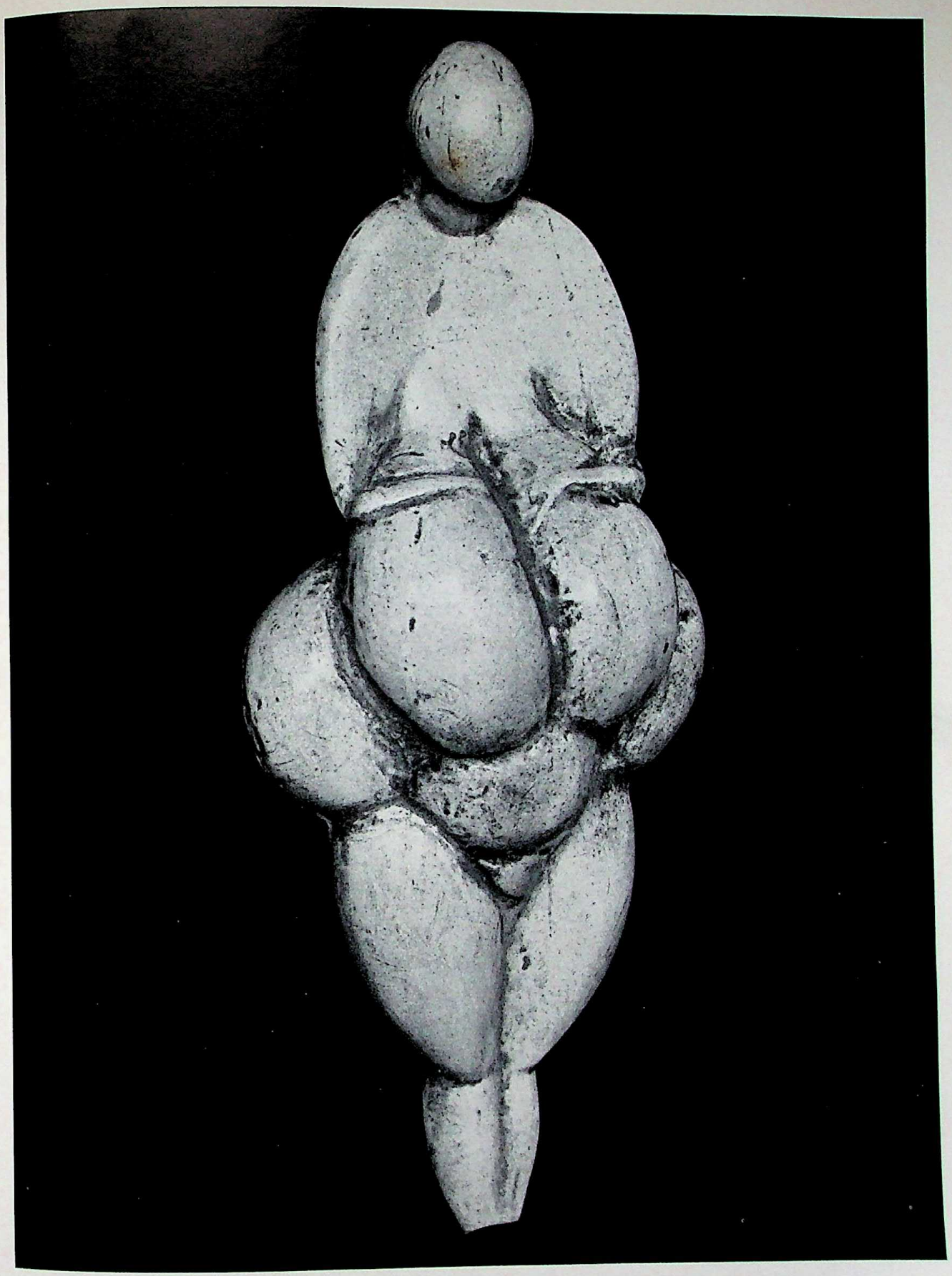

Pl. 351. Steatopygous female figurine, the so-called "Venus" of Lespugue, Haute Garonne, France, Aurignacian period. Ivory, ht., 5 3/4 in. Paris, Musée de l'Homme. (Restored cast.)

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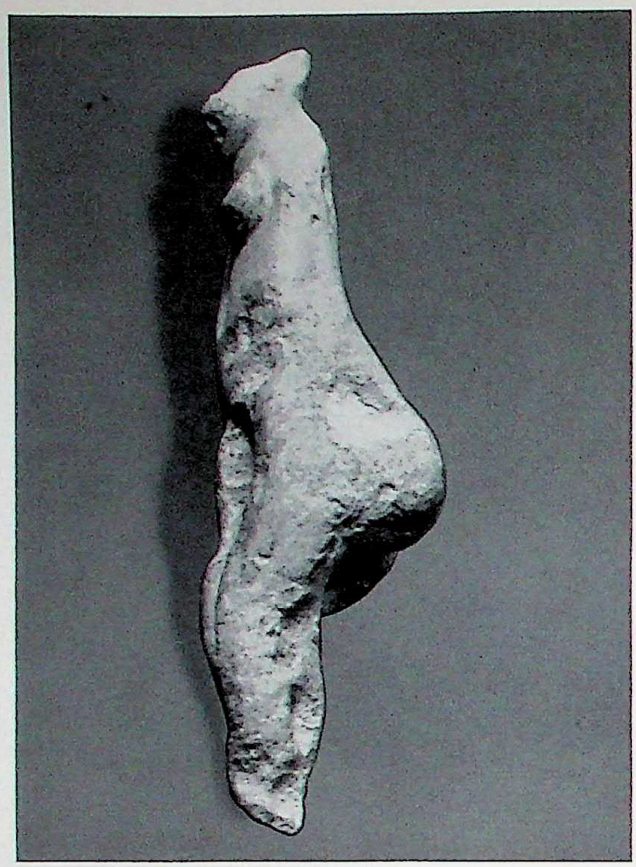

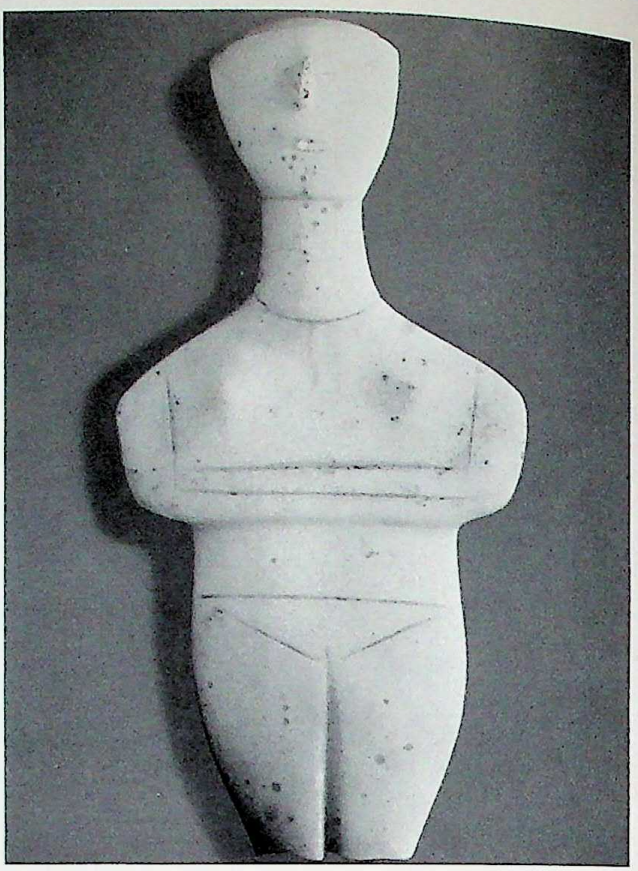

Pl. 352. *Above, left*: Figurine of mother-goddess type, so-called "Venus" from Macomer, Sardinia, late 3d millennium B.C. Basalt, ht., 5 1/2 in. Cagliari, Sardinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. *Right*: Cycladic idol, from Crete, second half of 3d millennium B.C. Marble, ht., 9 1/4 in. Heraklion, Crete, Archaeological Museum. *Below, left*: Cycladic idol, from Naxos, second half of 3d millennium B.C. Marble, ht., 3 1/8 in. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. *Right*: Tomb figure, found near Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, China, Warring States period. Wood, ht., 12 5/8 in. Property of the Chinese Government.

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Pl. 353. *Left, above*: Figurine of mother-goddess type, from Tureng Tepe, near Asterabad, Iran, 3d–2d millennium B.C. Pottery, ht., 7½ in. Philadelphia, University Museum. *Below*: Jōmon figurine, Japan, 2d–1st millennium B.C. Clay. Paris, Musée Guimet. *Right, above*: Female figurine, Tlatilco style, Valley of Mexico. Clay with red paint. Private coll. *Below*: Quimbaya figurine, similar to effigy vessels, Colombia. Clay with gold nose ring; ht., 8¼ in. Göteborg, Sweden, Etnografiska Museet.

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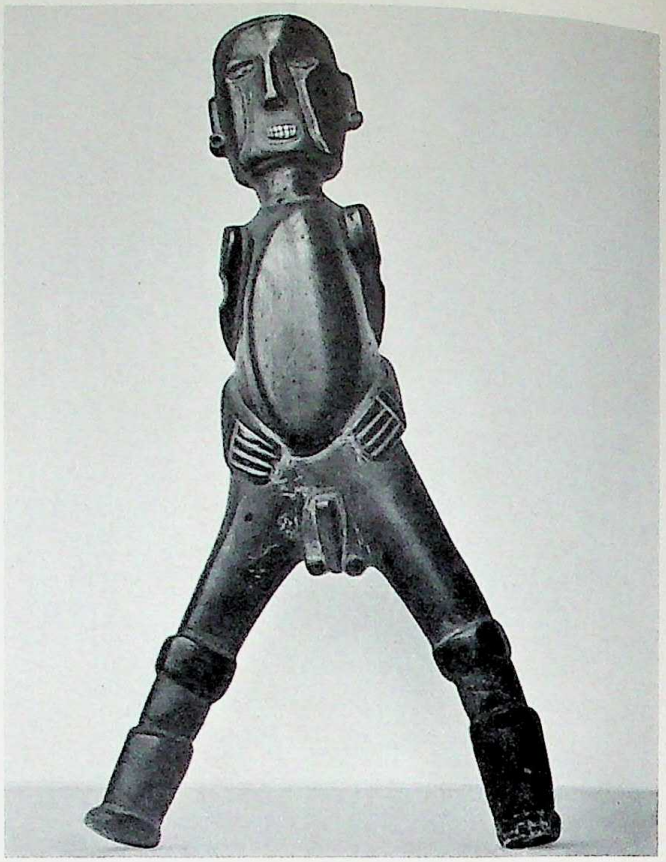

Pl. 354. *Above, left*: Man and woman, from Olympia, Greece, 9th–early 8th cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 3¼ in. Boston, private coll. *Right*: Arawak male figure, Guiana. Wood with shell teeth. London, British Museum. *Below, left*: Figurine of an offerer, from Rocca di Papa, near Rome, 8th cent. B.C. Terra cotta, ht., 7⅛ in. Rome, Museo Pigorini. *Right*: Giliak protective house spirit, eastern Siberia. Wood, ht., ca. 20 in. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

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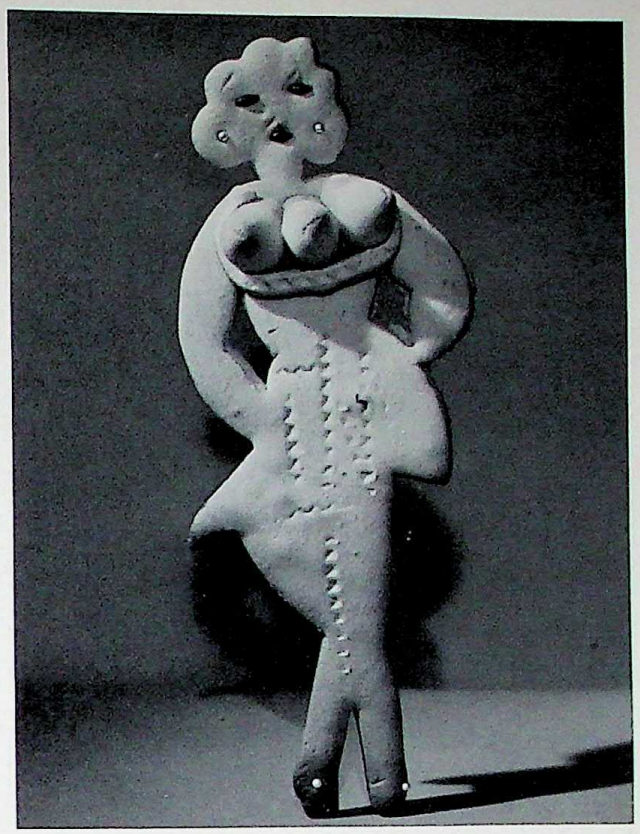

Pl. 355. *Above, left*: Female figurine, from the Indus Valley, 3d–2d millennium B.C. Clay. New Delhi, National Museum of India. *Right*: Three-breasted female figure reminiscent of the ancient goddess of plenty, contemporary, from Frascati, Italy. *Pane dolce* (an unleavened pastry). *Below, left*: *Anito* (spirit) statues, from the Philippines. Wood, etc. Madrid, Museo Etnológico y Antropológico. *Right*: Traditional toy-statuette of a rabbi, from Kraków, Poland, ca. 1910–20. Painted wood, fur, and iron springs (providing movement); ht., 9 7/8 in. Paris, Musée de l'Homme.

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Pl. 356. Mesopotamia. *Above, left*: Priest, from Eshnunna (mod. Tell Asmar), Early Dynastic II, 3d millennium B.C. Gypsum, eyes of shell, bitumen, and black limestone; ht., 15 3/4 in. Chicago, University, Oriental Institute. *Right*: Standing statue of Gudea, mutilated, from Lagash (mod. Telloh), late 3d millennium B.C. Diorite, ht., 48 7/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Below, left*: Akkadian cylinder-seal impression, detail showing the god Ea (with water flowing from shoulders) and his two-headed minister, late 3d millennium B.C. Greenstone, ht., 1 1/2 in. London, British Museum. *Right*: Deities bearing the flowing vase, from exterior of the temple of Inanna, Erech (Uruk), mid-2d millennium B.C. Molded and fired brick; ht., 6 1/2 ft. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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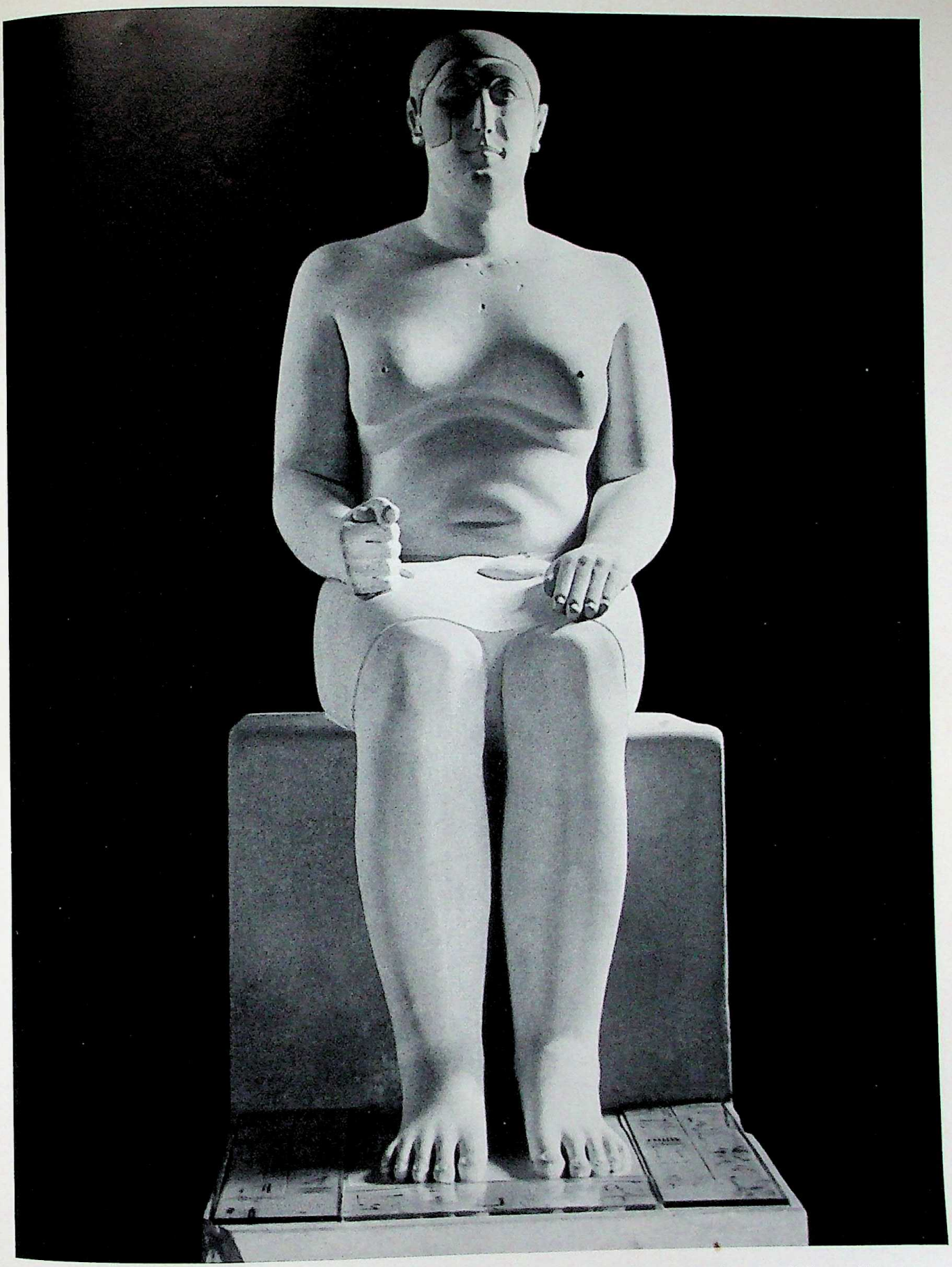

Pl. 357. Prince Hemiunu, Giza, Egypt, early 4th dynasty. Limestone, ht., 5 ft., 1 3/8 in. Hildesheim, Germany, Pelizaeus-Museum.

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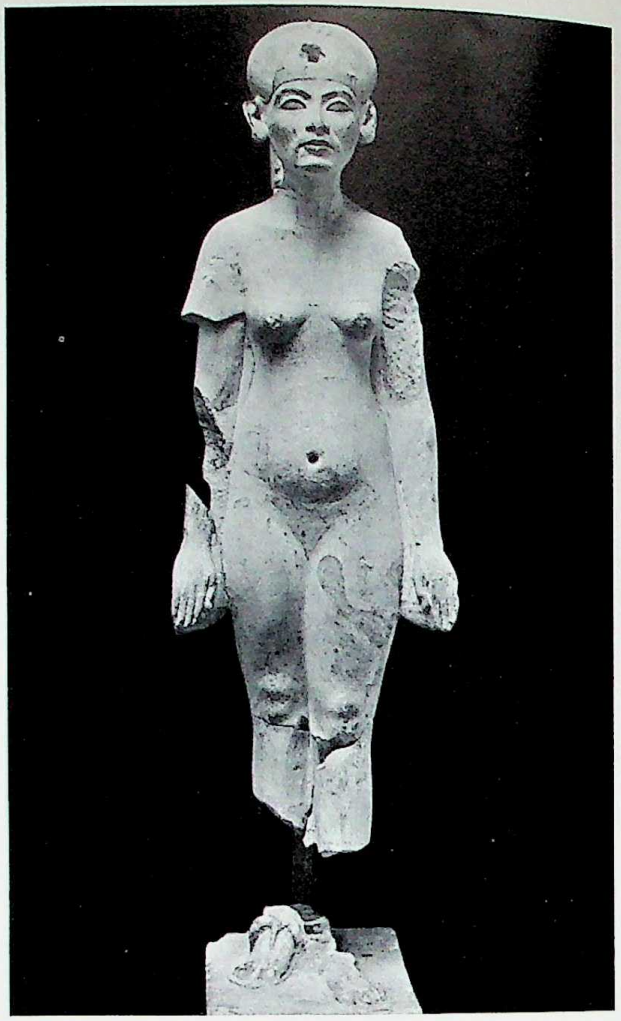

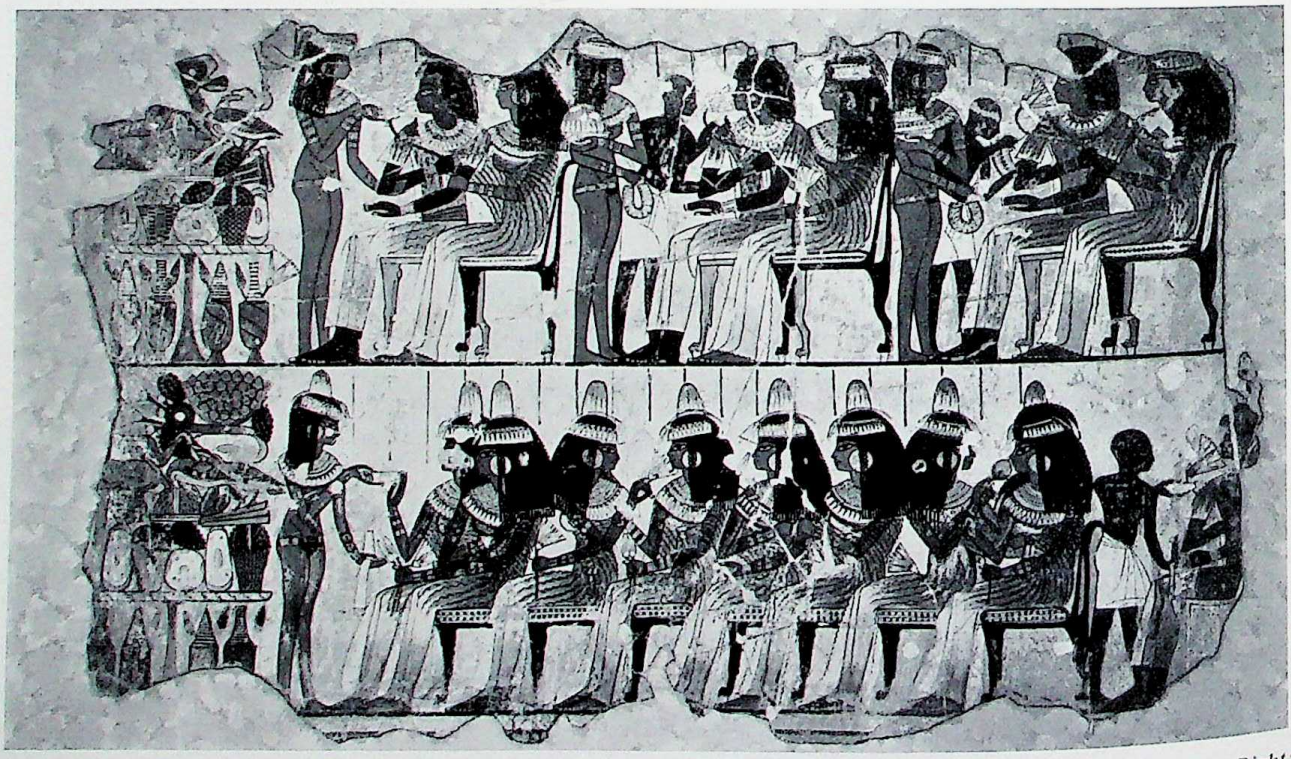

Pl. 358. Egypt. *Above, left*: Official and his wife, from Memphis (?), Old Kingdom. Wood, ht., 27 1/8 in. Paris, Louvre. *Right*: Statuette of Queen Nefertiti (?), from Tell el 'Amarna, ca. 1370 B.C. Limestone, ht., 15 3/4 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Below*: Fragment of painting with banquet scene, from the tomb of Nebamun, necropolis at Thebes, ca. 1400 B.C. London, British Museum.

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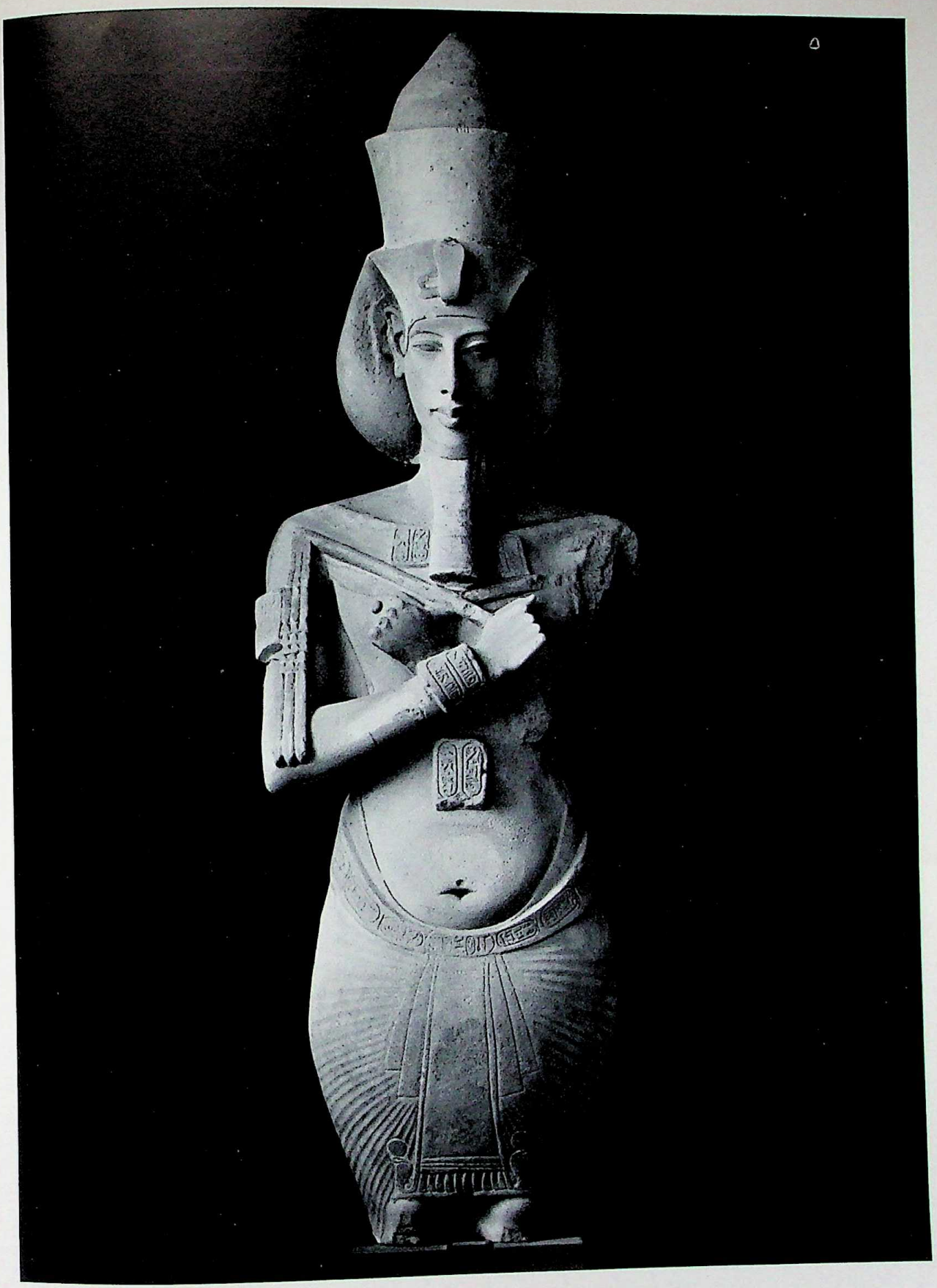

Pl. 359. Pillar statue of King Akhenaten, from the Aten temple in Karnak, ca. 1370 B.C. Reddish-brown sandstone with traces of paint; ht., 13 ft. Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

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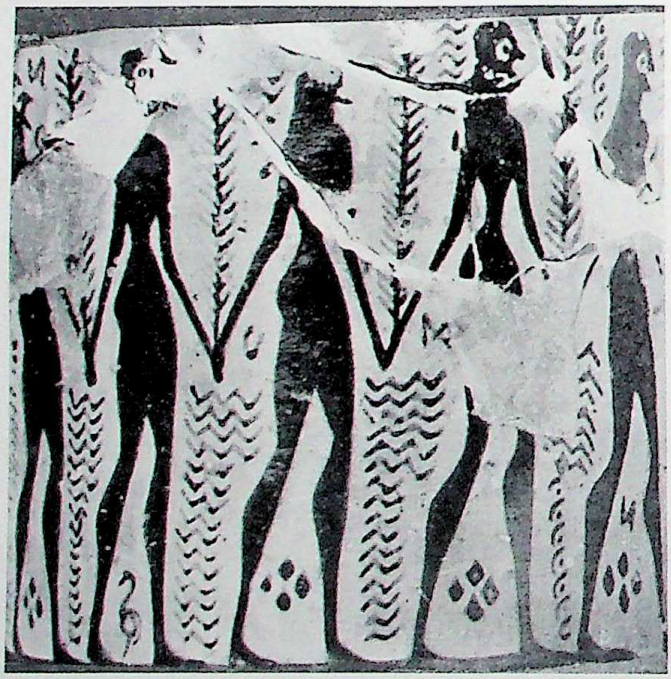

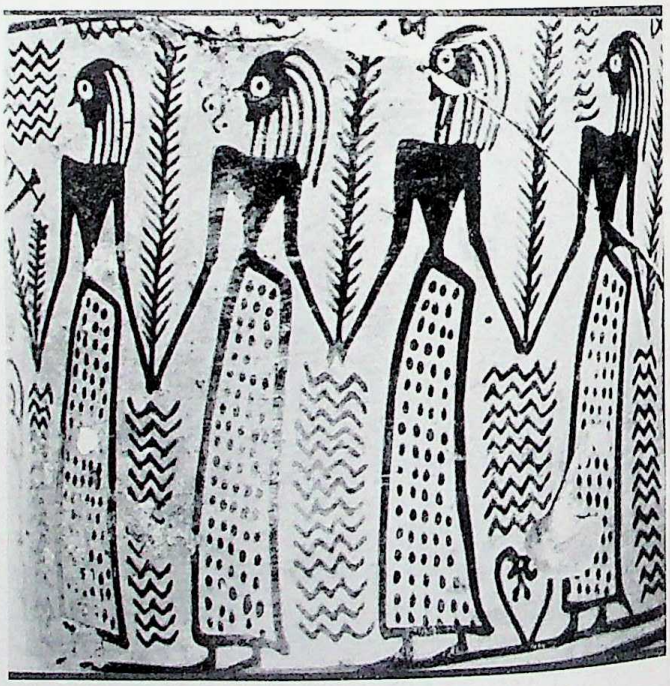

Pl. 360. *Above*: Seated women, detail of a wall painting in "miniature" style, from the second palace, Knossos, Crete, 1700–1400 B.C. Heraklion, Crete, Archaeological Museum. (Reconstructed with original fragments.) *Below*: Procession of men and women, details of an Attic hydria (II, PL. 35), from Analatos, ca. 700 B.C. Ht., 20 7/8 in. Athens, National Museum.

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Pl. 361. *Above, left*: Royal statue, from Zincirli, northern Syria, 9th–8th cent. B.C. Basalt, ht., 10 ft., 7 in. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums. *Right*: Warrior, relief from the palace of Sargon II at Dur Sharrukin (mod. Khorsabad), Iraq, 8th cent. B.C. Chalk alabaster, ht., 9 ft., 1½ in. Paris, Louvre. *Below, left*: Darius enthroned, detail of audience scene in the court of the Treasury, Persepolis, Iran, late 6th–early 5th cent. B.C. Stone. *Right*: "Rampin Horseman," original head with cast of torso (I, PL. 353), from the Acropolis, Athens, mid-6th cent. B.C. Marble; head, 11½ in. Paris, Louvre.

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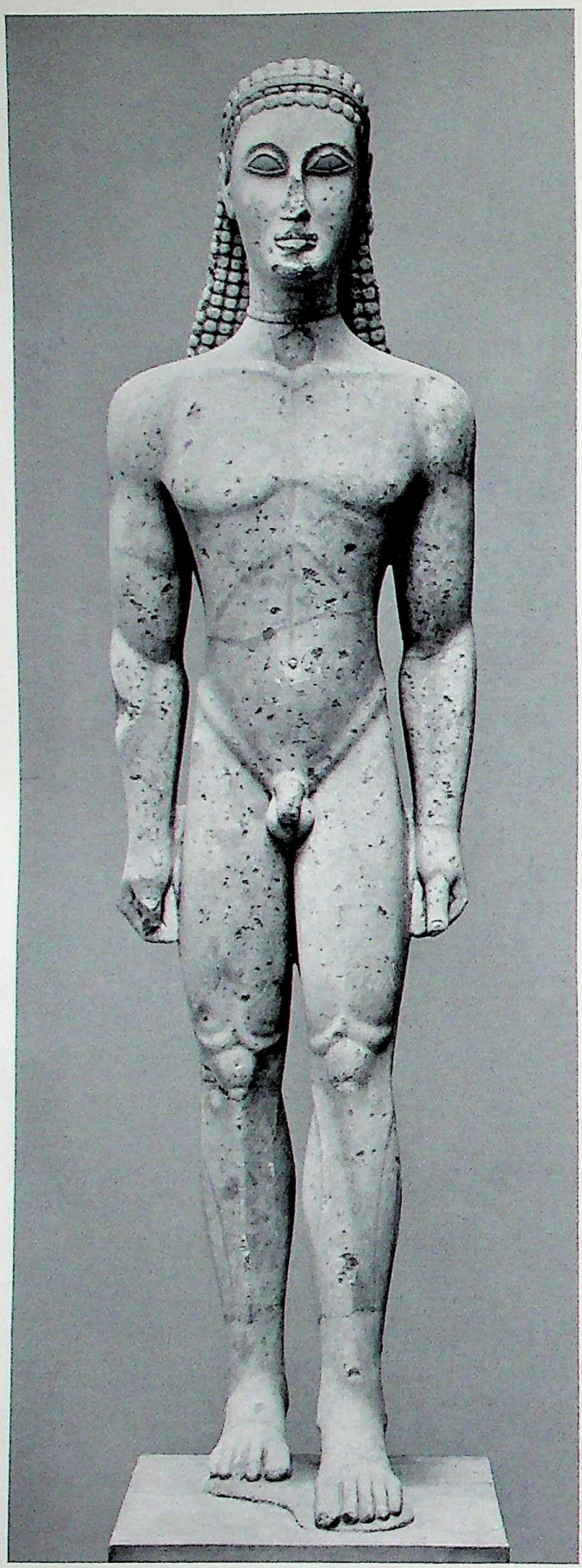

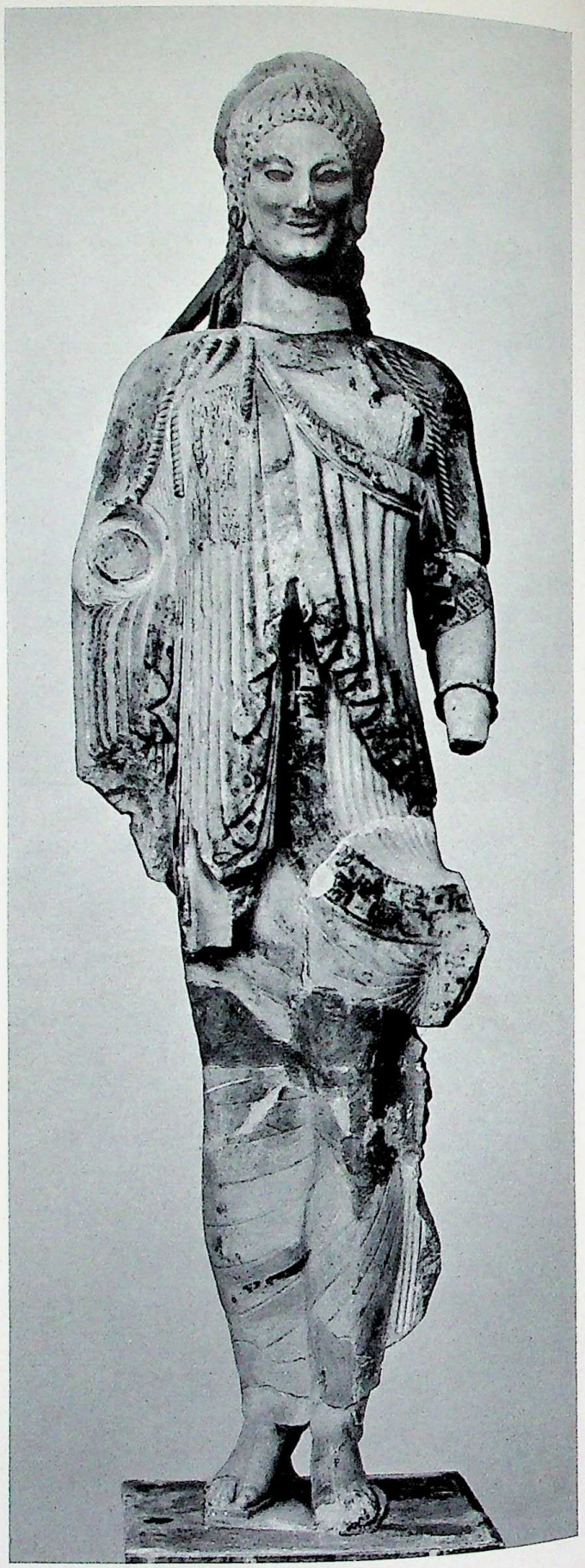

Pl. 362. *Left*: Kouros, from Attica, ca. 600 B.C. Marble, ht., 6 ft., 4 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Right*: Kore (No. 682), wearing himation, from Athens, ca. 525 B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 10 7/8 in. Athens, Acropolis, Museum.

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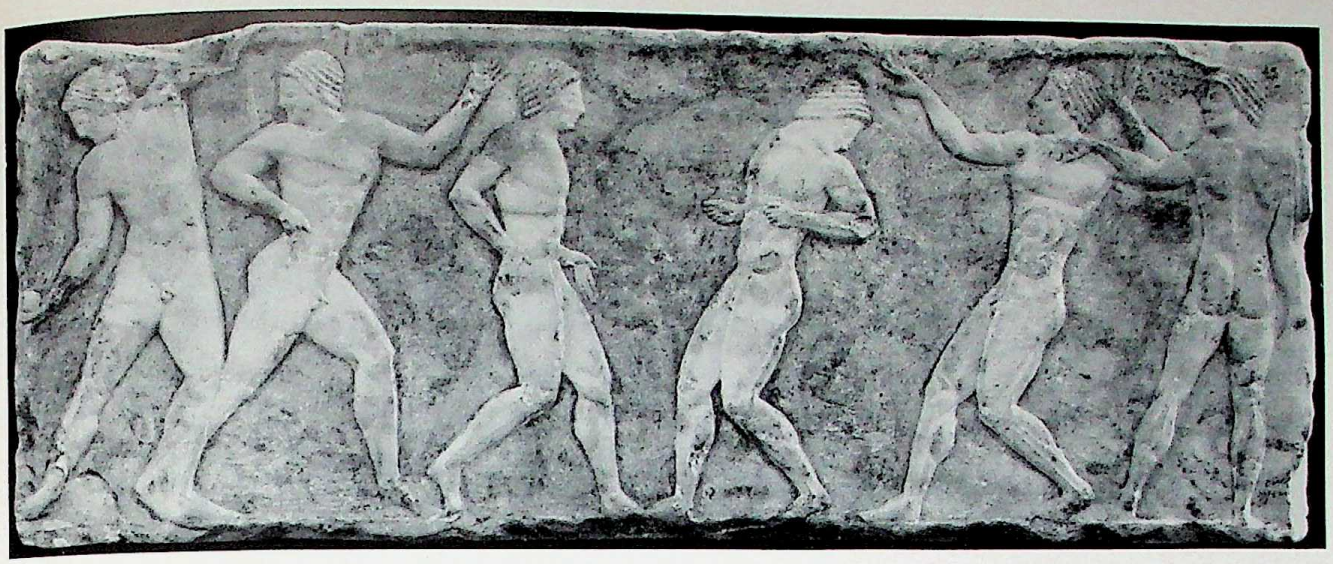

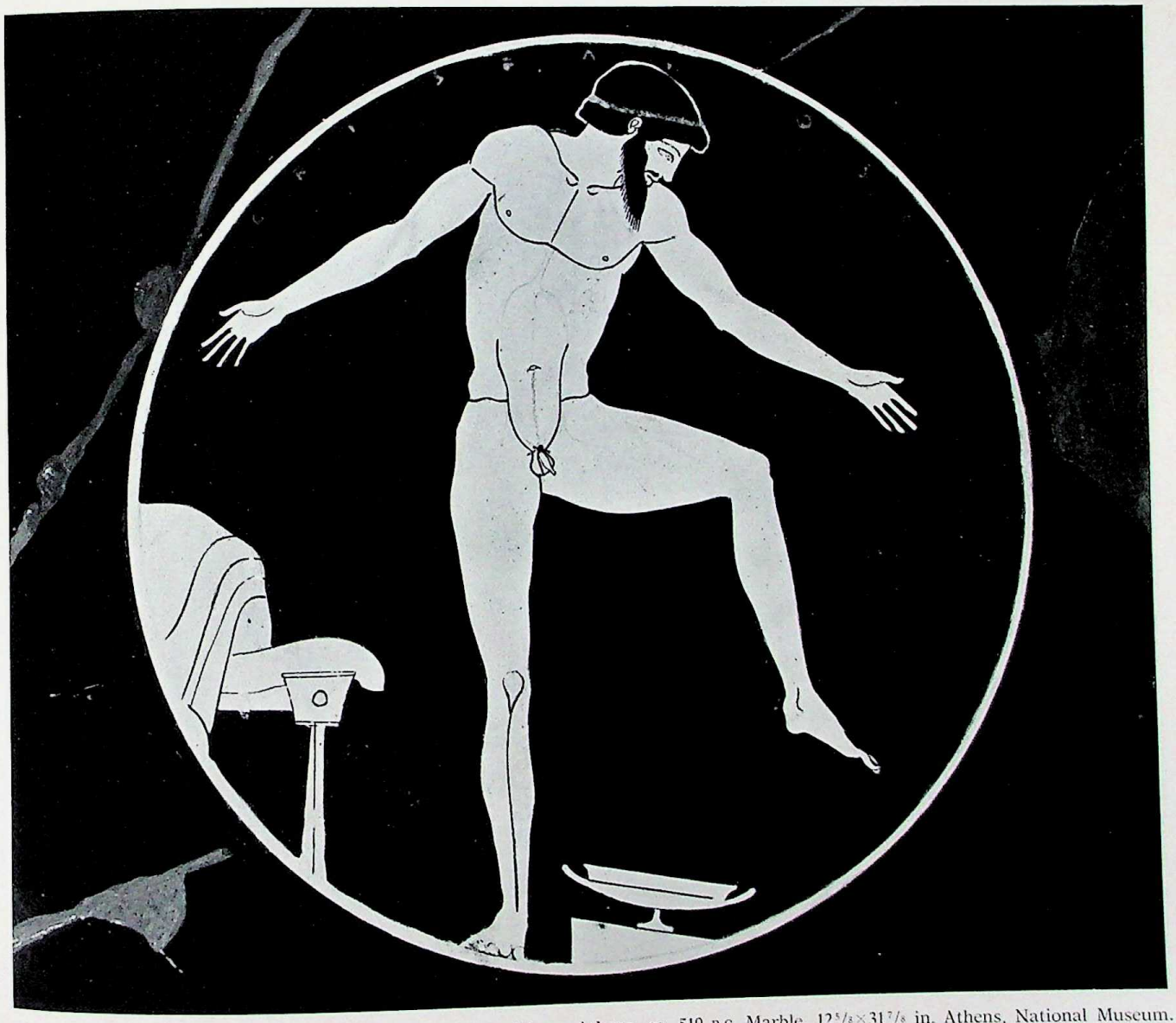

Pl. 363. *Above*: Youths playing ball, side of a sculptured base, Athens, ca. 510 B.C. Marble, $12^5/_8 \times 31^7/_8$ in. Athens, National Museum. *Below*: Reveler balancing on one leg, interior detail of an Attic red-figured kylix signed by Douris, ca. 490 B.C. Diam. of kylix, $10^7/_8$ in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

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Pl. 364. Head of a boy, detail of a figure in the Panathenaic procession, section with sacrificial bulls, north frieze of the Parthenon, Athens (completed 432 B.C.). Marble; ht. of frieze, 3 ft., 7 in. Athens, Acropolis, Museum.

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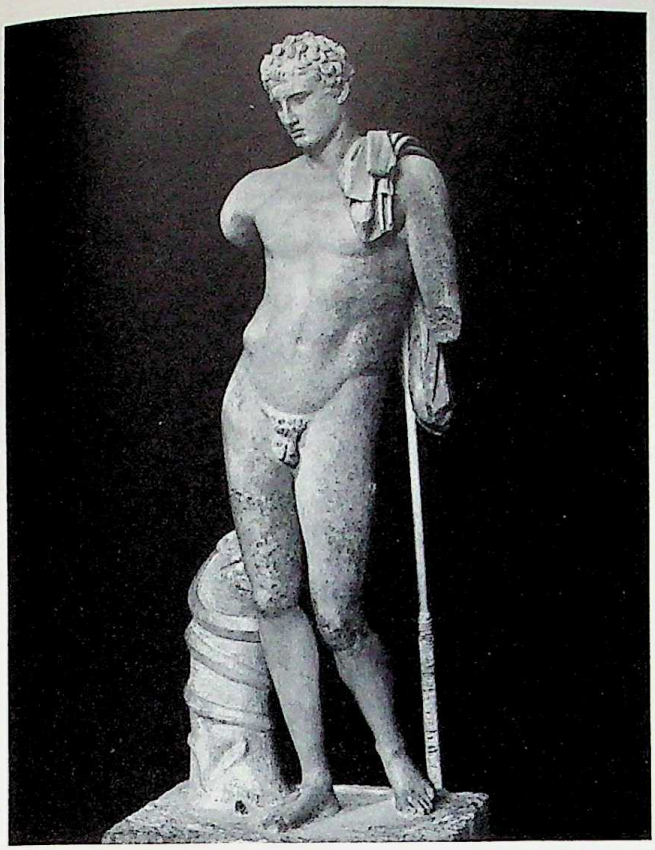

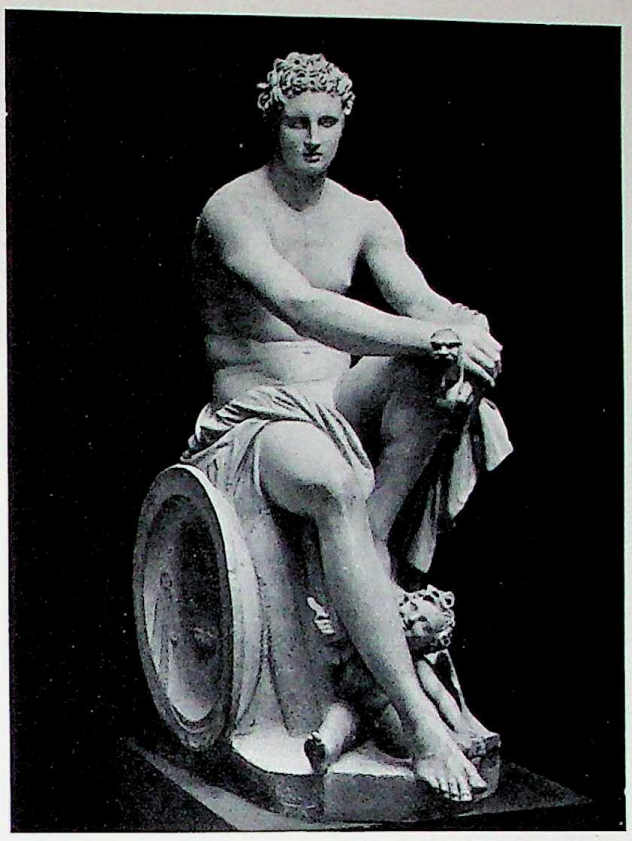

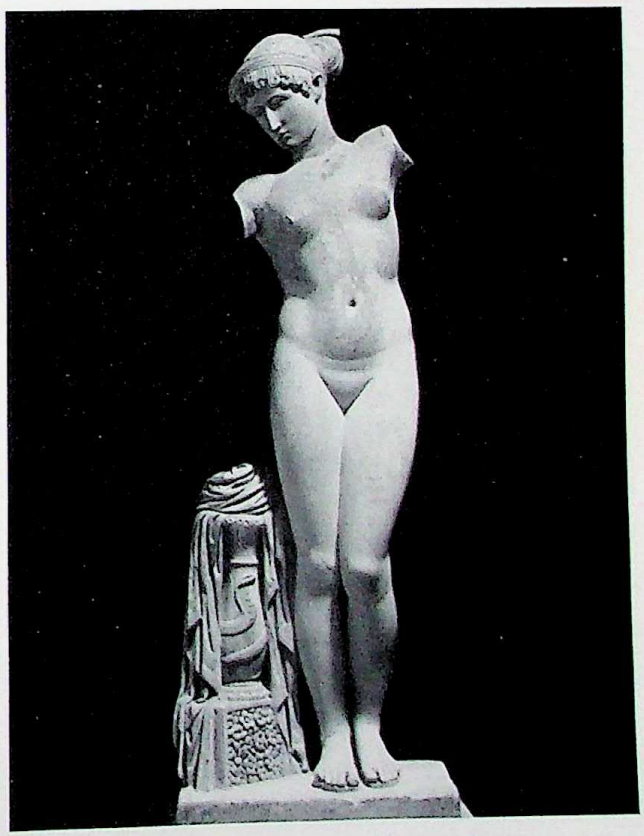

Pl. 365. Roman versions of Greek statues. Marble. *Above, left*: The Hermes of Andros (original, 4th cent. B.C.). Ht., 6 ft., 7 1/8 in. Athens, National Museum. (Cf. II, PL. 56.) *Right*: The "Ludovisi Ares," or Mars Resting (original, 4th cent. B.C.; Eros added). Ht., 4 ft., 11 1/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. *Below, left*: Poseidon, or Neptune (original, 4th cent. B.C.). Ht., 6 ft., 6 3/4 in. Rome, Lateran Museums. *Right*: Aphrodite, called the "Esquiline Venus," first half of 1st cent. B.C. (? original, 5th cent. B.C.). Ht., 5 ft. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

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Pl. 366. *Above, left*: Crouching Aphrodite, from Rhodes, late 2d cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 19 1/4 in. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Boxer, showing the effects of a match, signed by Apollonios, son of Nestor, an Athenian, ca. mid-1st cent. B.C. Bronze, ht., 4 ft., 2 3/8 in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. *Below, left*: Old fisherman, Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of ca. 250 B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 1 3/8 in. Rome, Vatican Museums. *Right*: Aesop (?), 2d cent. Marble. Rome, Museo di Villa Albani.

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Pl. 367. The "Belvedere torso," signed by Apollonios, son of Nestor, an Athenian, ca. mid-1st cent. B.C. Marble, ht., 5 ft., 2 5/8 in. Rome, Vatican Museums.

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Pl. 368. Mars and Venus, from Pompeii, 1st cent. Wall painting, 32¼×35 in. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

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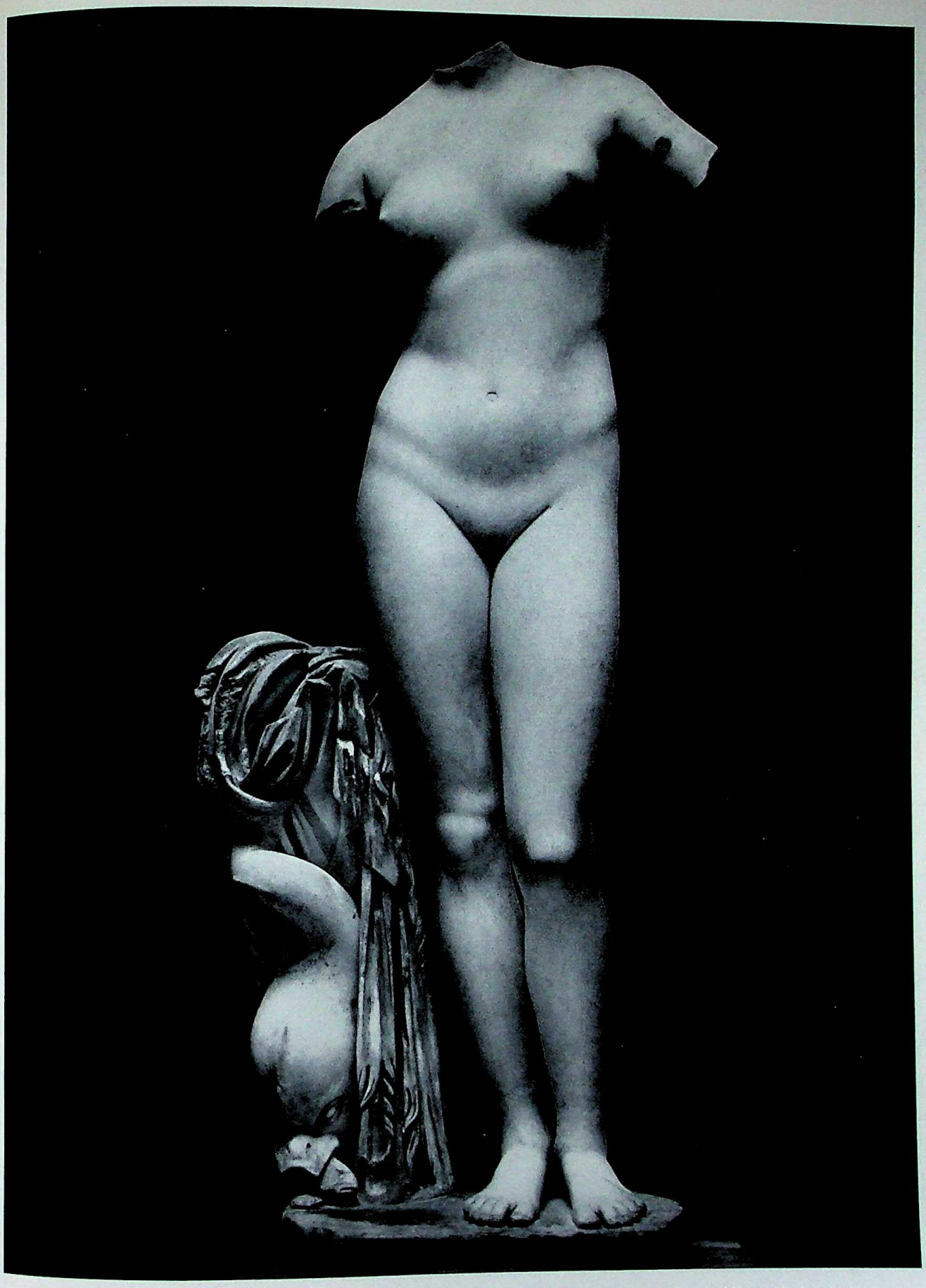

Pl. 369. The Venus of Cyrene (Aphrodite), first half of 1st cent. B.C. Marble; ht., 4 ft., 8¼ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 370. Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, called "the Augustus of Via Labicana," early 1st cent. Marble with traces of purple; ht., 6 ft., 9½ in. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

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Pl. 371. Two tetrarchs, from a pair of Roman columns, upper part of shaft, 4th cent. Porphyry; ht. of figures, 22 in. Rome, Vatican Library.

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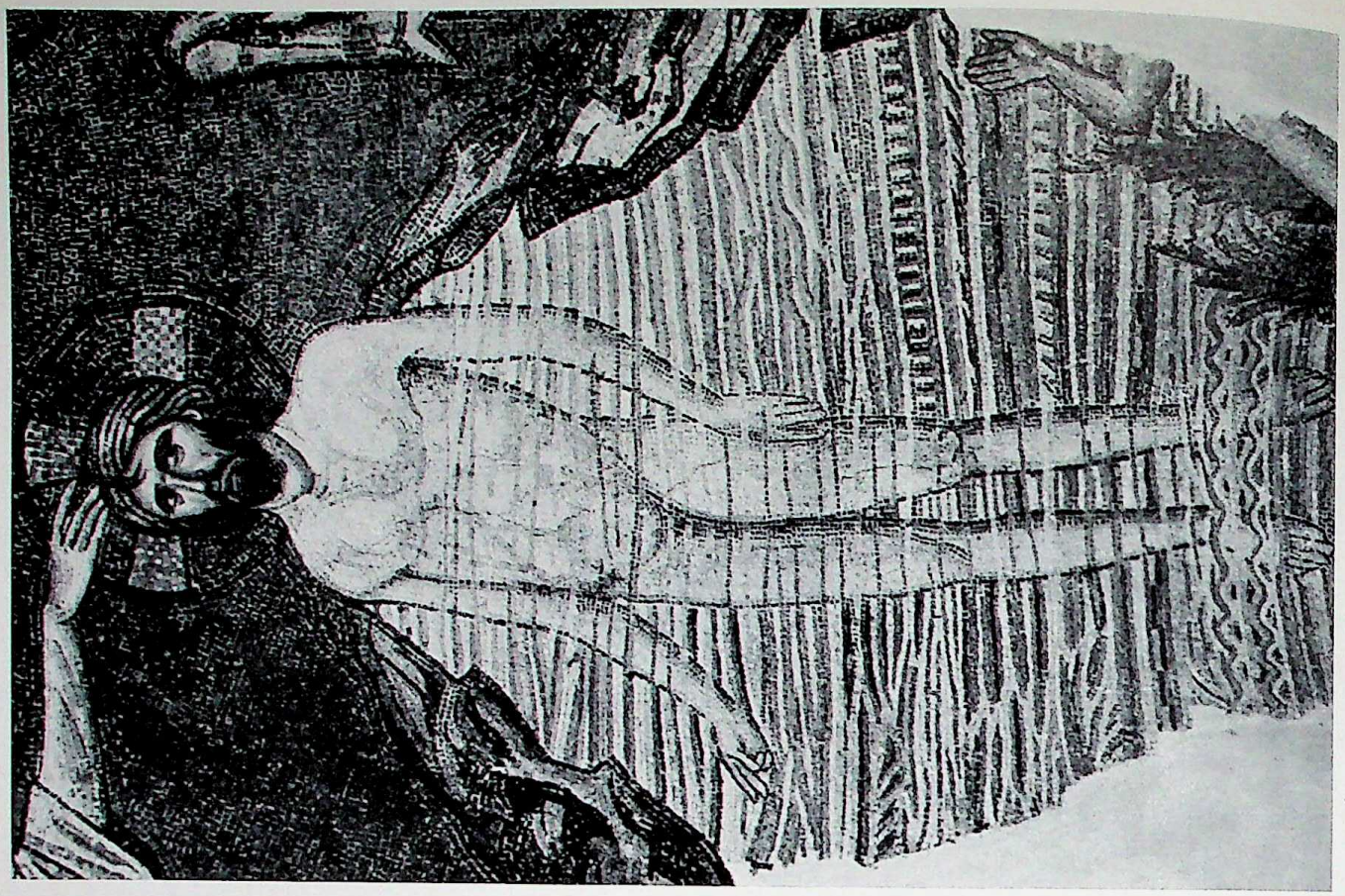

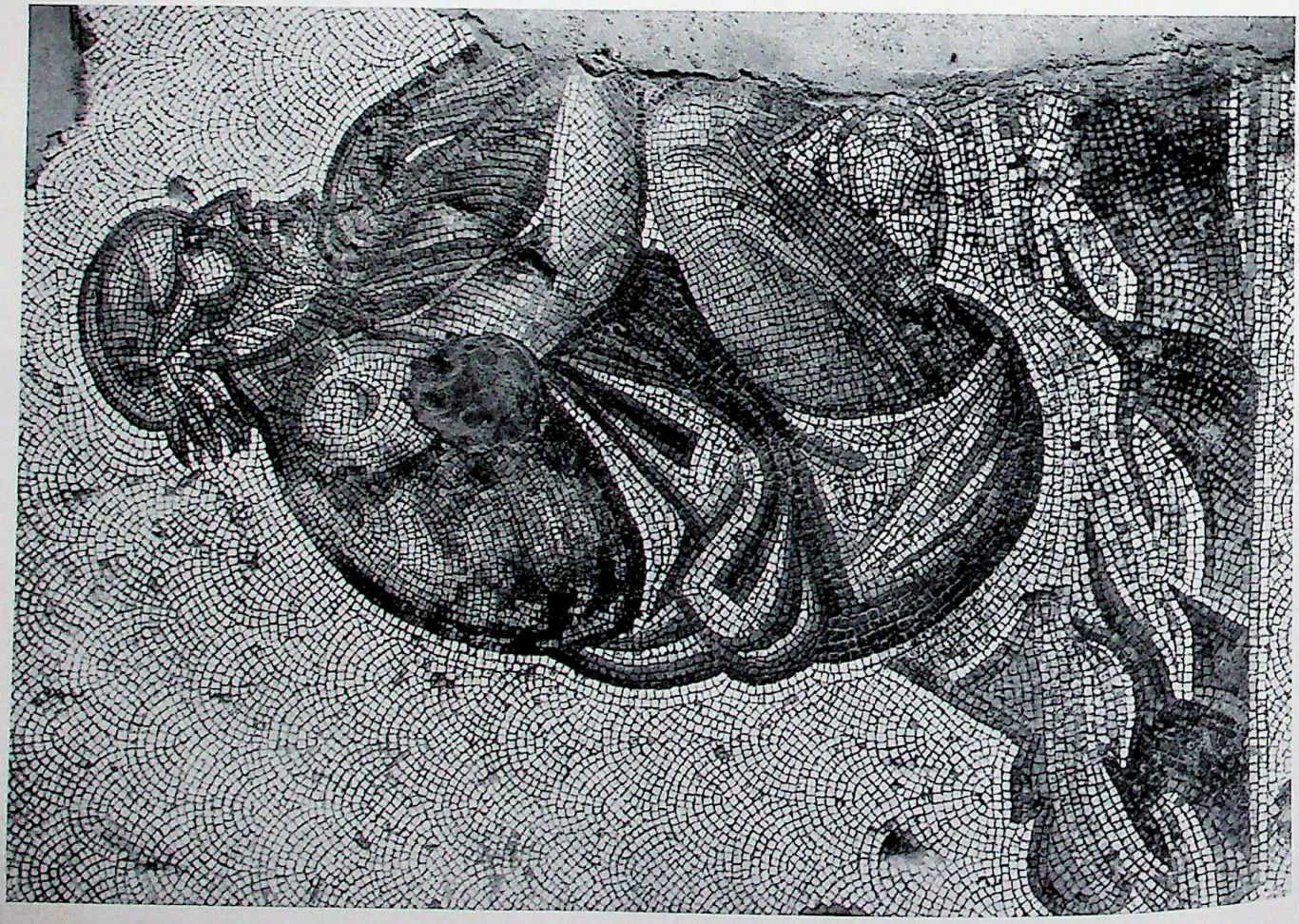

Pl. 372. *Left*: Old man seated, with a staff, detail of pavement of the peristyle, Great Palace of the Emperors, Istanbul, 5th–6th cent. Mosaic; ht. of figure, 32¼ in. *Right*: Baptism of Christ, detail, in the Catholicon, Daphne, Greece, 11th cent. Mosaic.

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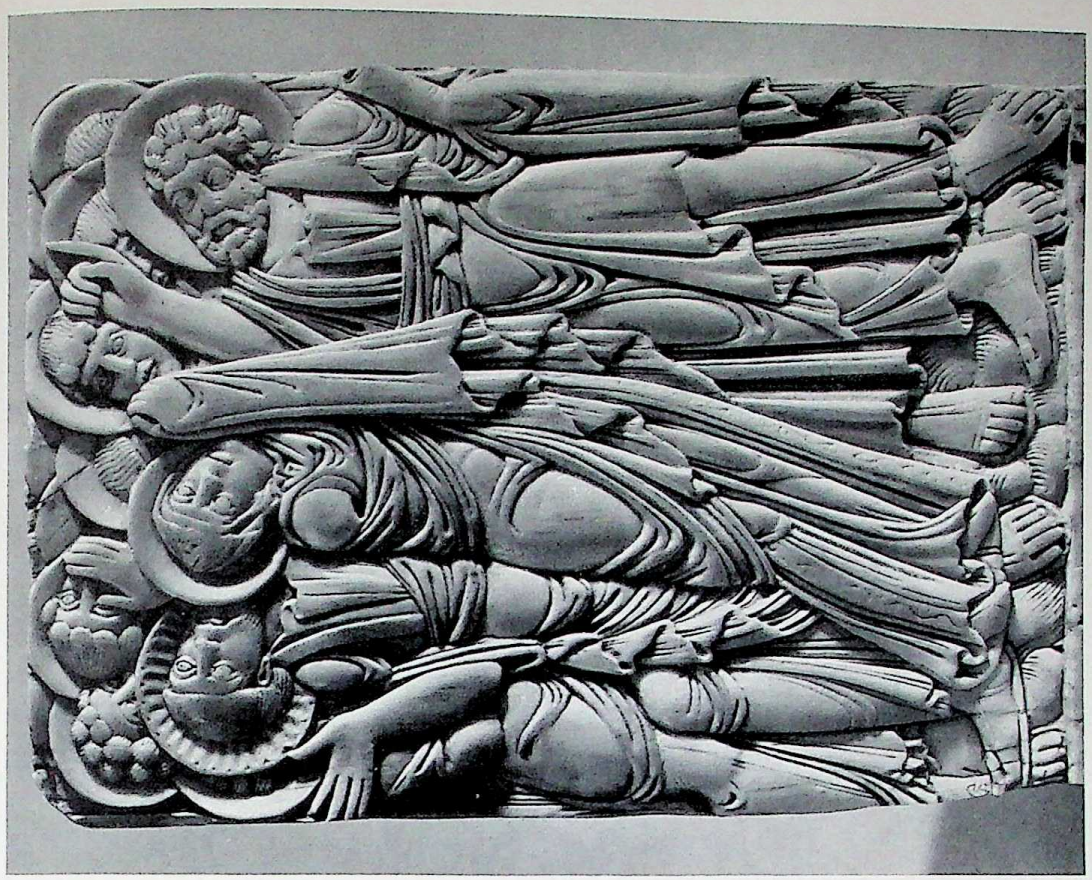

Pl. 373. *Left:* Visitation, detail of the Altar of Ratchis, 744–49. Marble. Cividale del Friuli, Italy, Cathedral. *Right:* Ascension, Carolingian fragment (diptych?) of the Ada Group, probably Rhine-Meuse region, 10th cent. Ivory, 5 1/2 × 3 3/8 in. Darmstadt, Germany, Landesmuseum.

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Pl. 374. St. Peter admitting souls to Heaven, detail of Last Judgment, signed by the sculptor Gislebertus, ca. 1132. Stone. Autun, Cathedral of St-Lazare, tympanum of west door.

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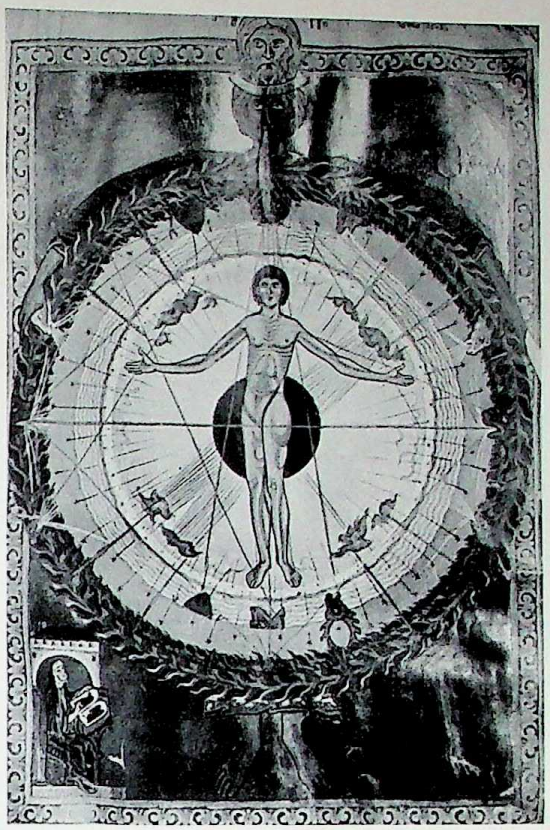

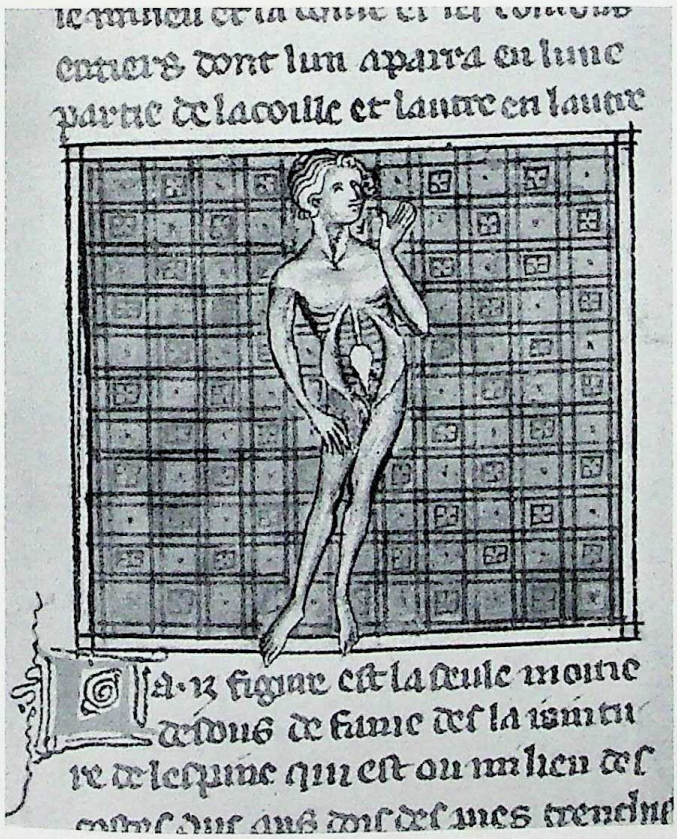

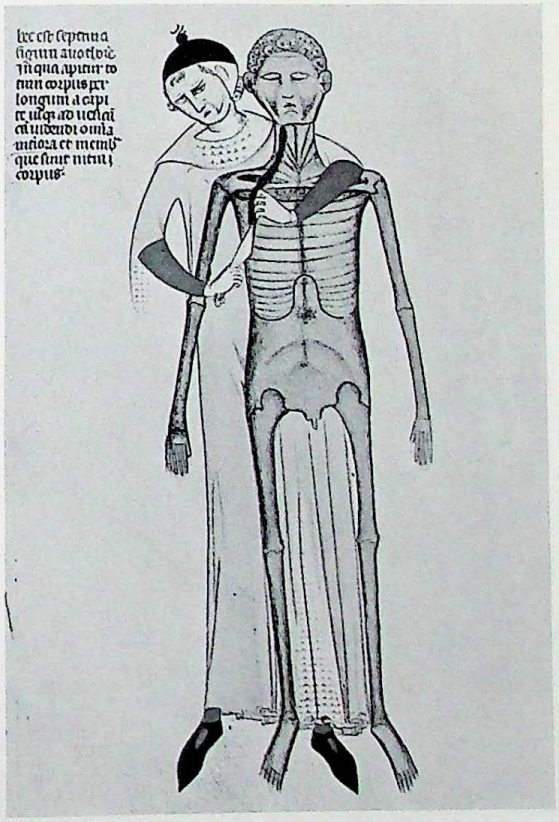

Pl. 375. *Above, left*: The Original Sin, detail from wall paintings of the Church of the Holy Cross, Maderuelo, Segovia, Spain, ca. 1125. Madrid, Prado. *Right*: Man at the center of the universe, from St. Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber divinorum operum*, ca. 1125. Madrid, Prado. *Right*: Man at the center of the universe, from St. Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber divinorum operum*, ca. 1125. Illumination. Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa (Ms. 1942, fol. 9r). *Below, left*: Male figure, middle Rhine region, 13th cent. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. fr. 2030, in an anatomical manuscript of Henri de Mondeville, 1314. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. fr. 2030, fol. 29). *Right*: Medical professor dissecting a cadaver, from Guido da Vigevano, *Liber notabilium* . . . , 1345. Illumination. Chantilly, Musée Condé (Ms. 334, 7th fig.).

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Pl. 376. The Virtues trampling the Vices, 14th cent. Stone. Strasbourg, Cathedral, north (left) portal of the façade.

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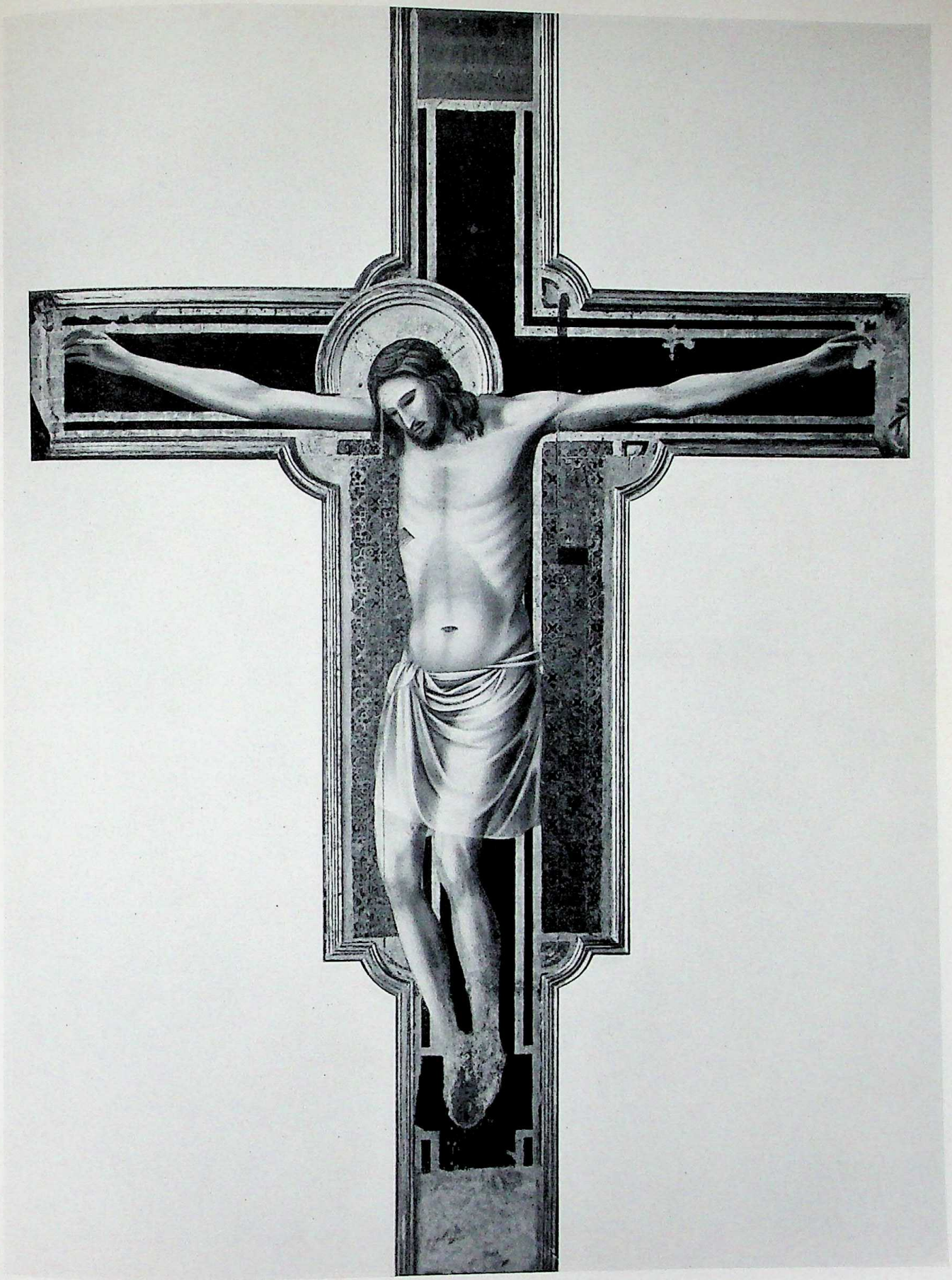

Pl. 377. Crucifix attributed to Giotto, second decade of 14th cent. Panel, ca. 14×10 ft. Rimini, Italy, Tempio Malatestiano.

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Pl. 378. J. van Eyck, The Madonna with Chancellor Rolin, detail of the donor, ca. 1435. Panel; full size, 26×24 3/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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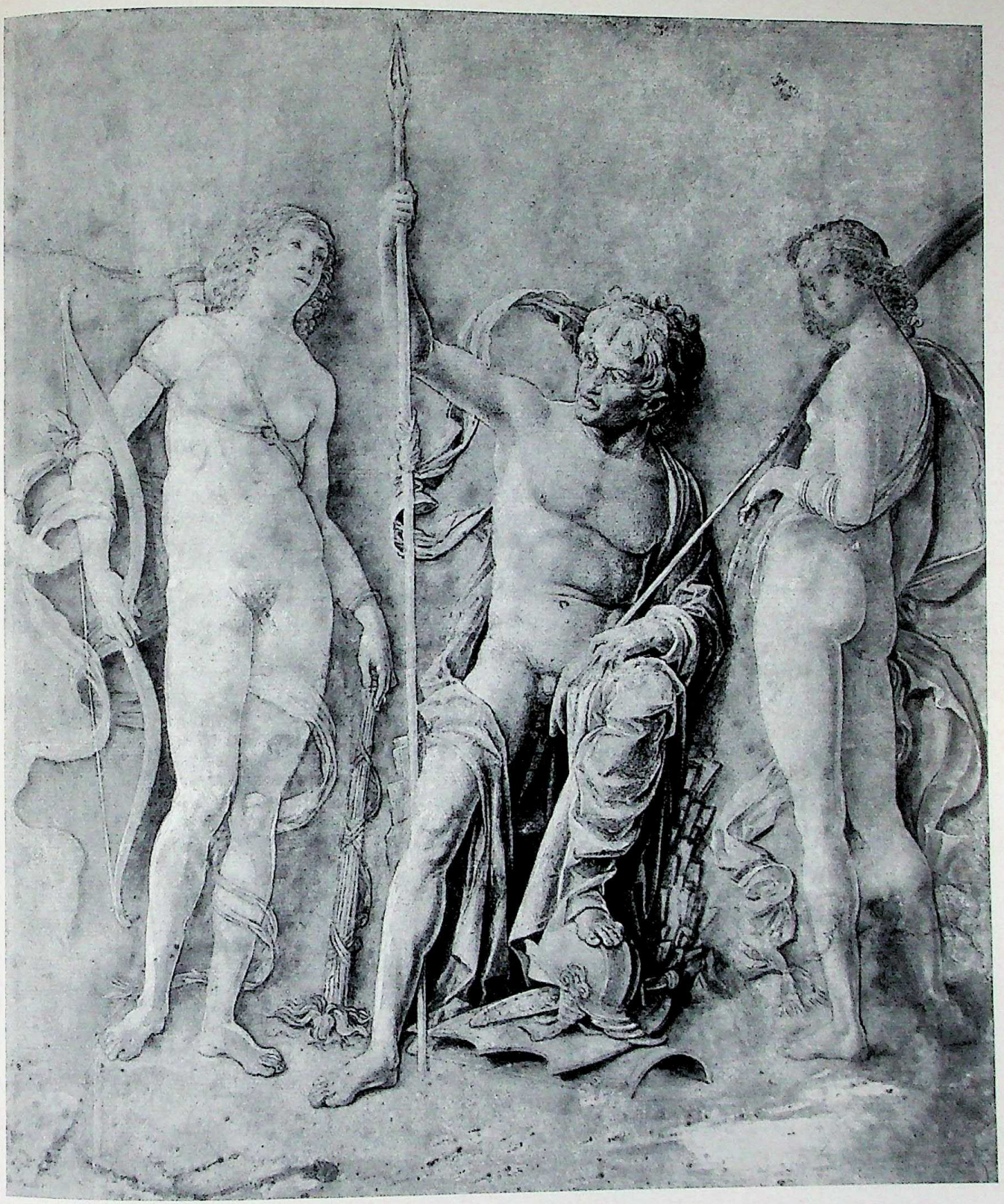

Pl. 379. A. Mantegna, Mars, Venus (?), and Diana, late 15th cent. Pen, brown ink and wash, touches of white and color, 14¾×12½ in. London, British Museum.

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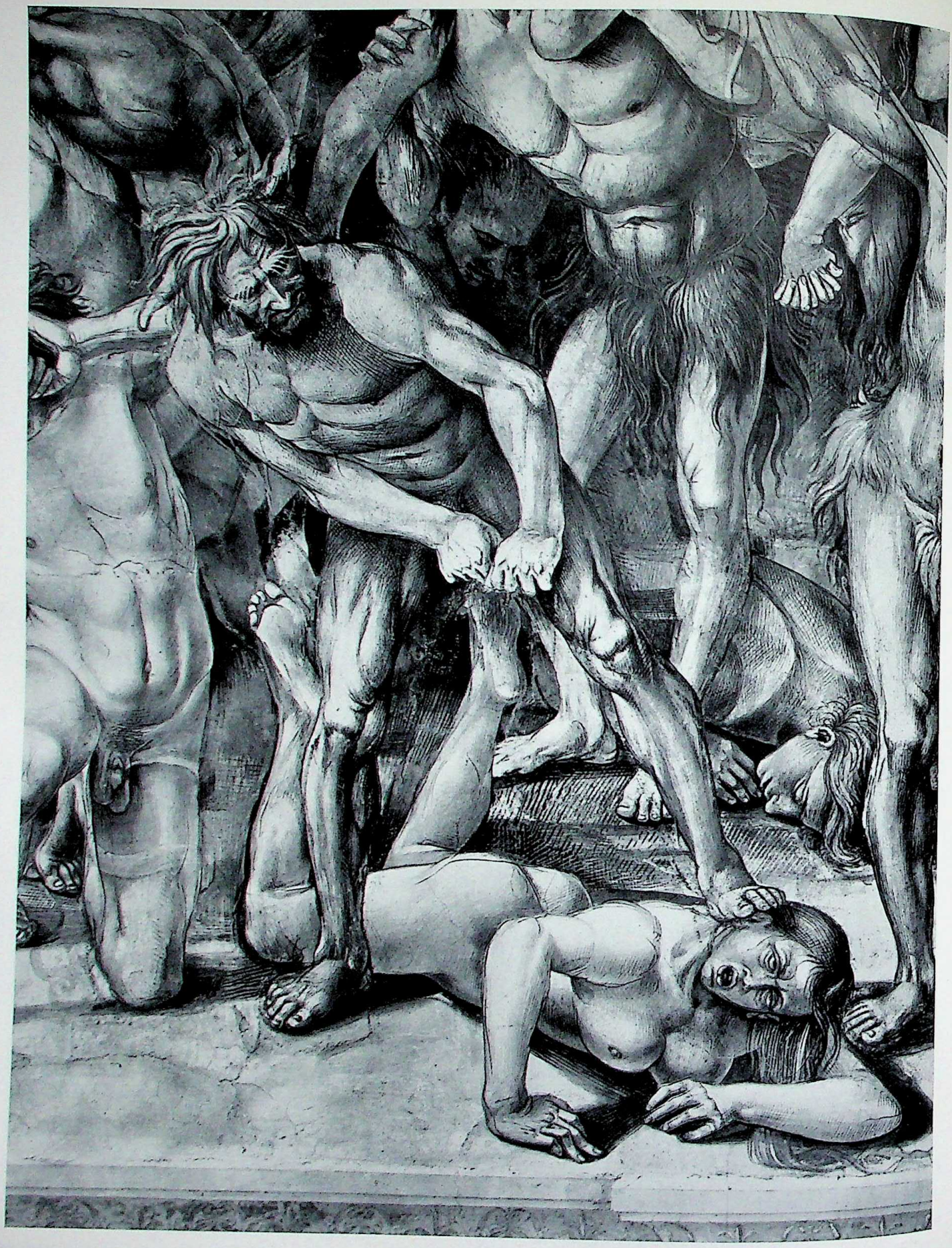

Pl. 380. L. Signorelli, The Damned, detail, 1500–04. Fresco. Orvieto, Italy, Cathedral.

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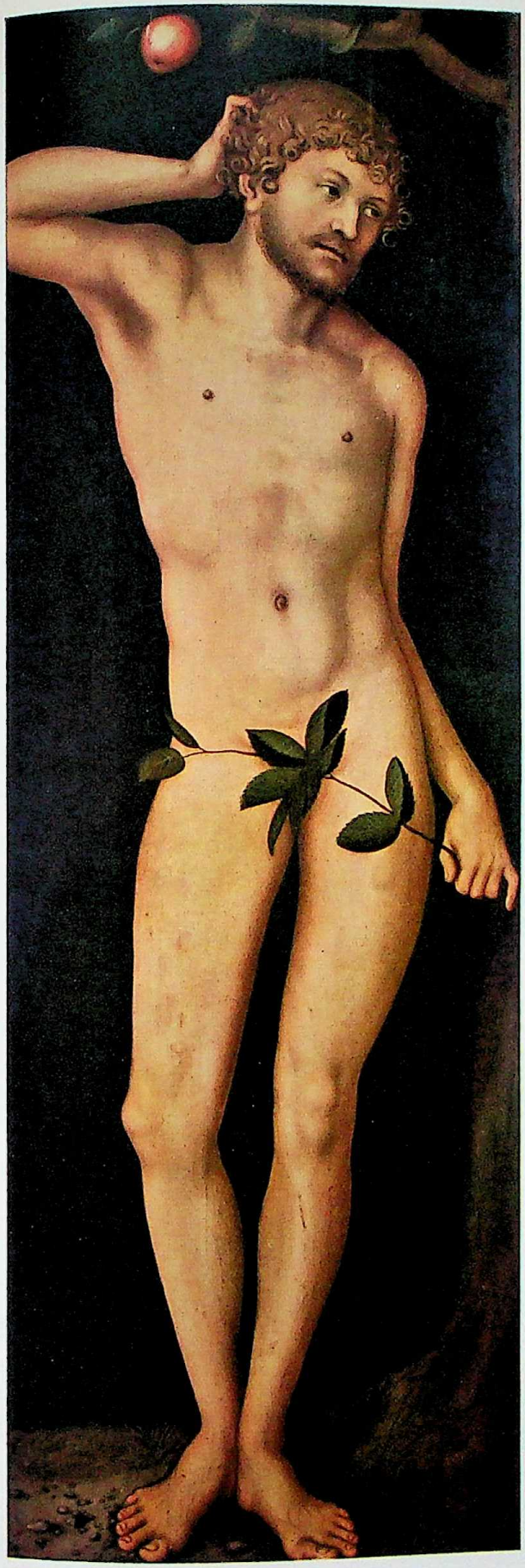

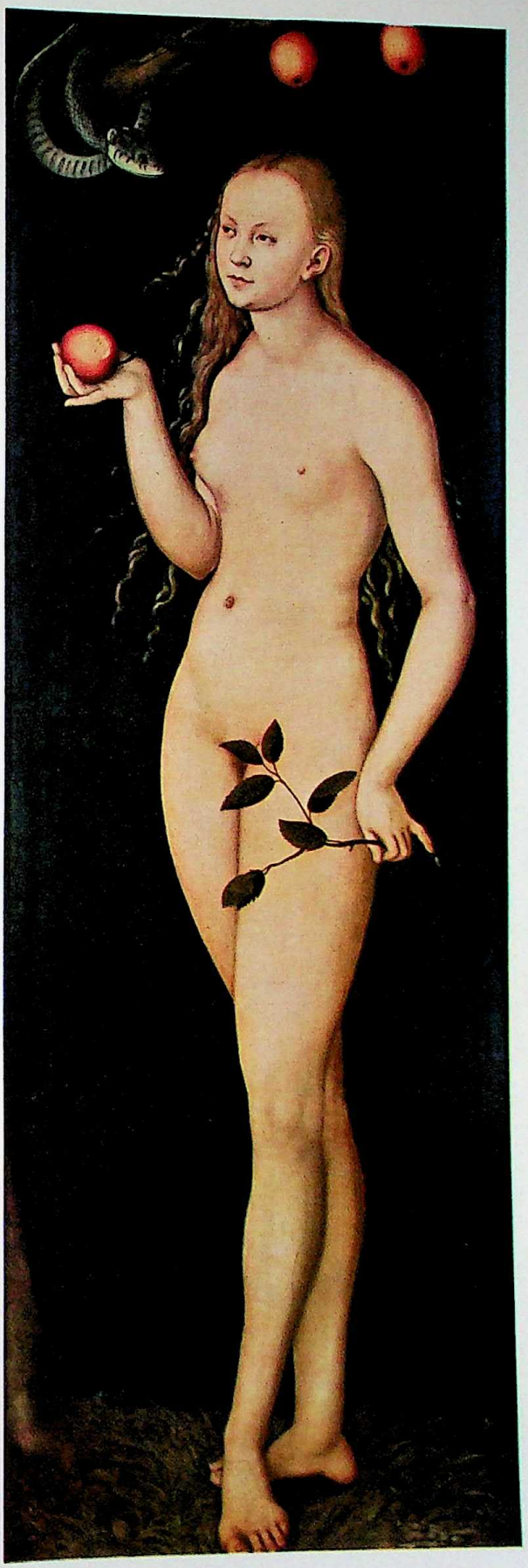

Pl. 381. L. Cranach the Elder, Adam and Eve, 1528. Panel; each, ca. 5 ft., 7 in. × 2 ft. Florence, Uffizi.

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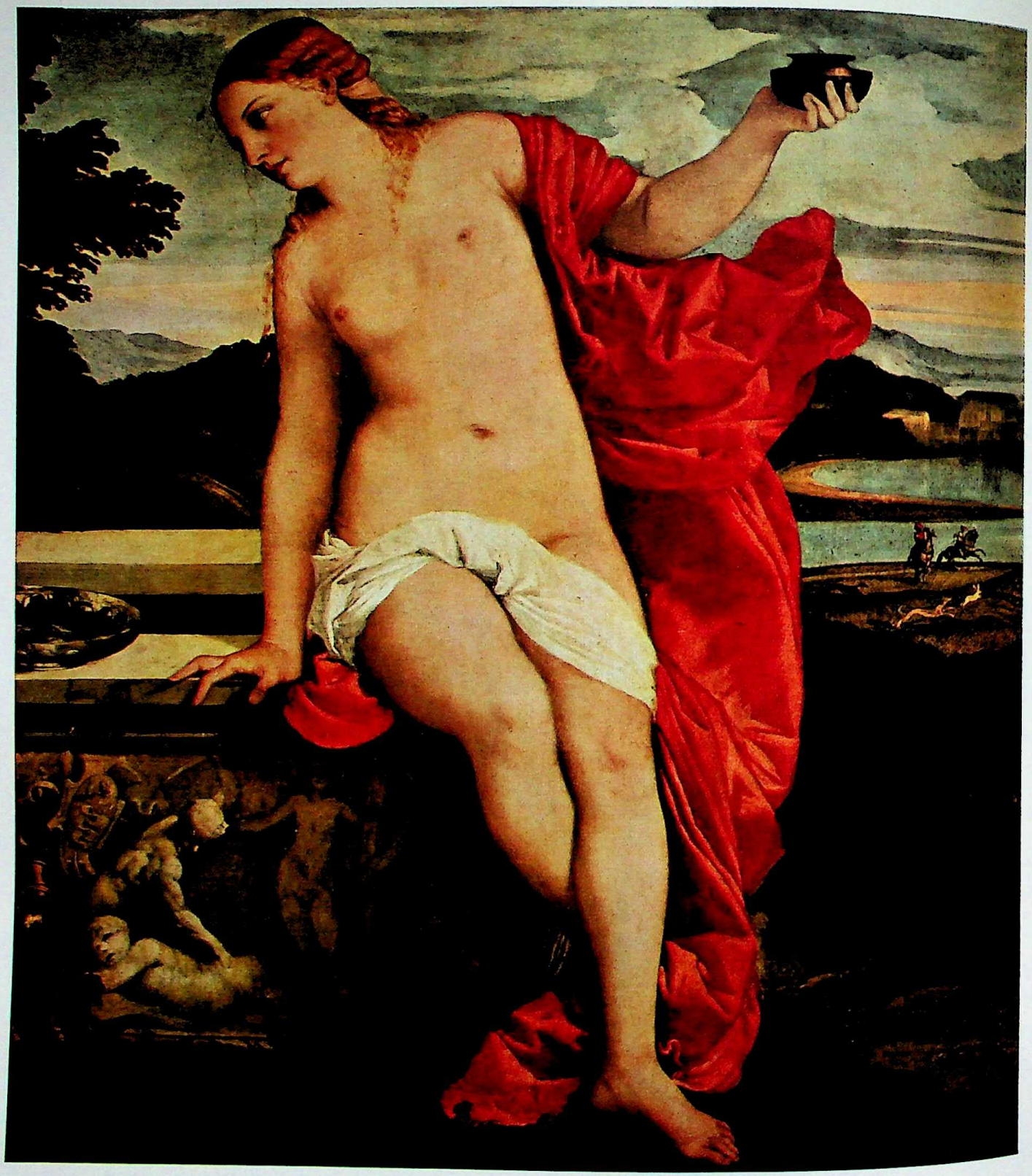

Pl. 382. Titian, Sacred and Profane Love, detail, ca. 1512. Canvas; full size, 3 ft., 10½ in. × 9 ft., 2 in. Rome, Galleria Borghese.

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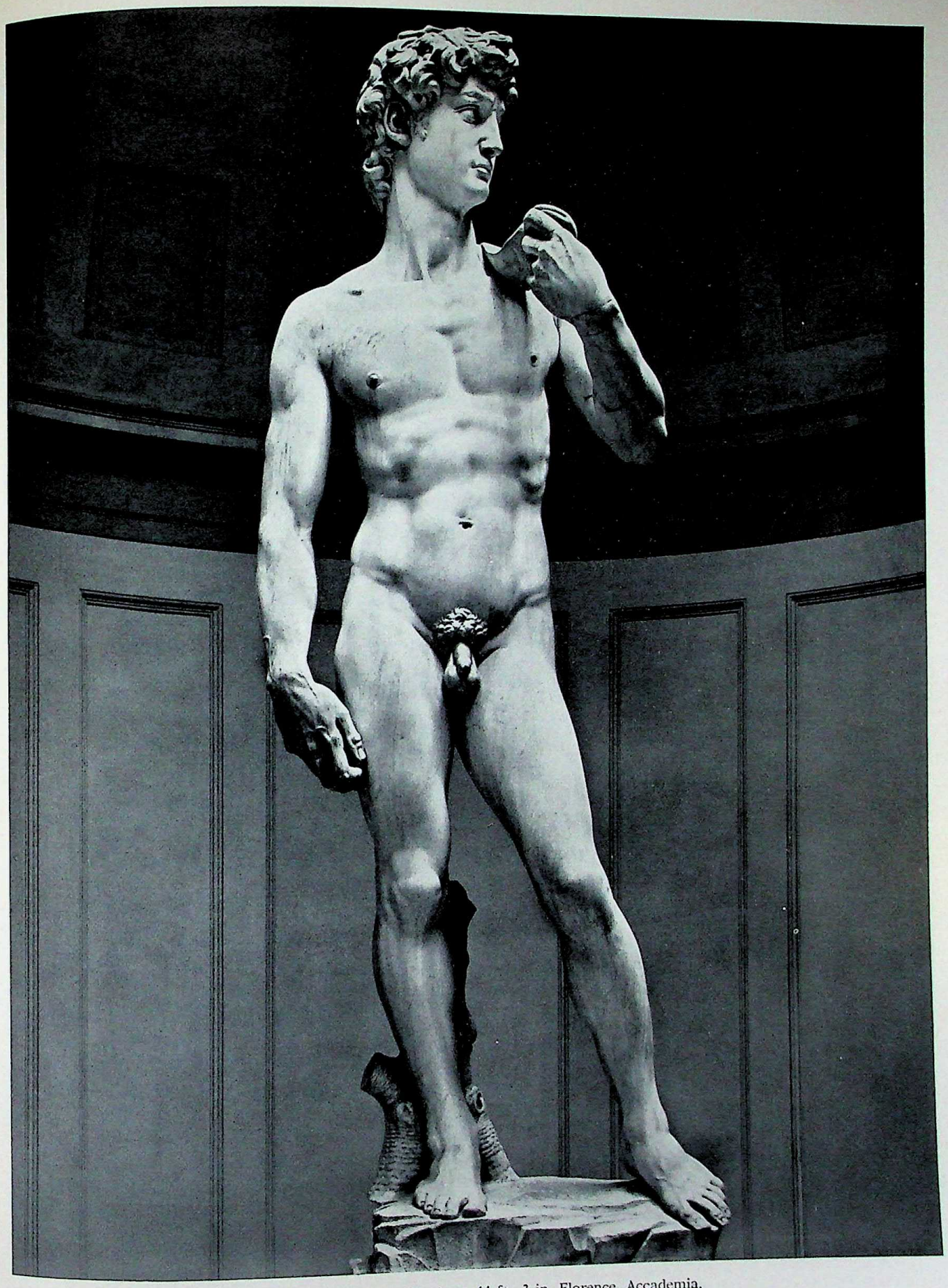

Pl. 383. Michelangelo, David, 1501–04. Marble; ht., including base, 14 ft., 3 in. Florence, Accademia.

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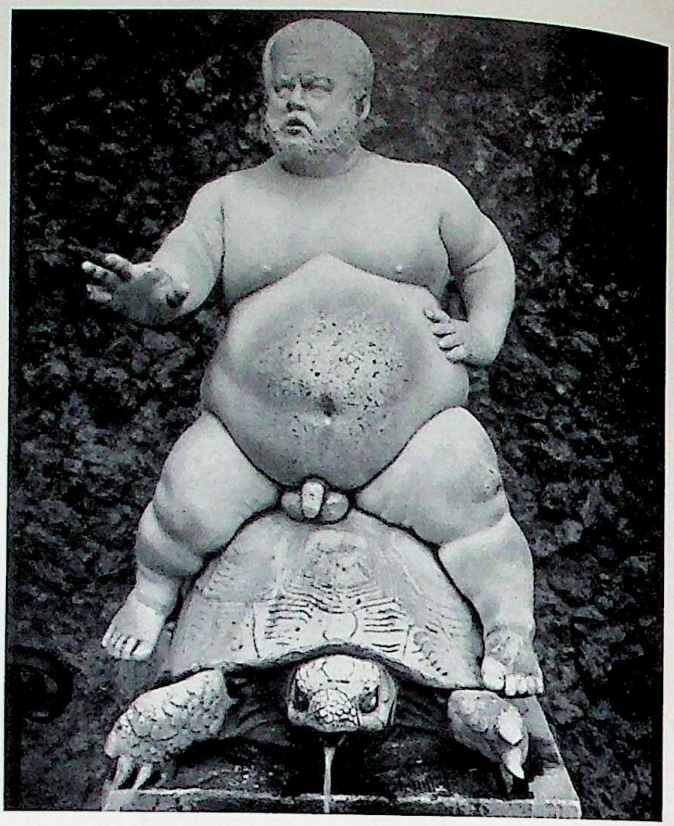

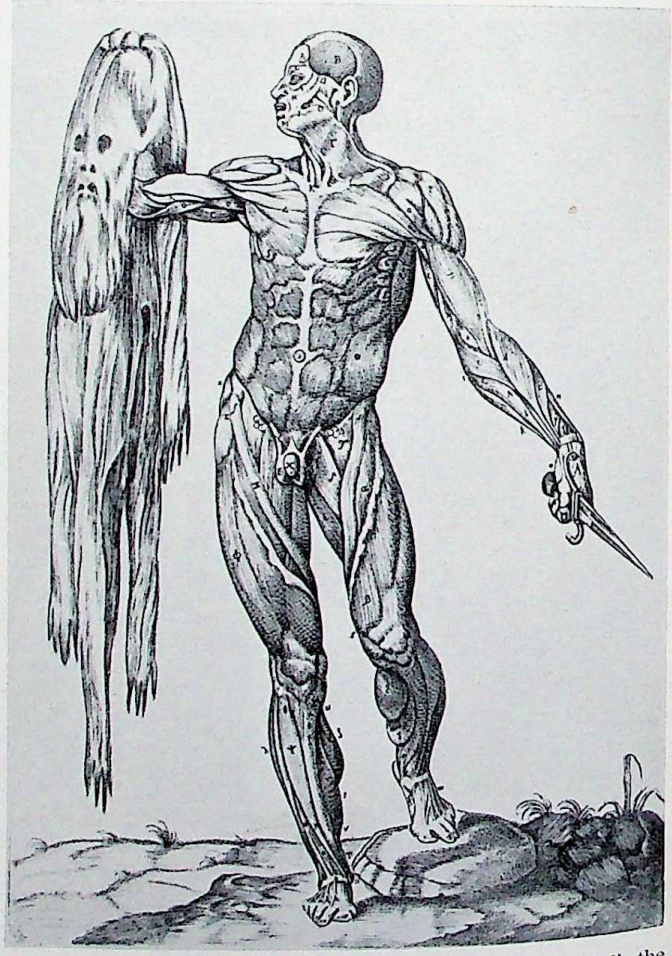

Pl. 384. *Above, left*: D. Hopfer, folk-tale characters, the fool Marcolfus and Bolicana, ca. 1520. Etching, 9×9½ in. *Right*: V. Cioli, the dwarf P. Barbino, erected 1599. Marble. Florence, Boboli Gardens. *Below, left*: L. Cigoli, anatomical figure, late 16th cent. Bronze, ht., 25⅝ in. Florence, Museo Nazionale. *Right*: *Écorché* for the use of artists, after a drawing by G. Becerra (1520–70) for J. de Valverde, *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* (adaptation of Vesalius), Rome, 1556. Engraving.

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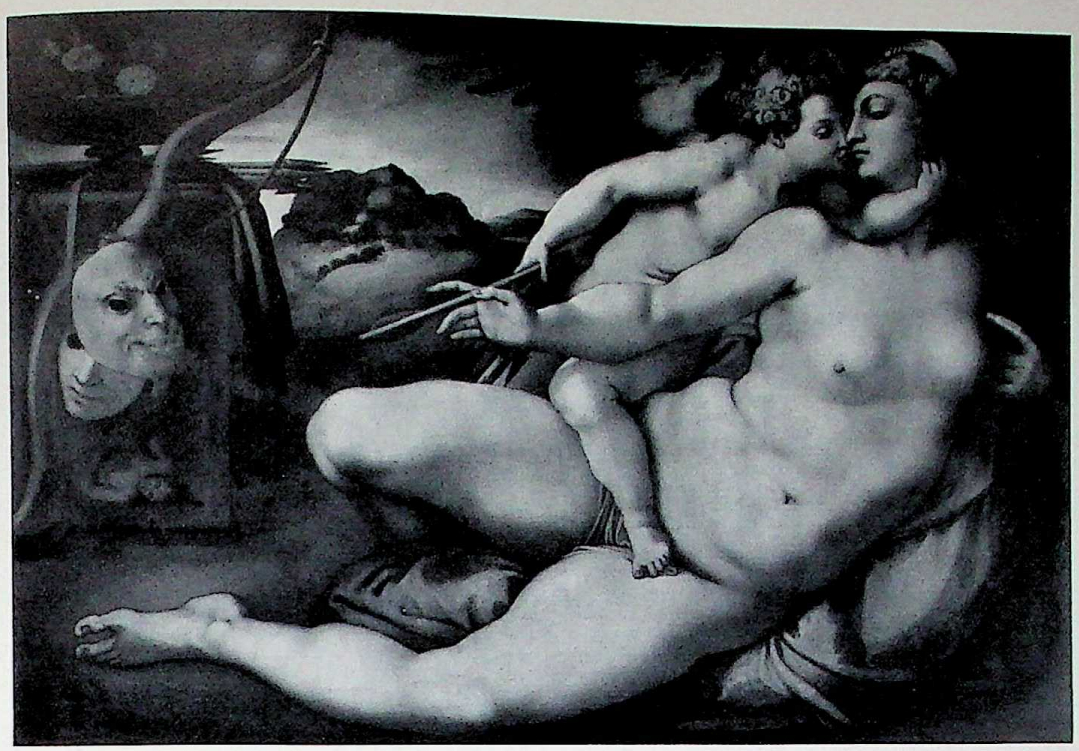

Pl. 385. *Above*: Pontormo (?), Venus and Cupid, 1533–34 (?), after a cartoon of Michelangelo. Panel, 4 ft., 2 3/8 in. × 6 ft., 5 1/2 in. Florence, Uffizi. *Below*: El Greco, The Vision of St. John the Divine, detail, ca. 1608. Canvas; full ht., 7 ft., 3 1/2 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

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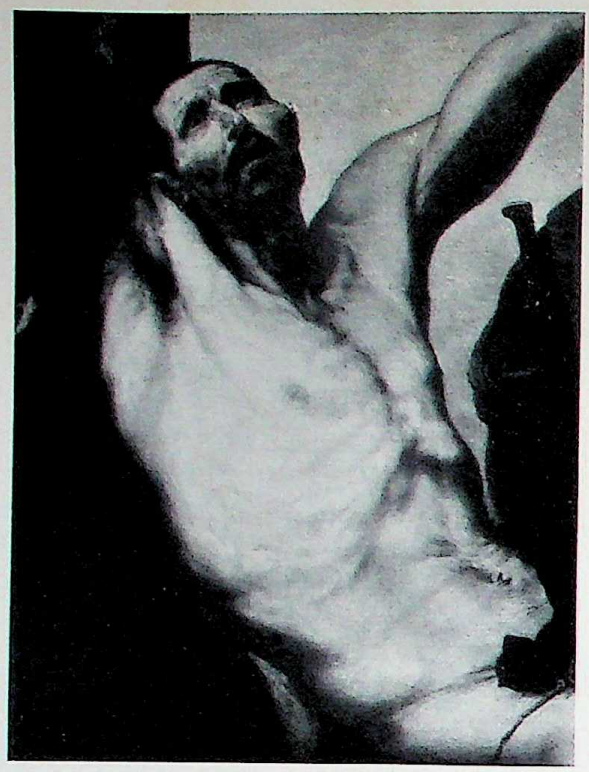

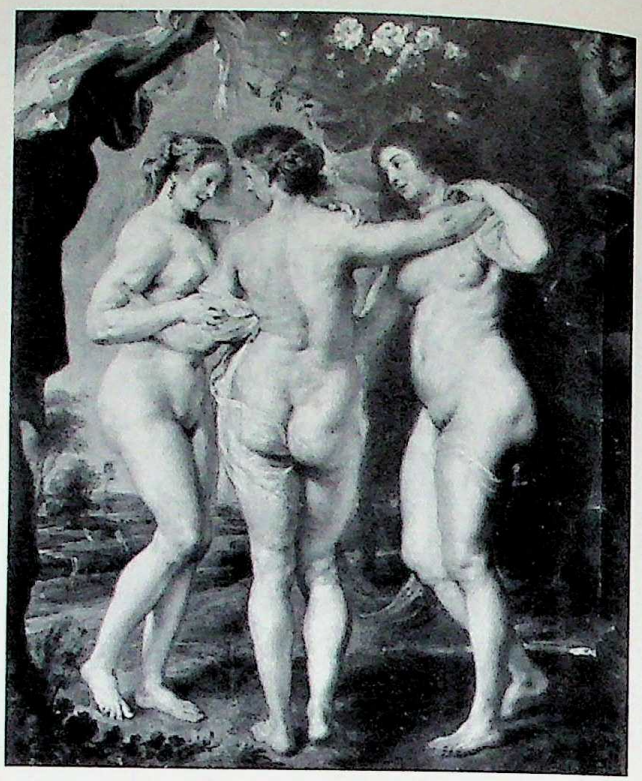

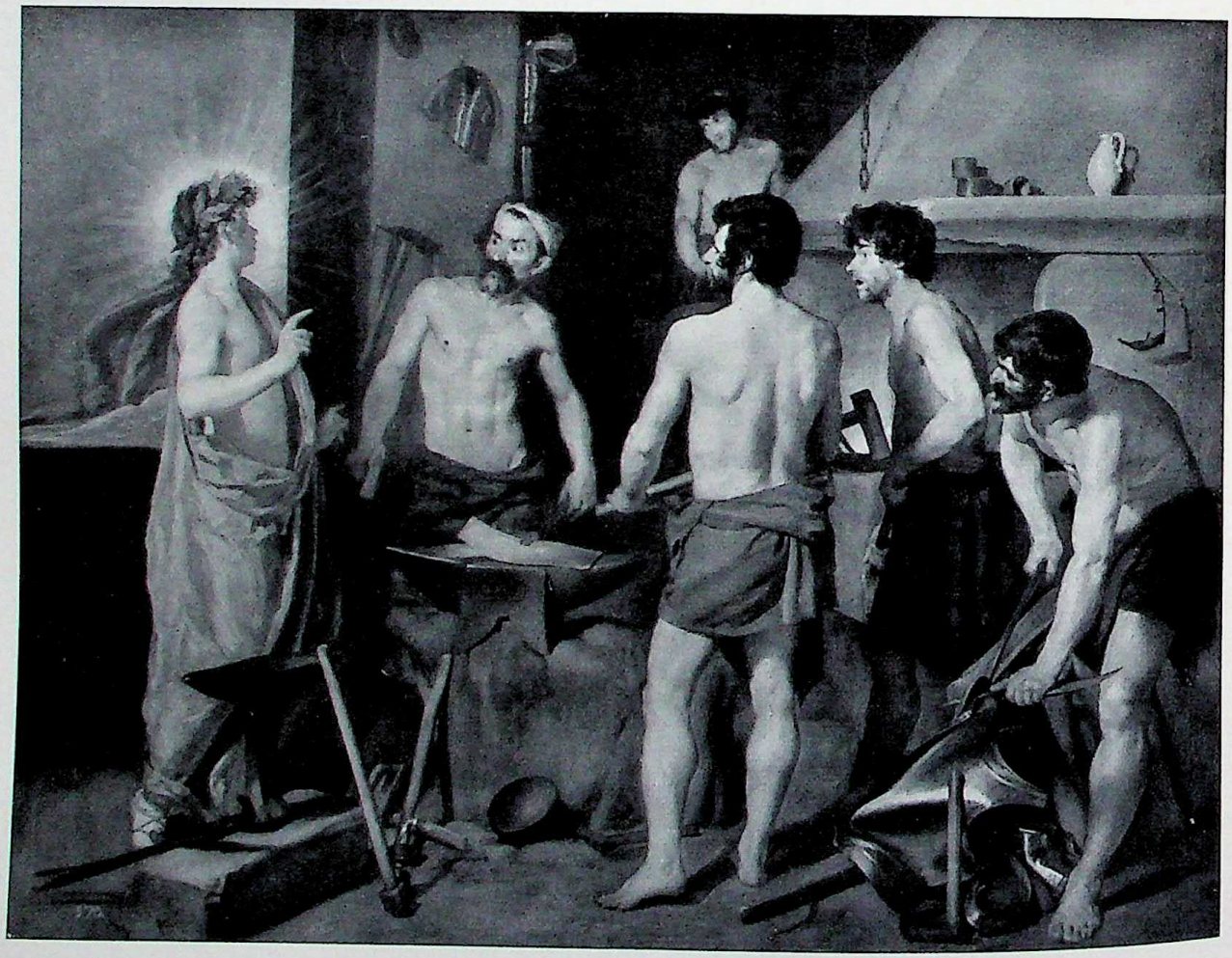

Pl. 386. *Above, left*: J. de Ribera, detail of The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew (II, PL. 192), 1630 (?). Canvas; full size, 2 ft., 9½ in. × 3 ft., 5⅜ in. *Right*: P. P. Rubens, The Three Graces, ca. 1639. Canvas, 7 ft., 3 in. × 5 ft., 11¼ in. *Below*: D. Velázquez, The Forge of Vulcan, 1630. Canvas, 7 ft., 3¾ in. × 9 ft., 6⅛ in. All, Madrid, Prado.

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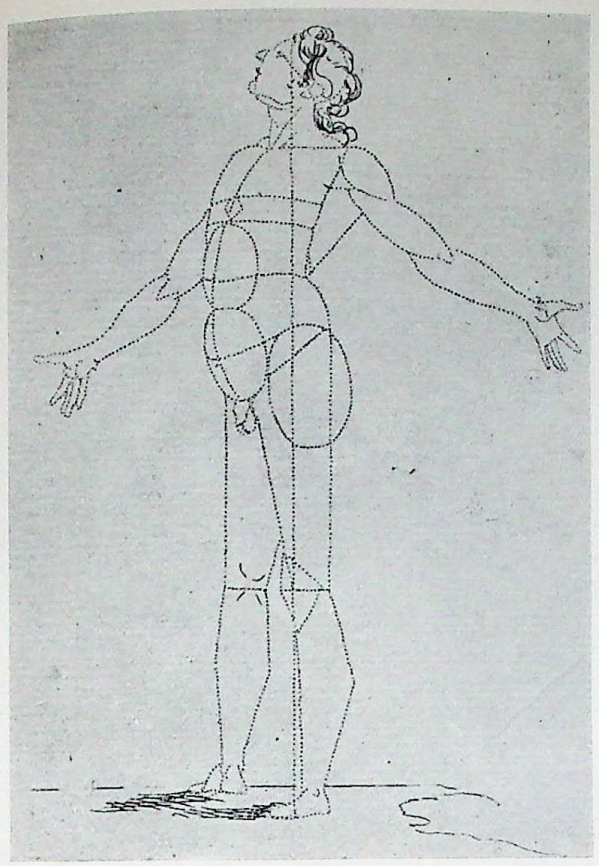

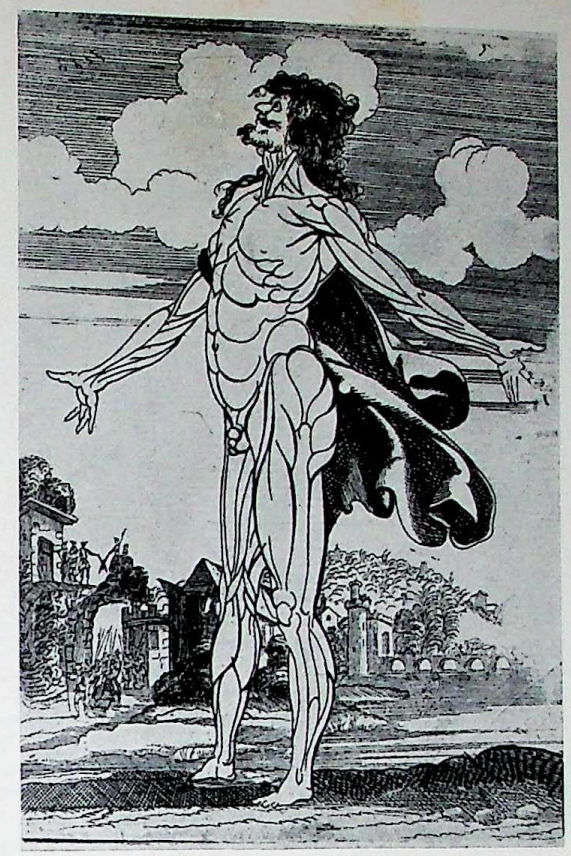

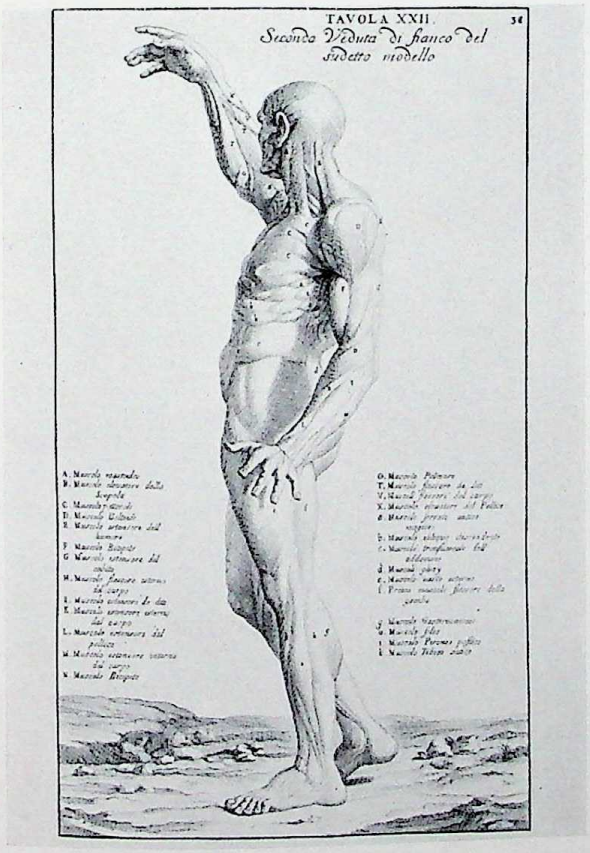


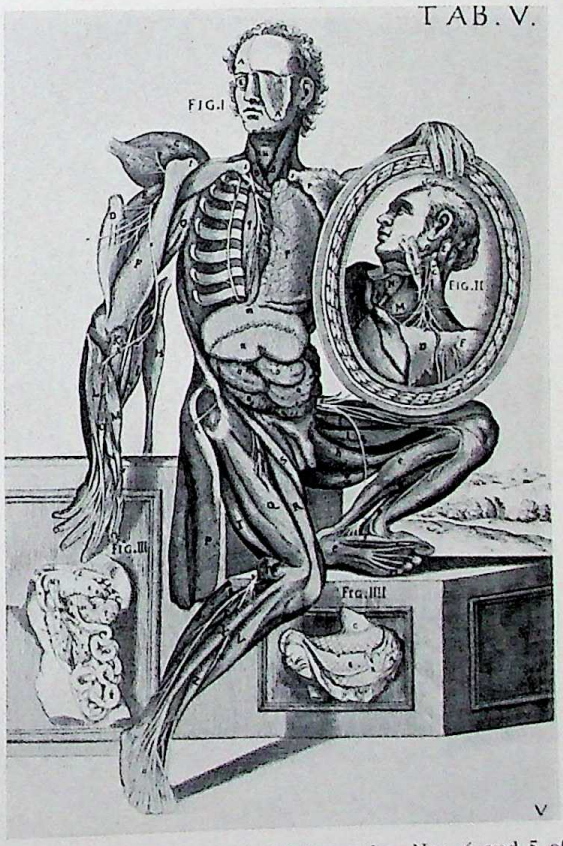


Pl. 387. *Above*: Studies of the human figure, showing (*left*) geometric proportion and (*right*) muscles, Nos. 6 and 5 of a series bound as *Studi di figura umana*, 1635. Etching. Rome, Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Library. *Below, left*: Side view of model, showing muscles, Plate XXII of B. Genga, *Anatomia per uso et intelligenza del disegno . . .*, Rome, 1691. Copperplate engraving. *Right*: Anatomical figure, after a drawing attributed to Pietro da Cortona, engraved by L. Ciamberlano in 1618, from *Tabulae anatomicae*, Rome, 1741.

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Pl. 388. F. Boucher, Sleeping Diana, before 1735. Sanguine and chalk on gray paper, 9 1/8 × 15 in. Paris, École des Beaux-Arts.

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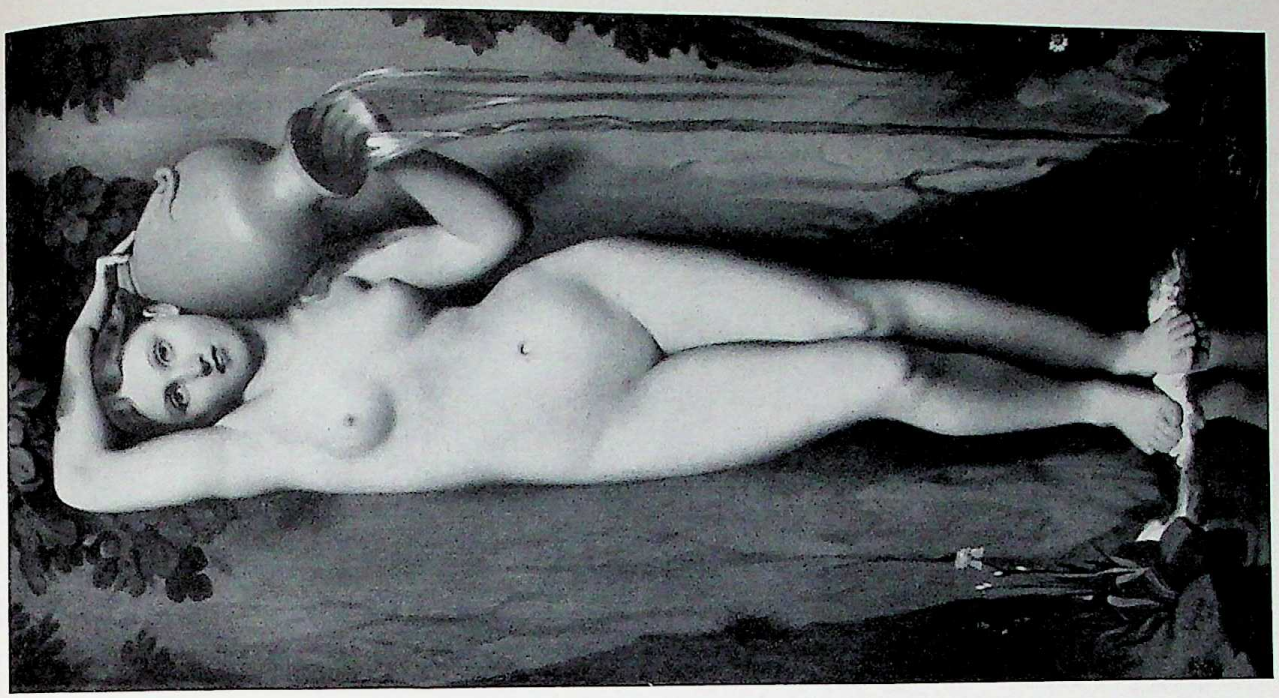

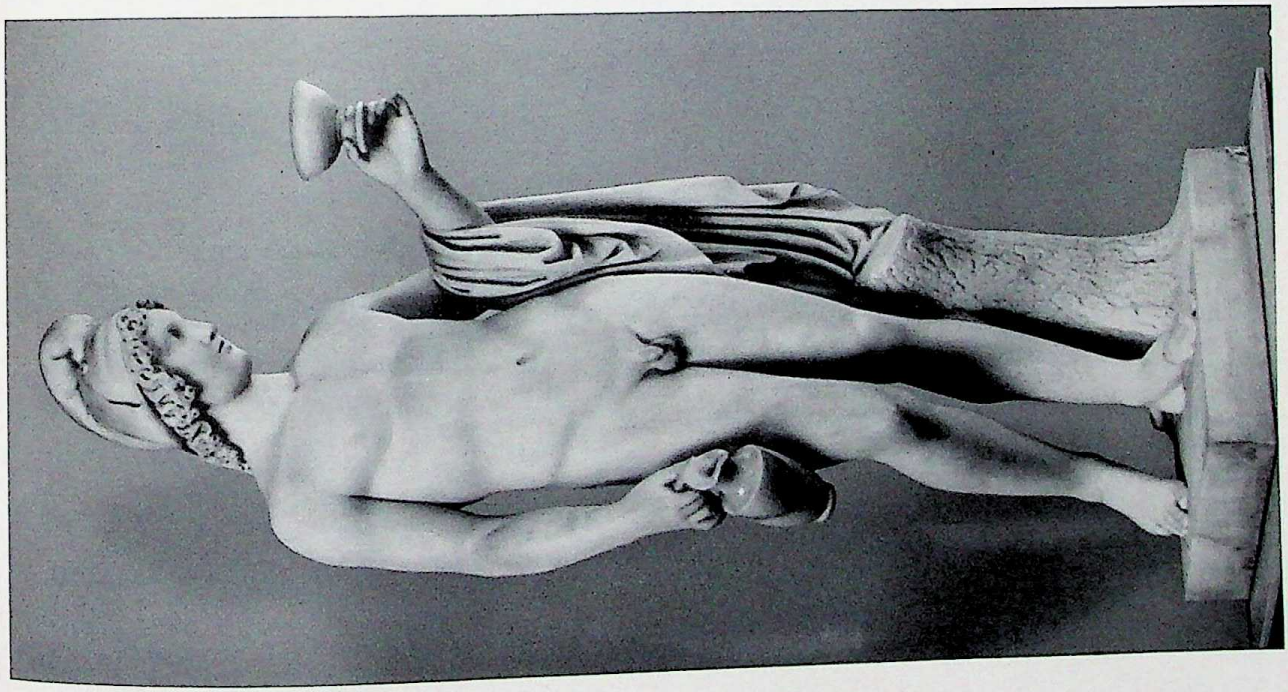

Pl. 389. *Left*: B. Thorvaldsen, Ganymede, modeled 1804. Marble, ht., 4 ft., 5 1/8 in. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum. *Right*: J. A. D. Ingres, La Source, 1856. Canvas, 5 ft., 5 in. × 2 ft., 7 1/2 in. Paris, Louvre.

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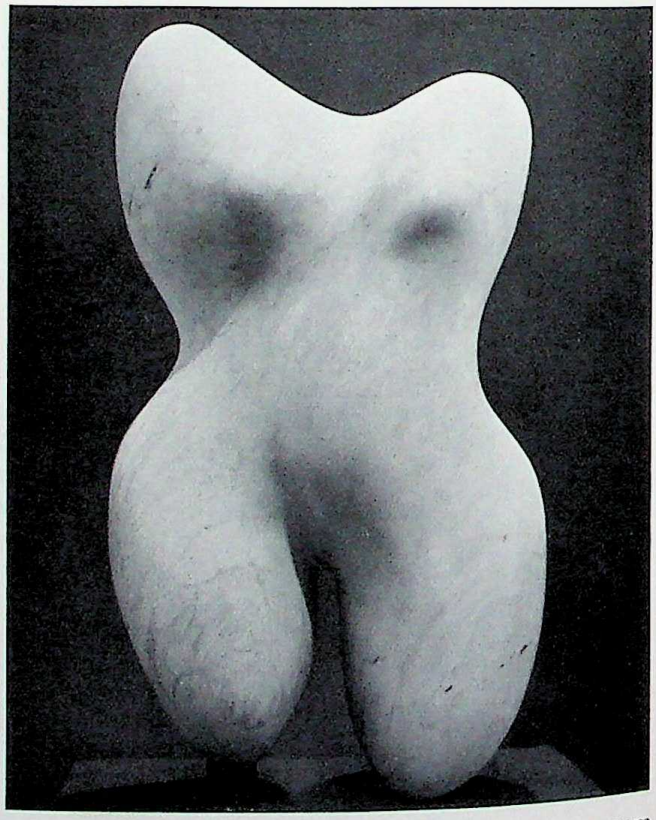

Pl. 390. *Above, left*: E. Degas, Jeune Femme à sa toilette, ca. 1874. Tempera on paper, $18^1/_2 \times 11^3/_4$ in. Basel, Kunstmuseum. *Right*: H. Matisse, seated nude, 1929. Drypoint. *Below, left*: O. Mueller, Self-portrait with Nude, 1920. Tempera on canvas, $37^3/_4 \times 23^1/_2$ in. Cologne, Germany, Galerie Ferdinand Moller. *Right*: A. Viani, Torso, 1945. Marble, ht., 38 in. New York, Museum of Modern Art.

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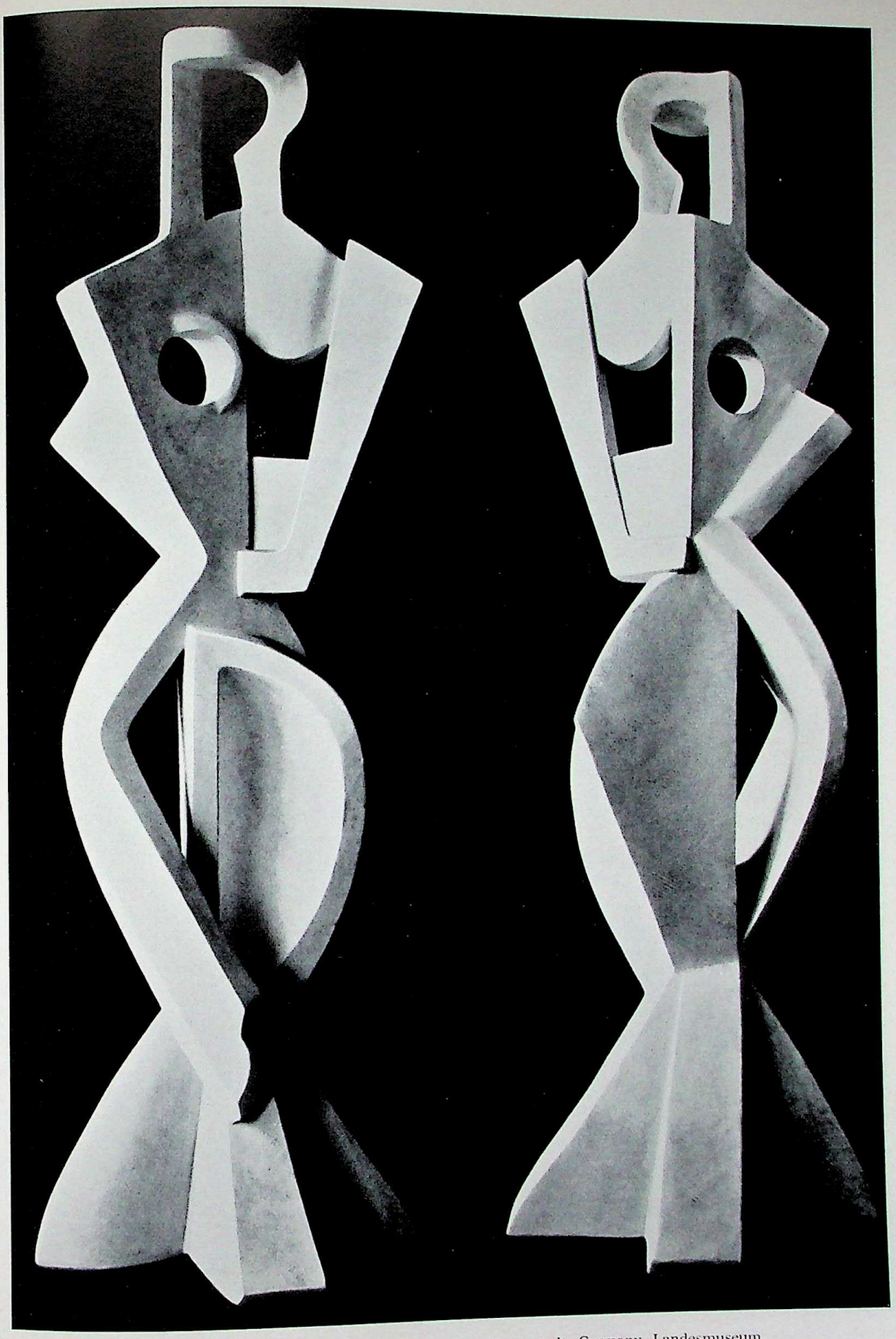

Pl. 391. A. Archipenko, Standing Figure, two views, 1920. Stone. Darmstadt, Germany, Landesmuseum.

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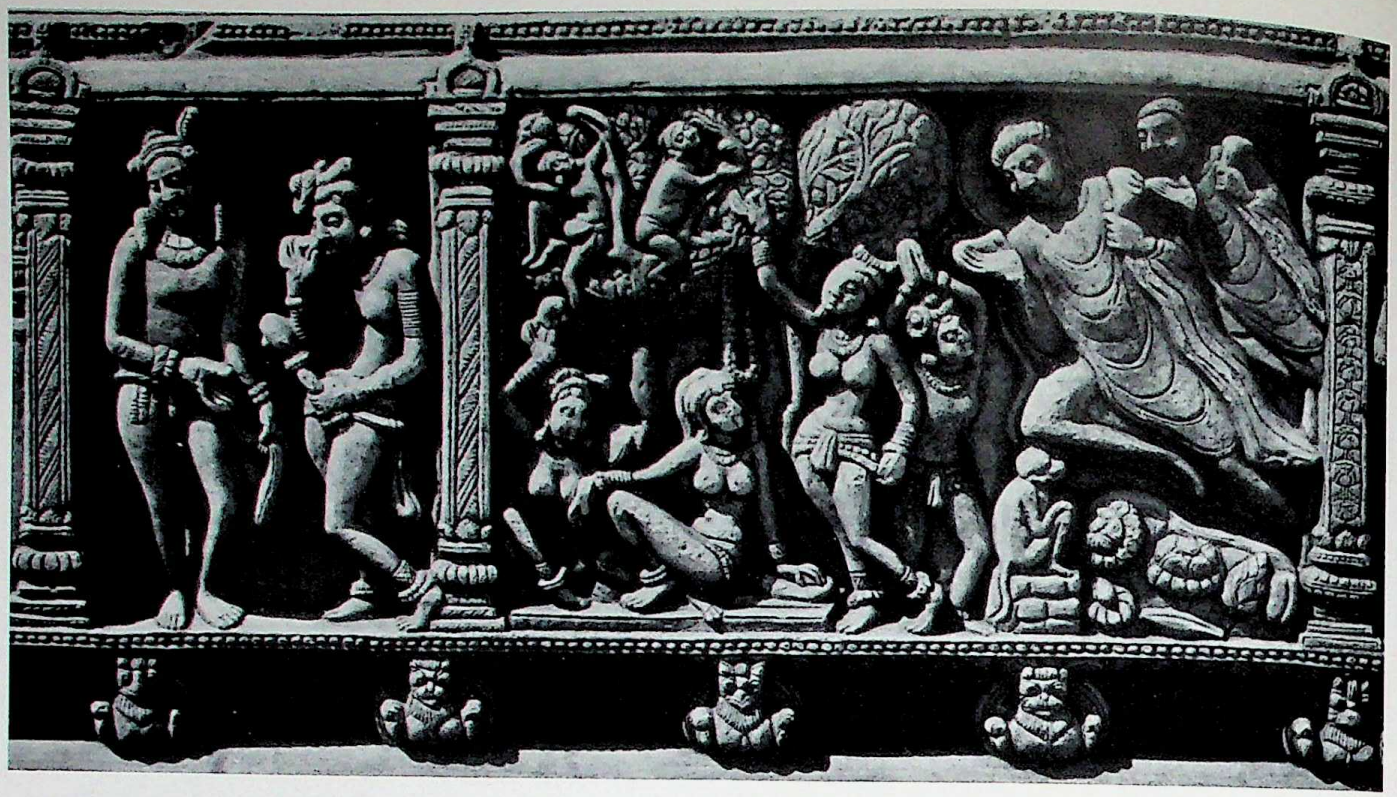

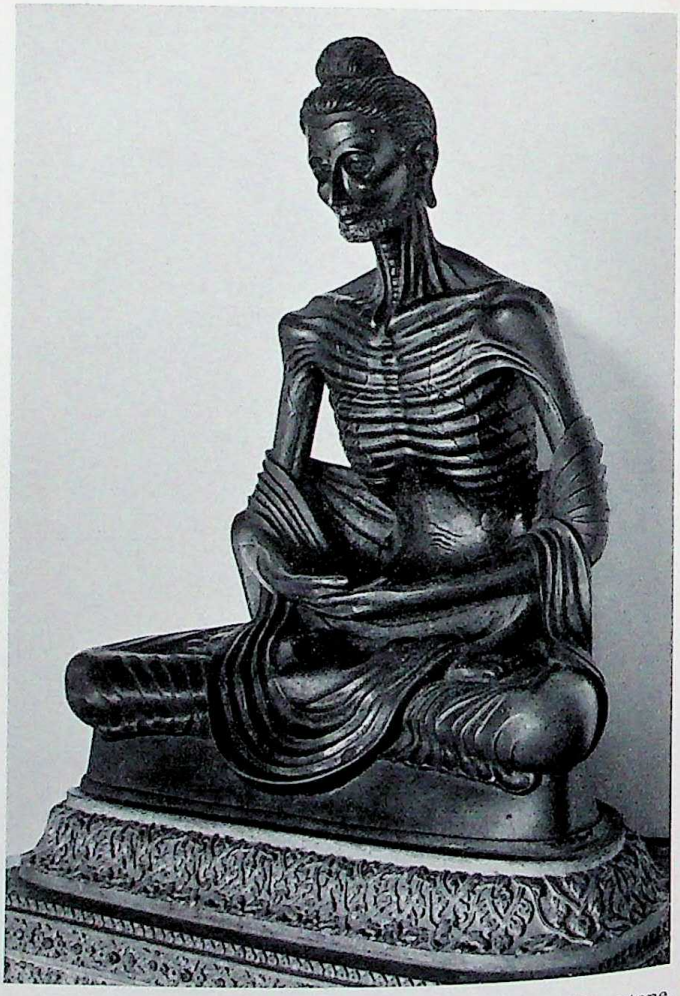

Pl. 392. *Above*: The conversion of Nanda, detail of cornice beam, Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh, India, ca. 3d cent. Limestone. Madras, Government Museum. *Below, left*: Kubera, god of wealth, Ramnagar (anc. Ahichchhatra), Uttar Pradesh, India, 2d cent. Mathura, Archaeological Museum. *Right*: Fasting Buddha, from a Gandhara prototype, 19th cent. (?). Bronze. Bangkok, Wat Benchamabopit.

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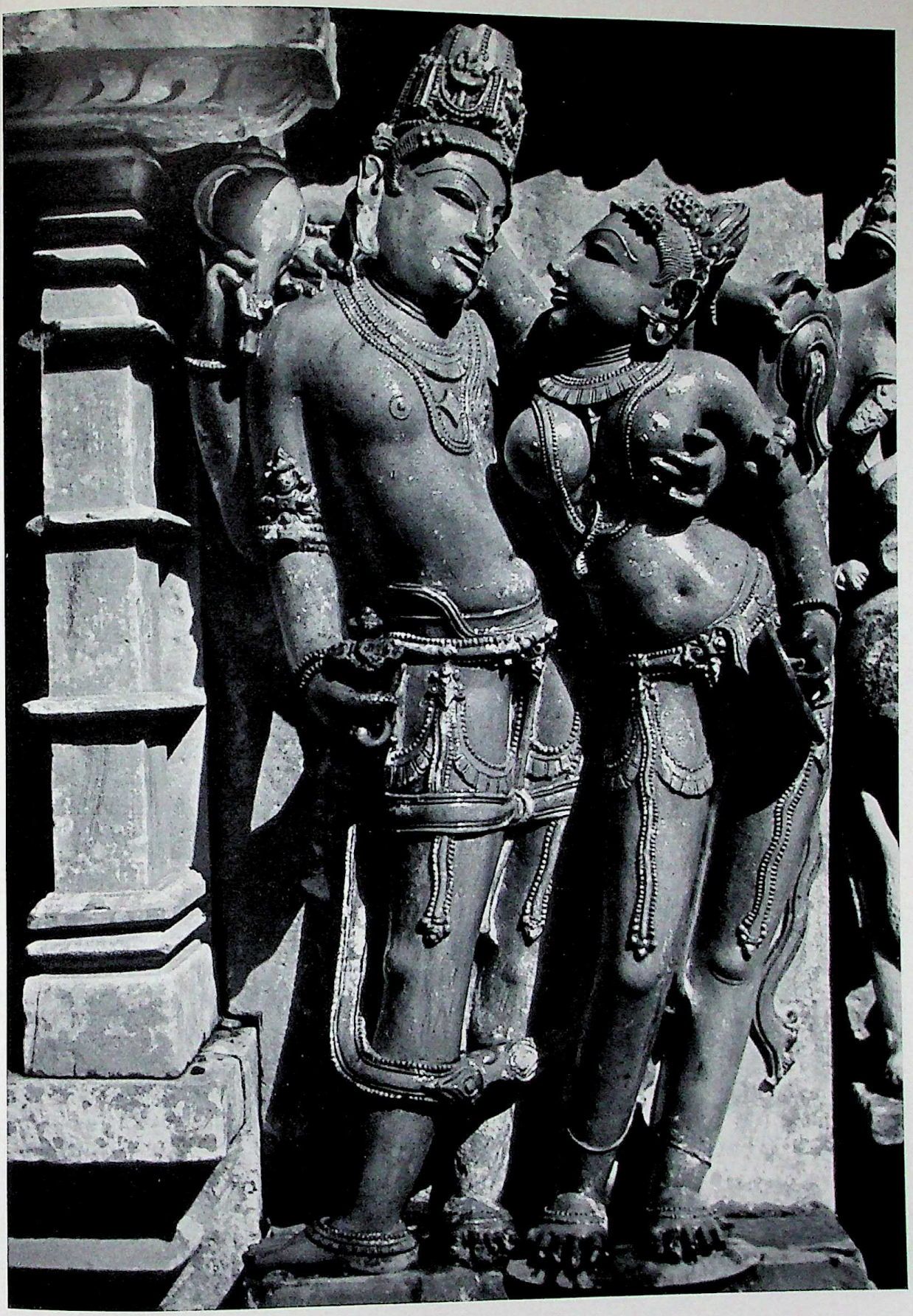

Pl. 393. *Mithuna* couple, detail of exterior decoration, Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, India, ca. 11th cent. Stone, ht., ca. 3 ft.

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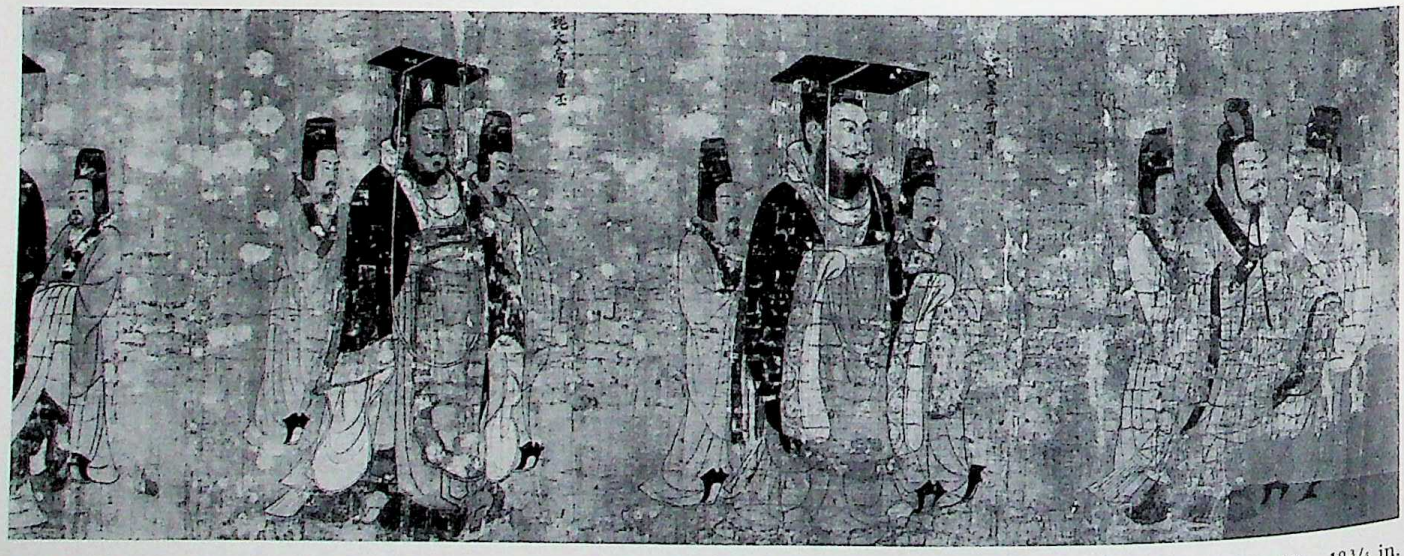

Pl. 394. *Above*: Chinese tomb figures, dancers. Clay. *Left*: From Hsin-tsao-hsiang, Szechwan, Han dynasty (206 B.C.–221). Ht., 18 3/4 in. *Right*: From Niu-shou-shan, near Nanking, Kiangsu, T'ang dynasty (618–906). Ht., 18 1/8 in. Both, property of the Chinese Government. *Below*: Imperial portraits, detail of the Scroll of the Emperors, attributed to Yen Li-pên (active ca. 630–70), in part a copy of 10th–11th cent. Ink and color on silk; ht., 20 1/8 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

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Pl. 395. Kuan-hsiu, lohan, from the series, Sixteen Lohans, 9th cent. Ink and color on silk, $36^{1}/_{8} \times 17^{3}/_{4}$ in. Tokyo, Imperial Coll.

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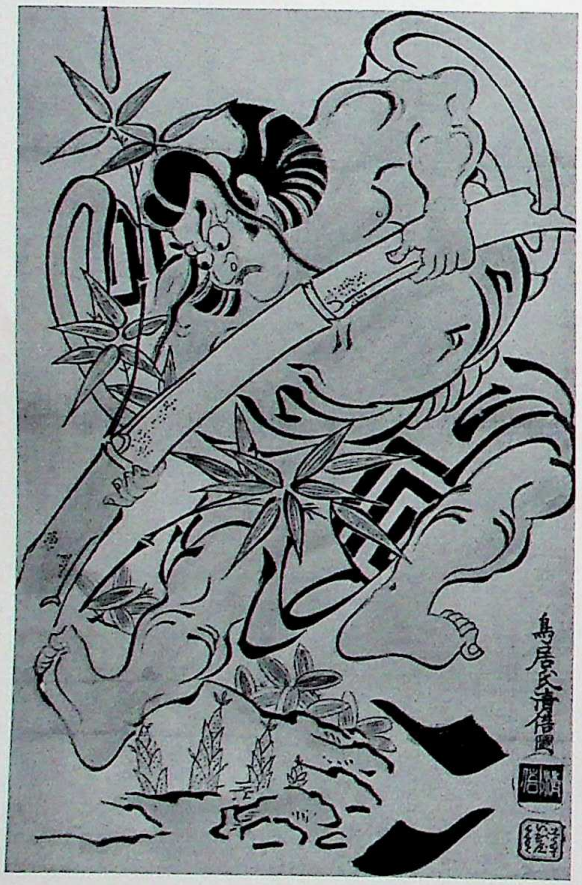

Pl. 396. *Above, left*: The Healing Buddha (Yakushi Nyorai), Japan, Asuka period. Gilded bronze, ht., 16 7/8 in. Tokyo, National Museum. *Right*: Jōkei, statue of celestial guardian, late 12th cent. Wood. Nara, Kōfukuji. *Below, left*: Torii Kiyomasu, man breaking a bamboo, 18th cent. Woodprint. *Right*: Kaigetsudō Ando, hanging scroll called "A Beauty," early 18th cent. Color on paper. Last two, Tokyo, National Museum.

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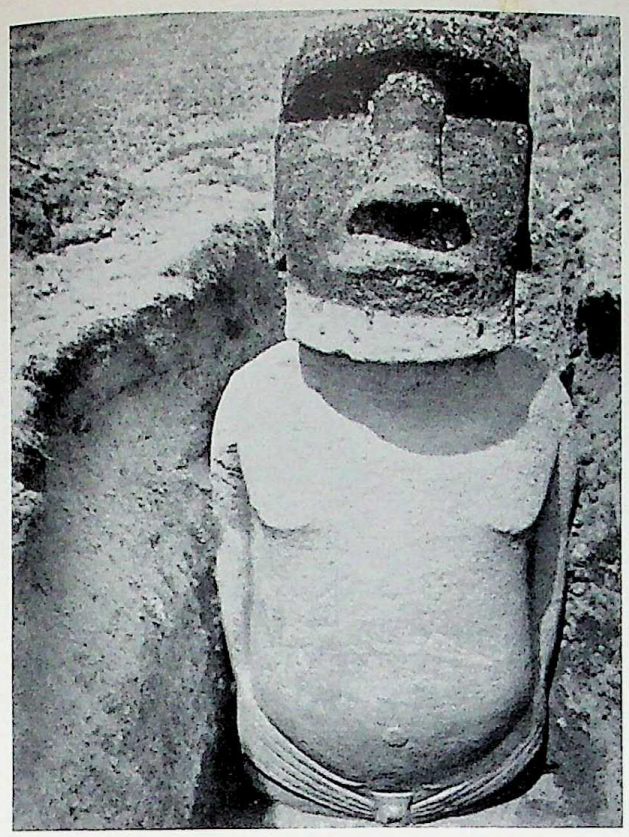

Pl. 397. *Above, left*: Monolithic statue, Easter Island. *Right*: Toltec head, detail of a supporting figure (X, PL. 32) of the temple at Tula, Hidalgo state, Mexico. Basalt with traces of red paint; full ht., 15 ft. *Below, left*: Hollow figure, Olmec style, from Tlatilco, Valley of Mexico. Clay with white slip; ht., 14 3/8 in. Private coll. *Right*: Mochica statue, warrior with shield, Peru. Incised pottery. Lima, Peru, Museo R. Larco Herrera.

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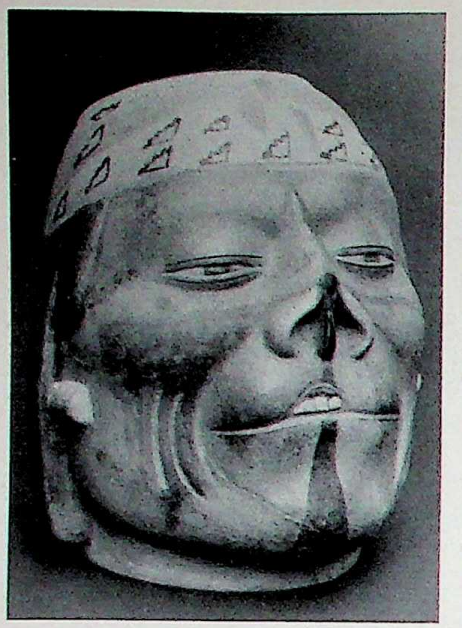

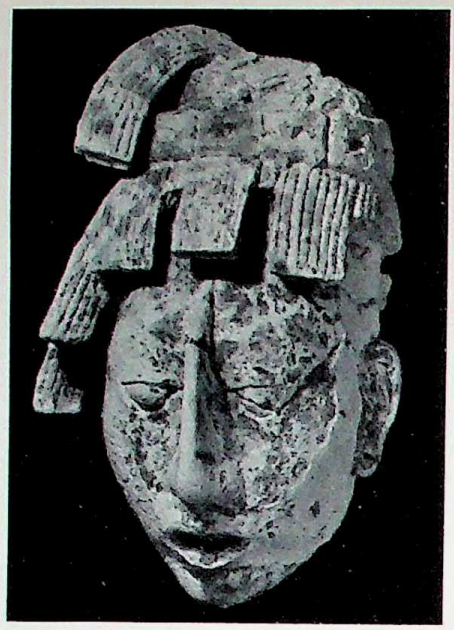

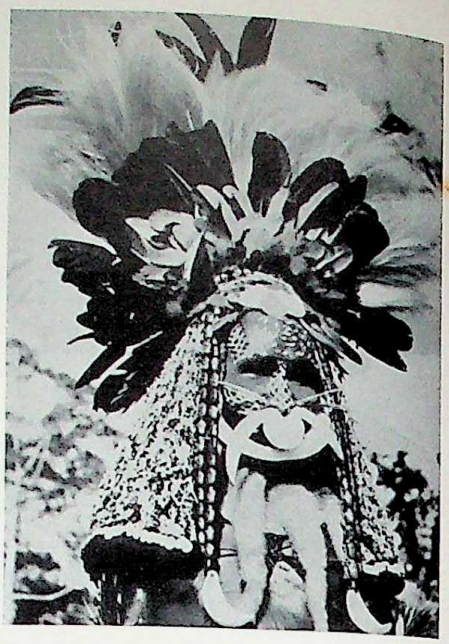

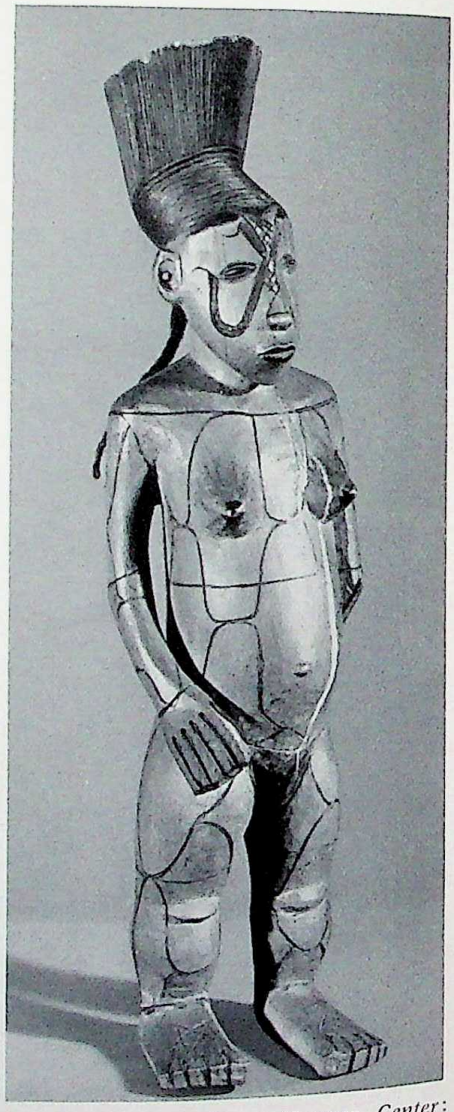

Pl. 398. *Above, left*: Mochica vessel, so-called "portrait head," Peru. Painted pottery. Lima, Peru, Museo R. Larco Herrera. *Center*: Maya head, from the Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque, Chiapas state. Stucco. Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Antropología. *Right*: New Guinea headman, with plumed wig, shell nose ornament, and face paint, Middle Waghi Valley. *Below, left*: Maori statue with incised tattoo designs, New Zealand. Wood. Auckland, Museum. *Right*: Mangbetu figure with body staining represented by pyrogravure, Uele area, Congo. Wood, ht., 19 in. Tervueren, Belgium, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale.

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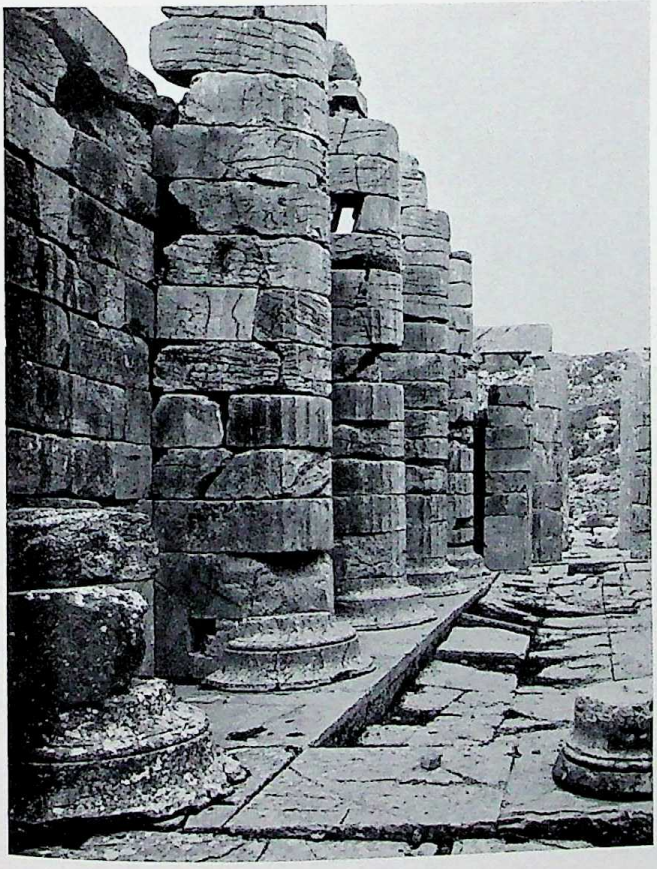

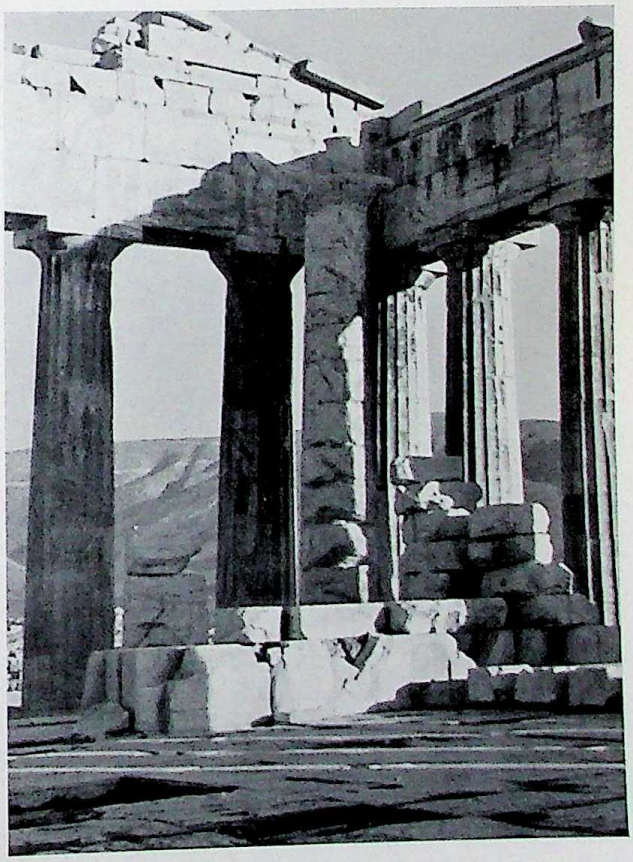

Pl. 399. *Above, and below, left*: Bassae (Phigalia), Greece, Temple of Apollo Epikourios, exterior and detail of the interior of the cella. *Below, right*: Athens, the Parthenon, detail.

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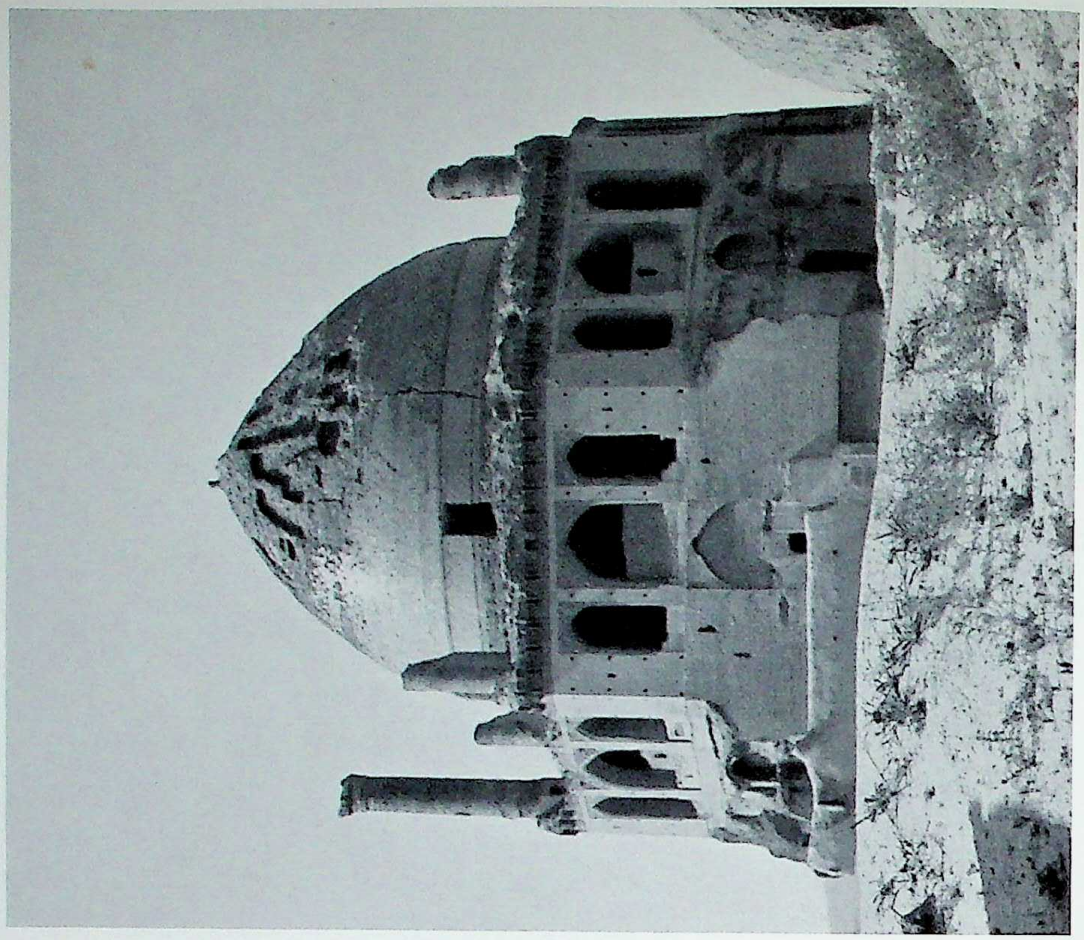

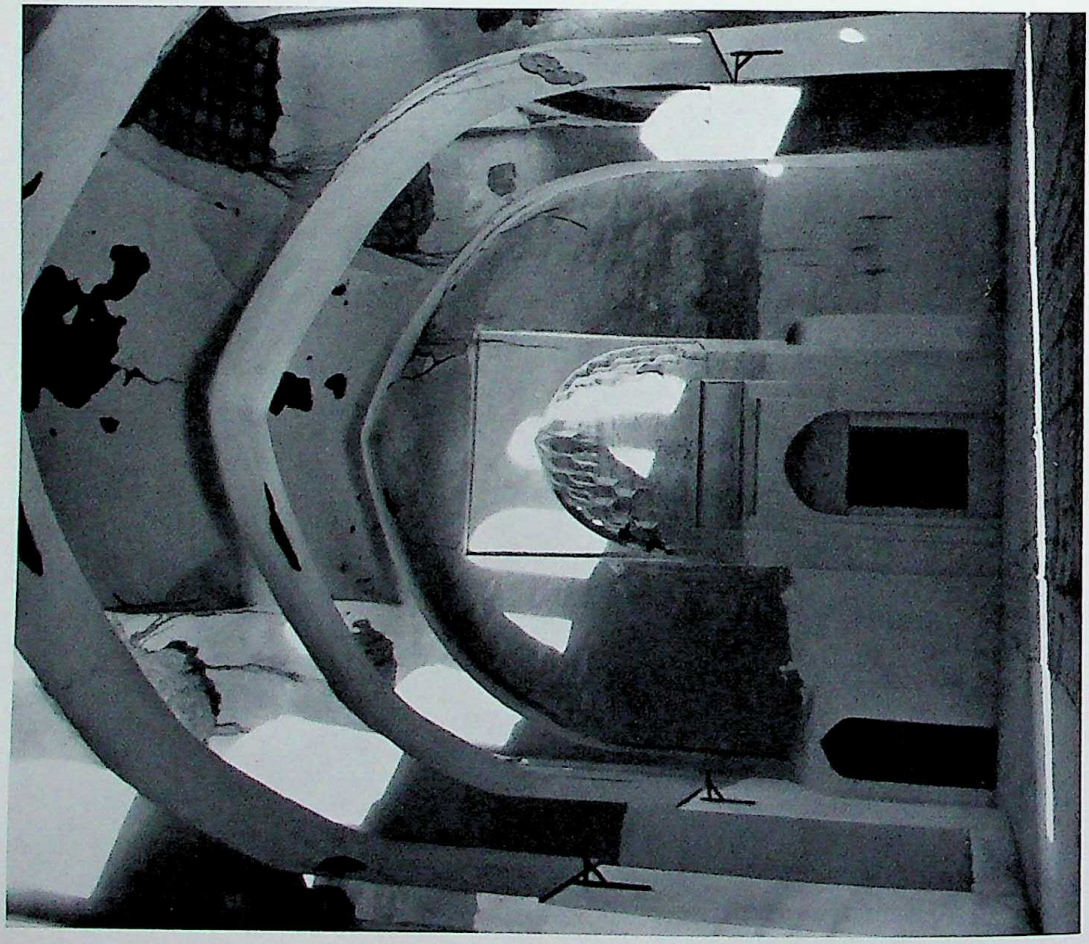

Pl. 400. *Left:* Abarqūh, Masjid-i-Jāmi', oratory, first half of 14th cent. *Right:* Sultaniya, tomb-mosque of Uljeitu, *14th cent.*

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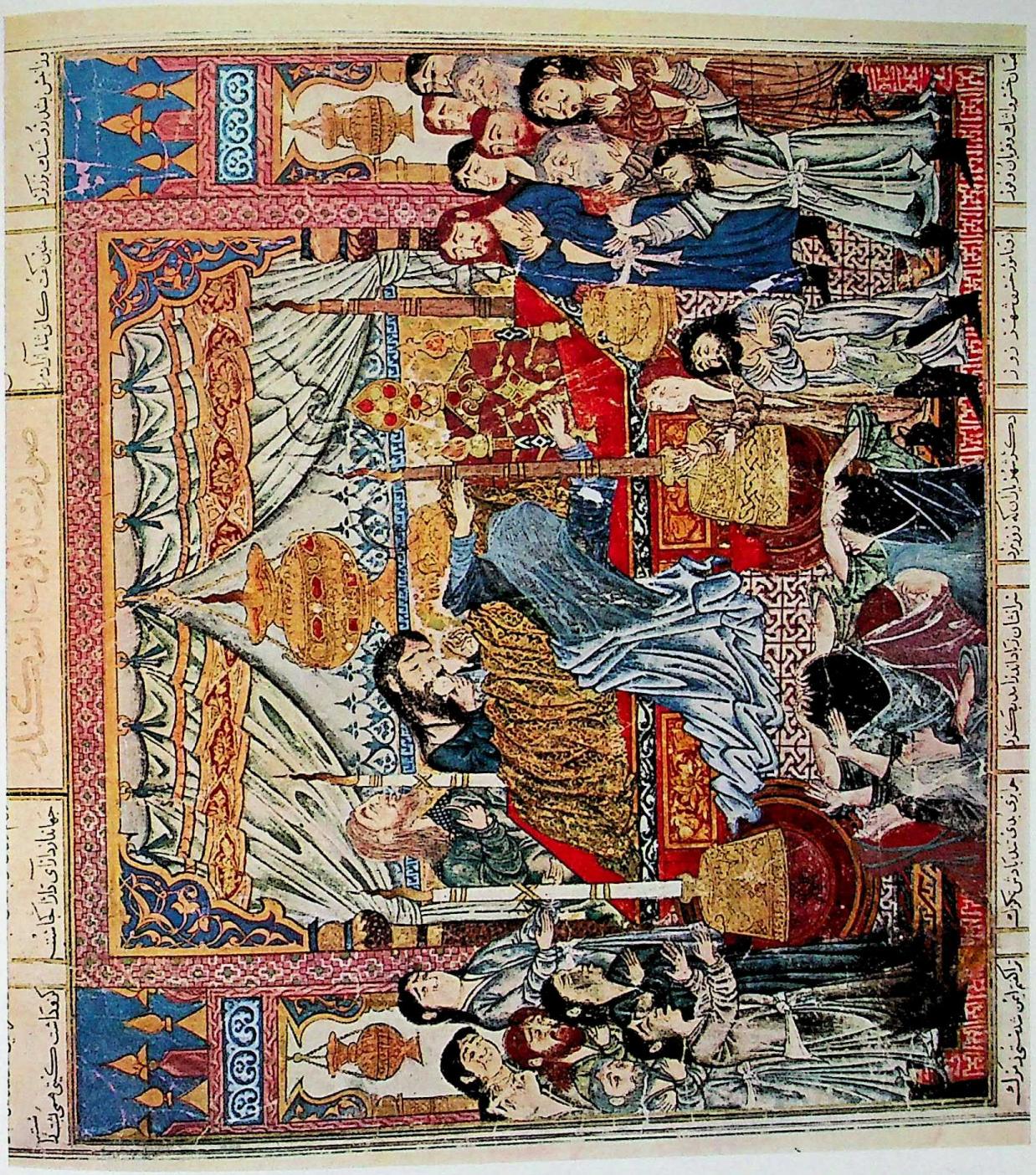

Pl. 401. The bier of Iskandar (Alexander the Great), on a leaf from a *Shāh-nāma*, Tabriz school, early 14th cent. Color and gold on paper. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art.

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Pl. 402. Star-shaped ceramic tile, 1328–29. London, British Museum.

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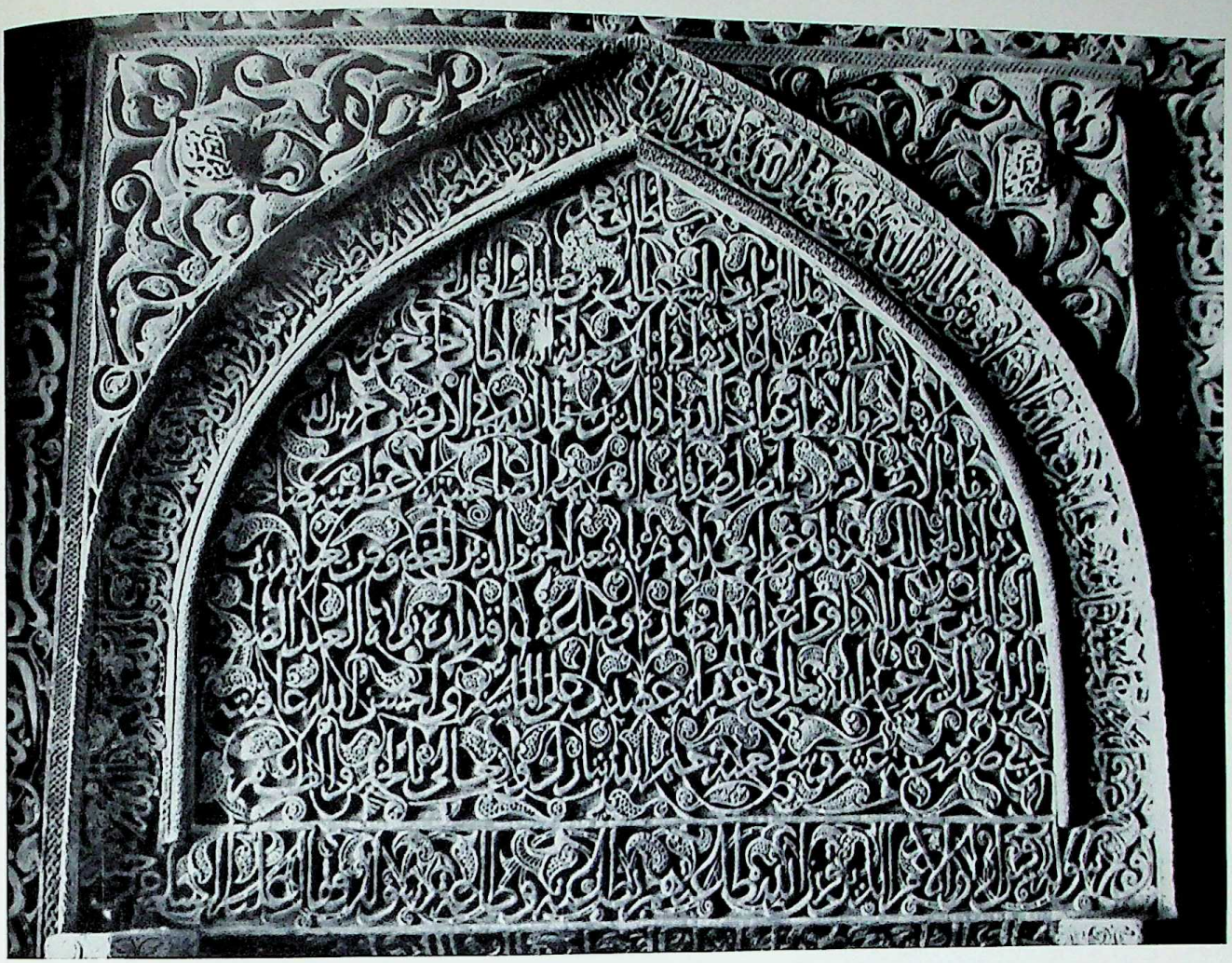

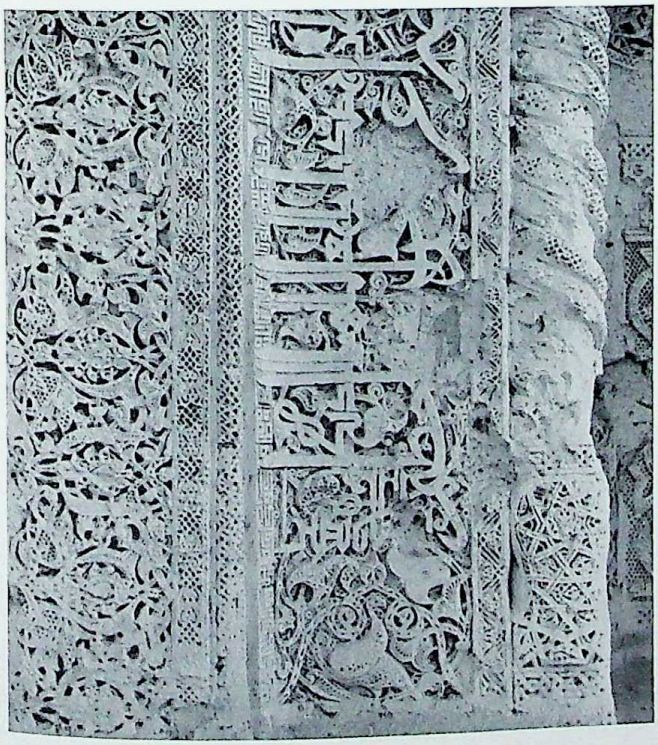

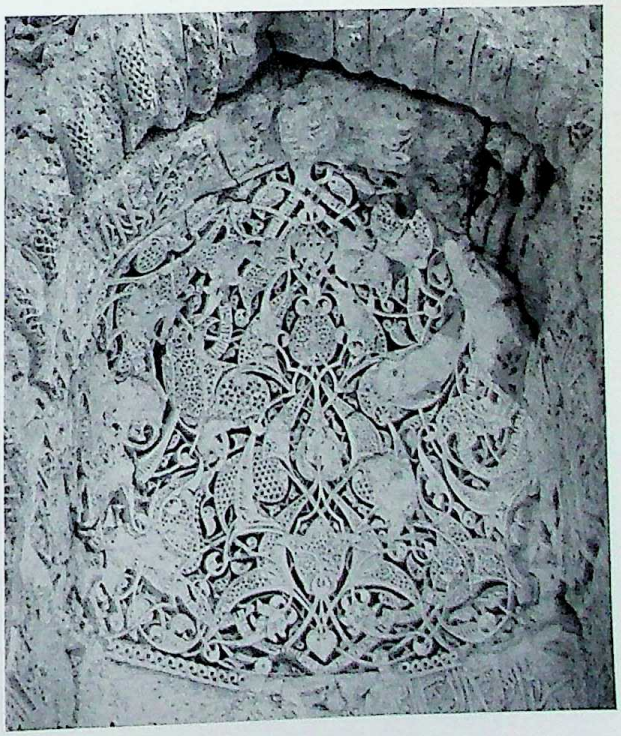

Pl. 403. *Above*: Isfahan, Masjid-i-Jāmi', mihrab in the oratory, detail, 1310. *Below*: Abarqūh, Masjid-i-Jāmi', stucco mihrab in the east liwan, two details, 14th cent.

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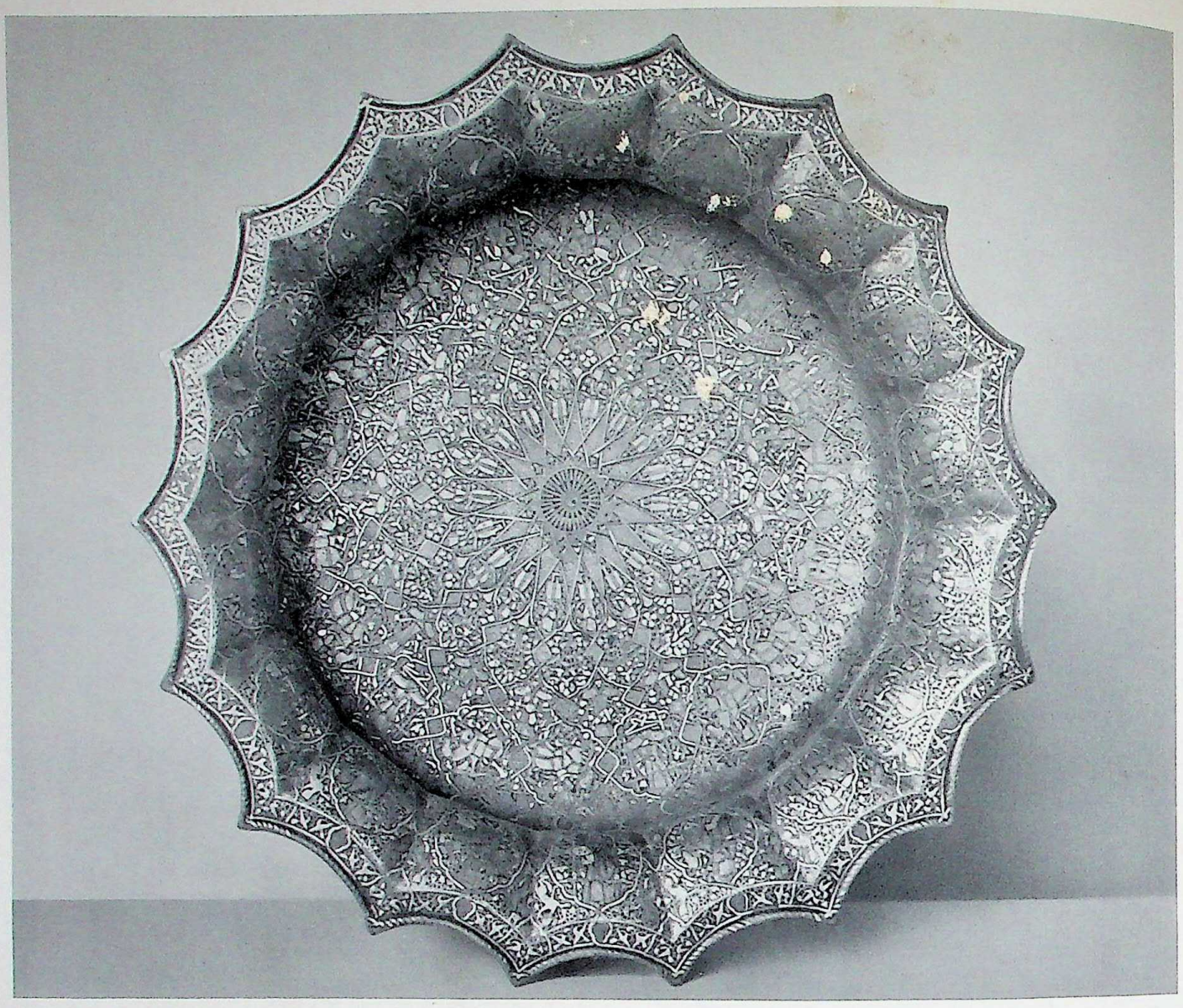

Pl. 404. *Above*: Basin, early 14th cent. Brass engraved and inlaid with silver, main lines with gold; diam., 19 11/16 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum. *Below*: Pen box, 1281. Brass with silver inlay. London, British Museum.

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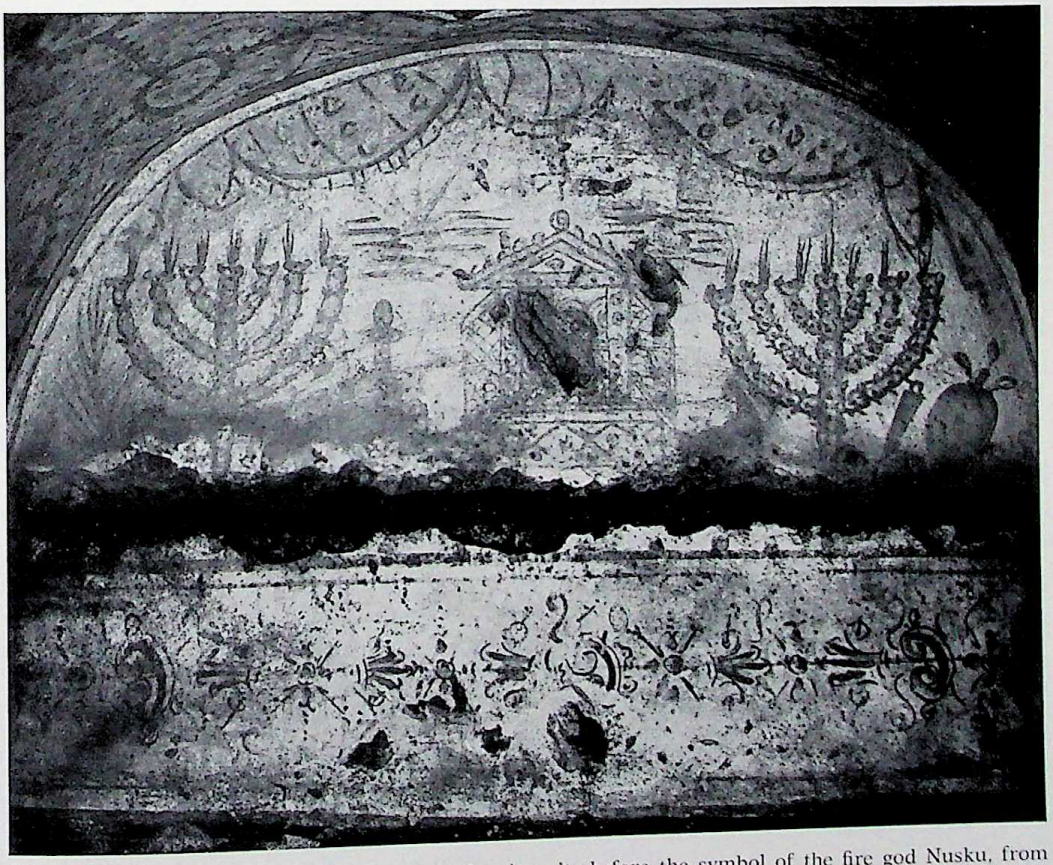

Pl. 405. *Above*: Altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I, showing rite before the symbol of the fire god Nusku, from Assur, ca. 1240 B.C. Alabaster, ht., 22½ in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. *Below*: Wall painting with representations of the Menorah and the ark of the covenant, late 2d–early 3d cent. Rome, Jewish Catacombs of Villa Torlonia.

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Pl. 406. Iconoclastic statue showing deceased with the characteristics of Demeter (?), 5th cent. B.C. Marble, ht., ca. 39 in. Cyrene, Archaeological Museum.

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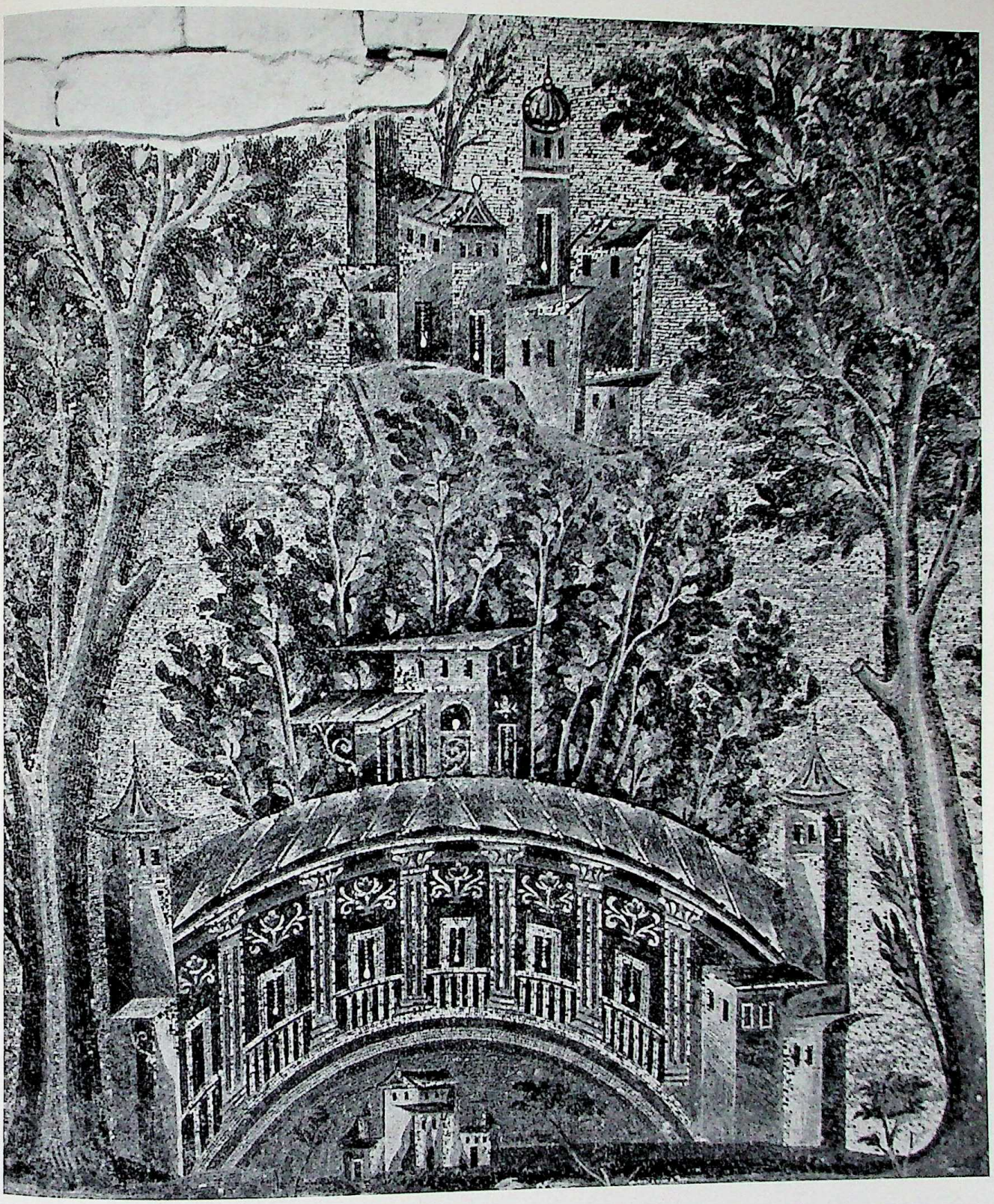

Pl. 407. Iconoclastic mosaic representing gardens, detail, 705–11. Damascus, Great Mosque.

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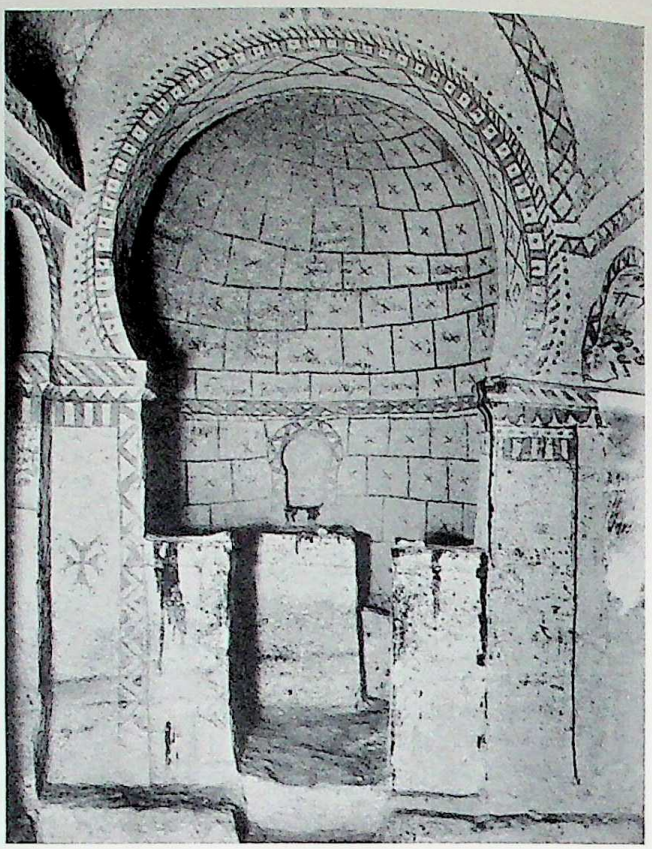

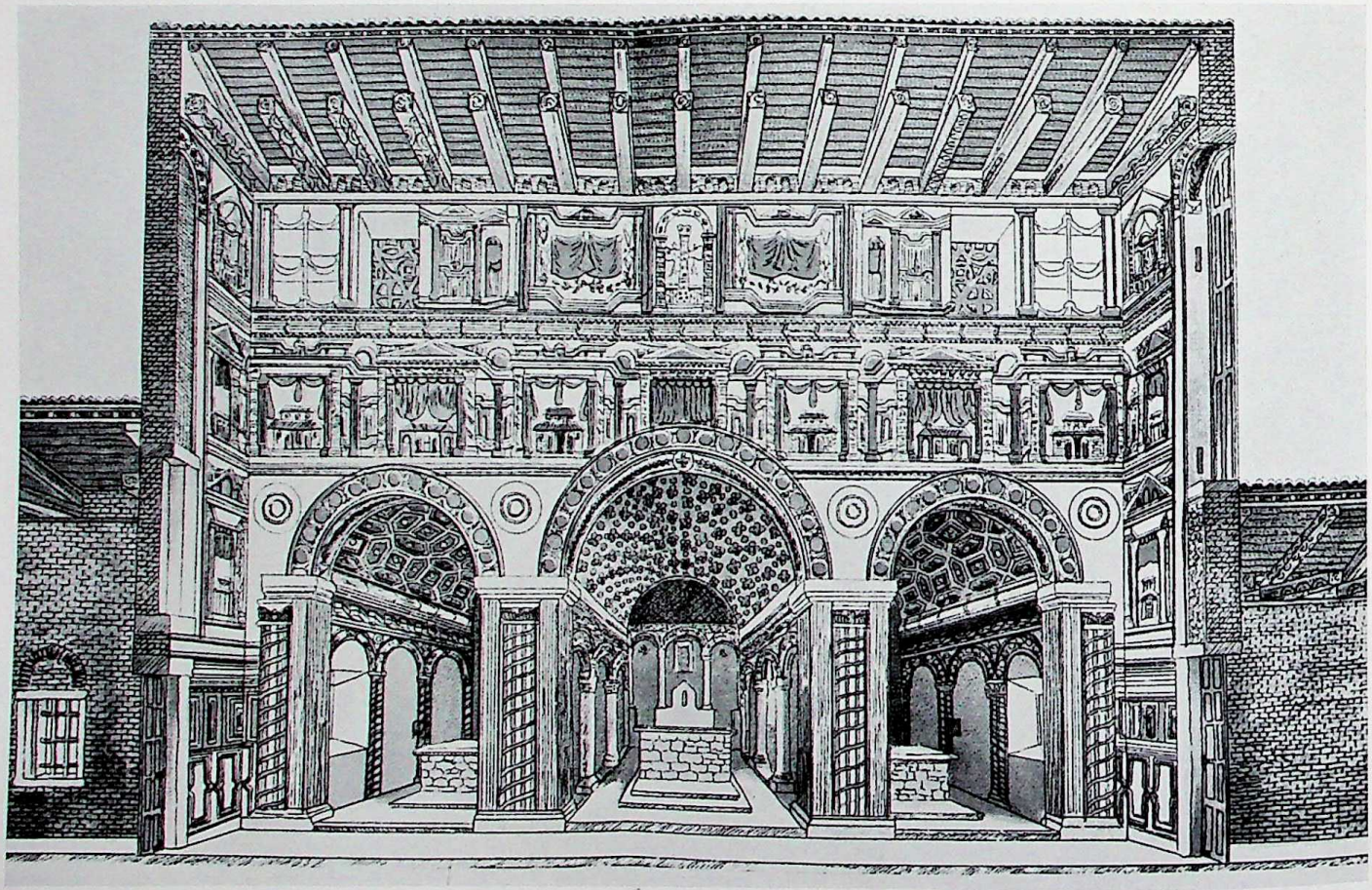

Pl. 408. *Above*: Byzantine churches with decoration of the iconoclastic period. *Left*: Istanbul, St. Irene, nave, 6th–8th cent. *Right*: Göreme, Turkey, Tokale Kilise, apse of a side chapel, 10th cent. *Below*: Reconstruction by F. de Selgas of frescoes of first half of 9th cent. in the Church of S. Julián de los Prados ("Santullano"), Asturias, Spain.

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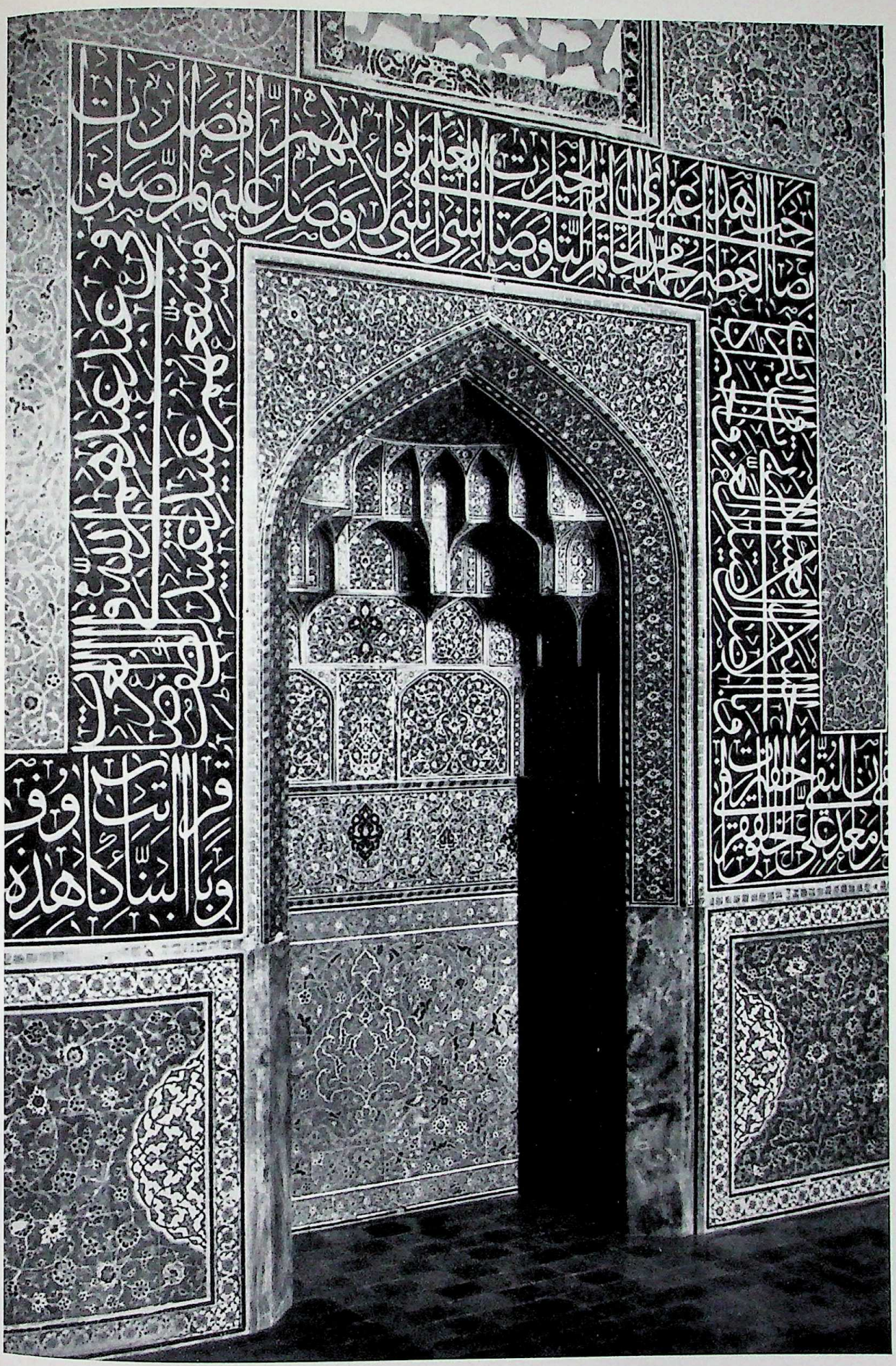

Pl. 409. Isfahan, Iran, mihrab of the Masjid-i-Shah, 1603.

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Pl. 410. Ascension of the Prophet Mohammed (face covered). Illumination for the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, attributed to Sultan Mohammed, Iran, Tabriz school, dated 1539-43. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 411. Center of a so-called "Polonaise" or Polish rug, with faceless figures of hunters and angels, from Iran, ca. 1600. Silk tapestry with metallic thread. Munich, Residenzmuseum.

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Pl. 412. Medallion showing the Buddha symbolically represented by an empty throne, footprints, and the *triratna* on a column of fire, from Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh, India, ca. 2d cent. Limestone, diam., 33 7/8 in. Amaravati, Archaeological Museum.

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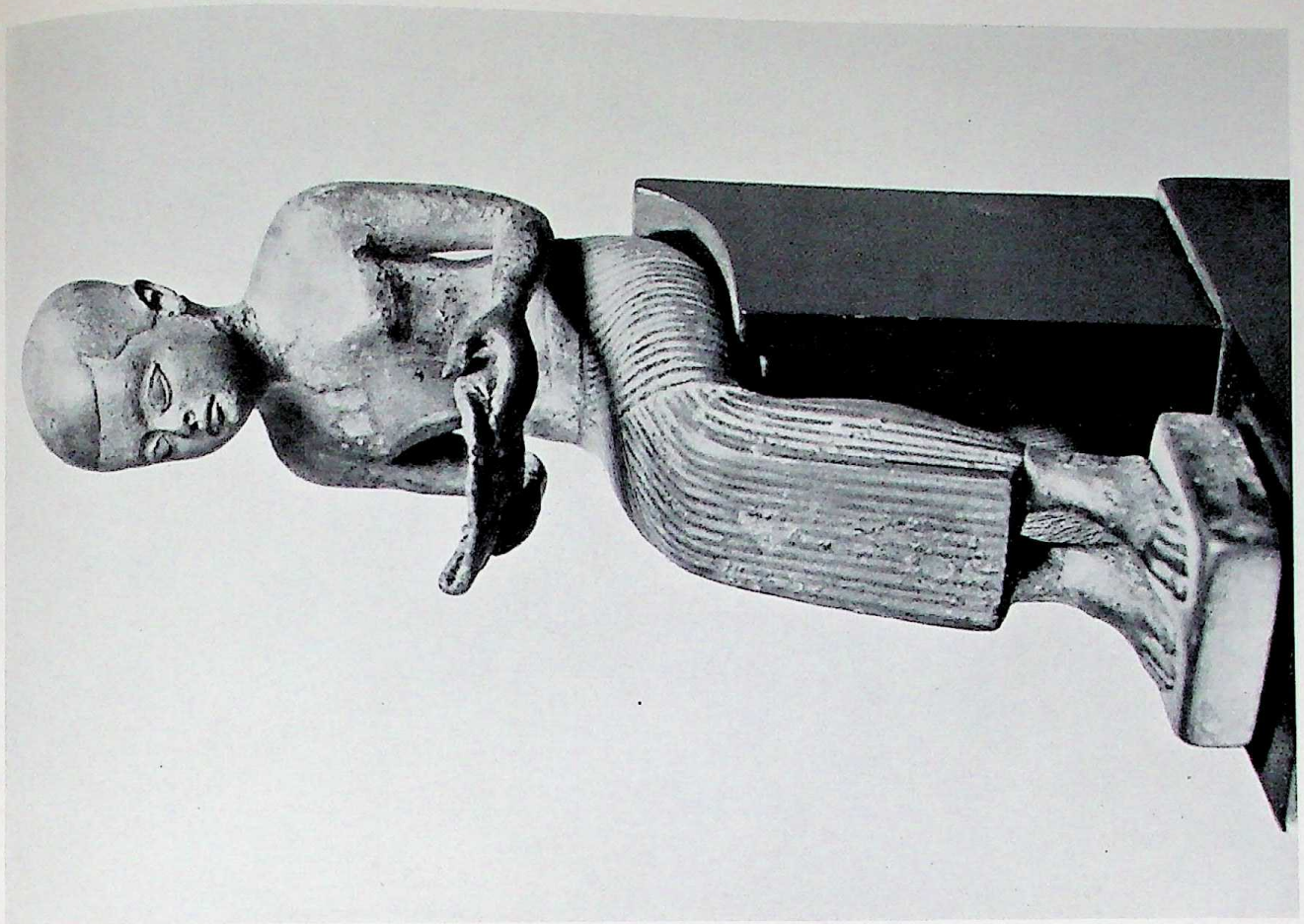

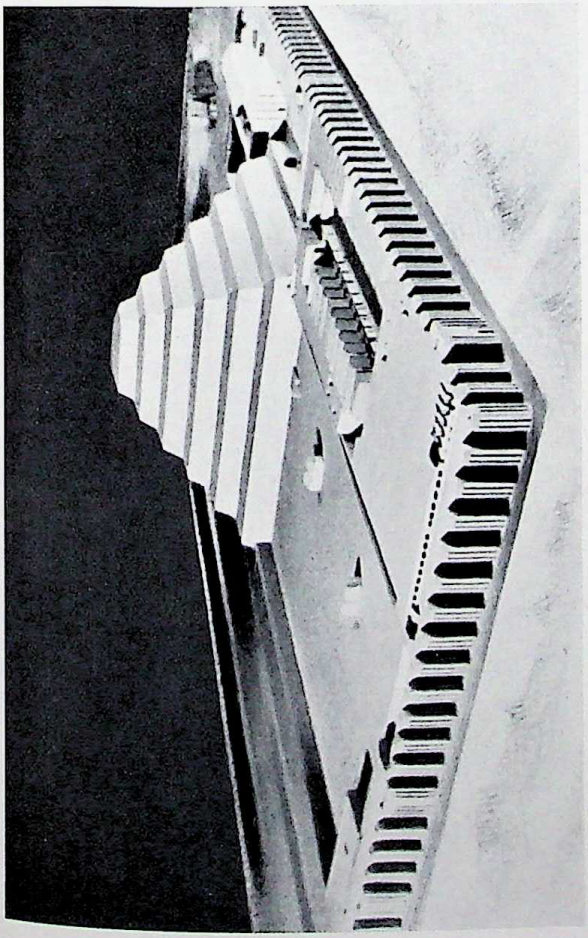

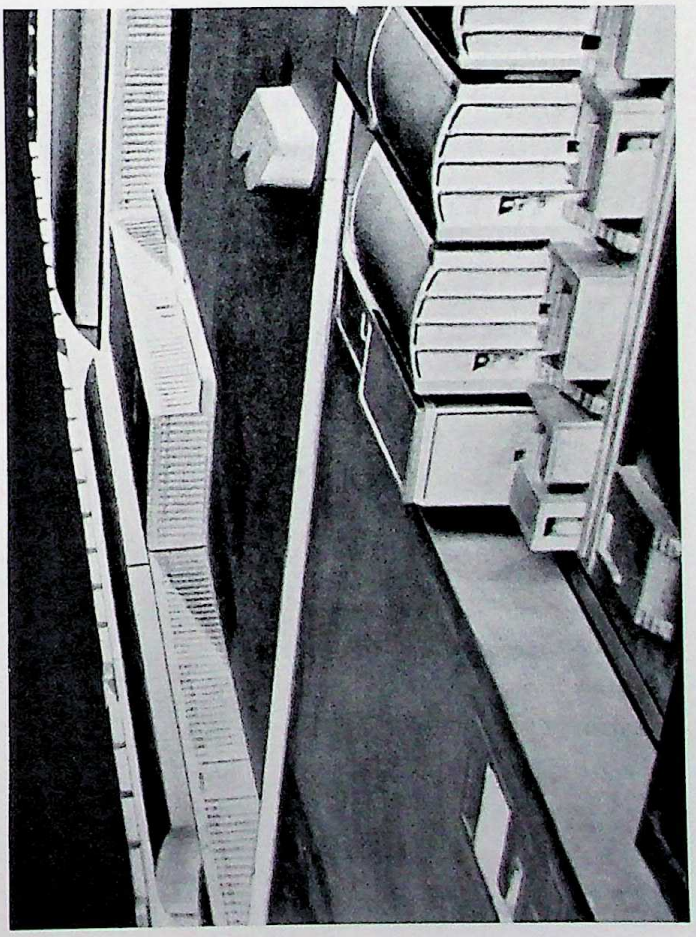

Pl. 413. *Left:* Model of funeral complex of King Zoser at Saqqara, 3d dynasty, general view and detail. *Right:* Statuette of Imhotep, 16th dynasty. Bronze, ht., 5 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

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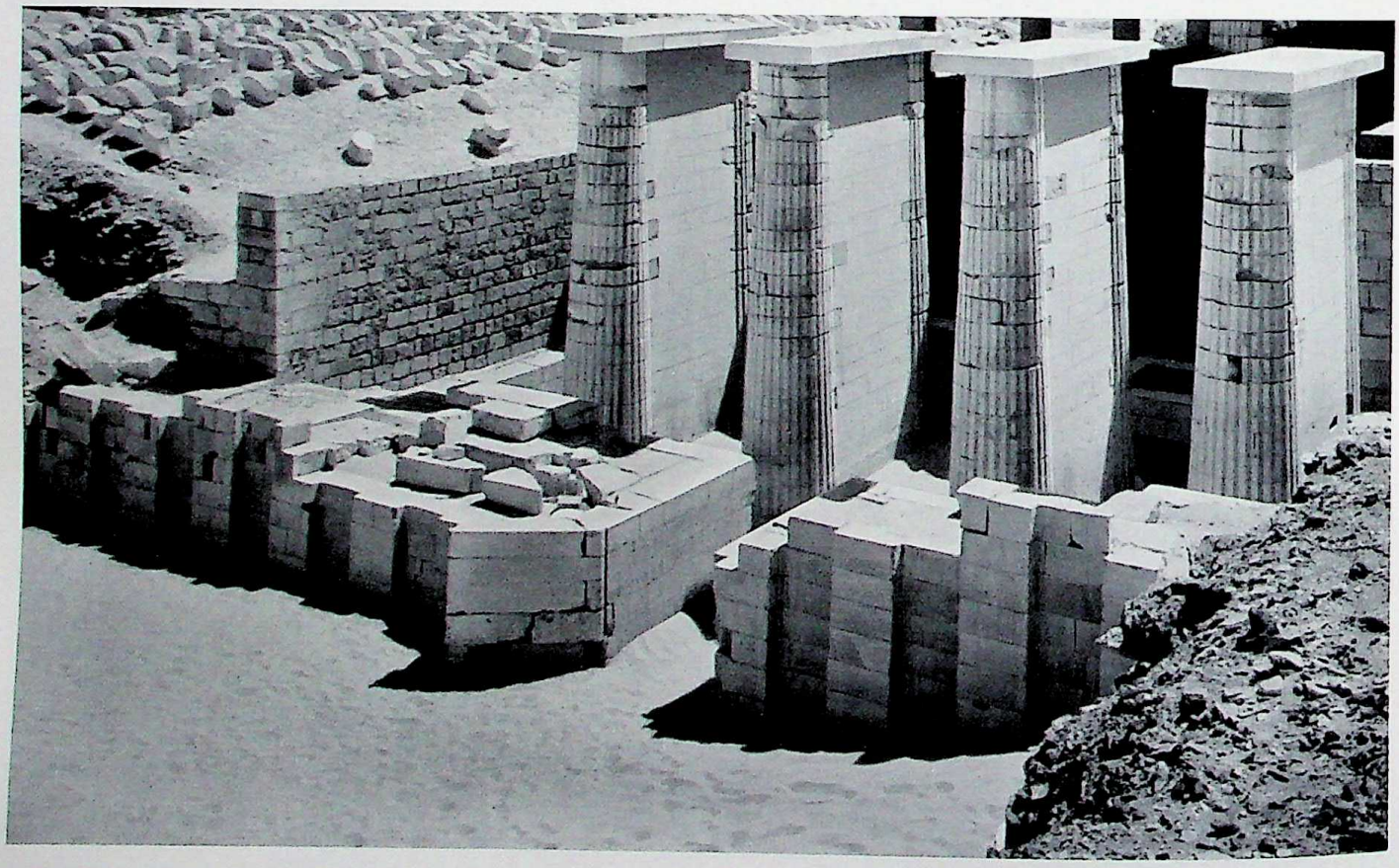

Pl. 414. Funeral complex of King Zoser at Saqqara, 3d dynasty. *Above, left*: Façade of the South Building, detail. *Right*: Leaf capital. *Below*: Porch of the entrance hall.

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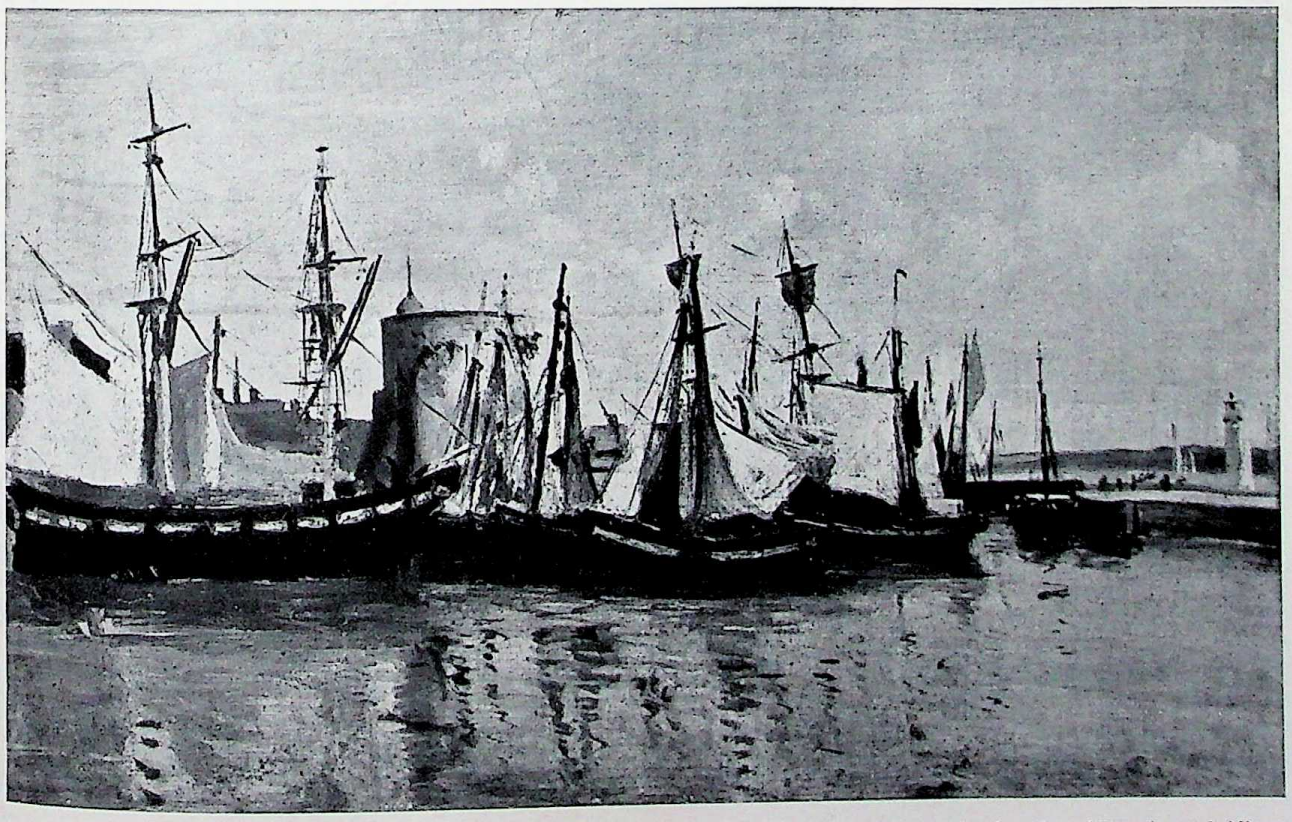

Pl. 415. *Above*: J. Constable, View at Hampstead, looking due east. Oil on paper, $9^{3}/_{4} \times 12$ in. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Below*: C. Corot, The Port of La Rochelle. Canvas, $10^{5}/_{8} \times 16^{1}/_{2}$ in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 416. E. Manet, study for Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe. Canvas, 35×45 5/8 in. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries.

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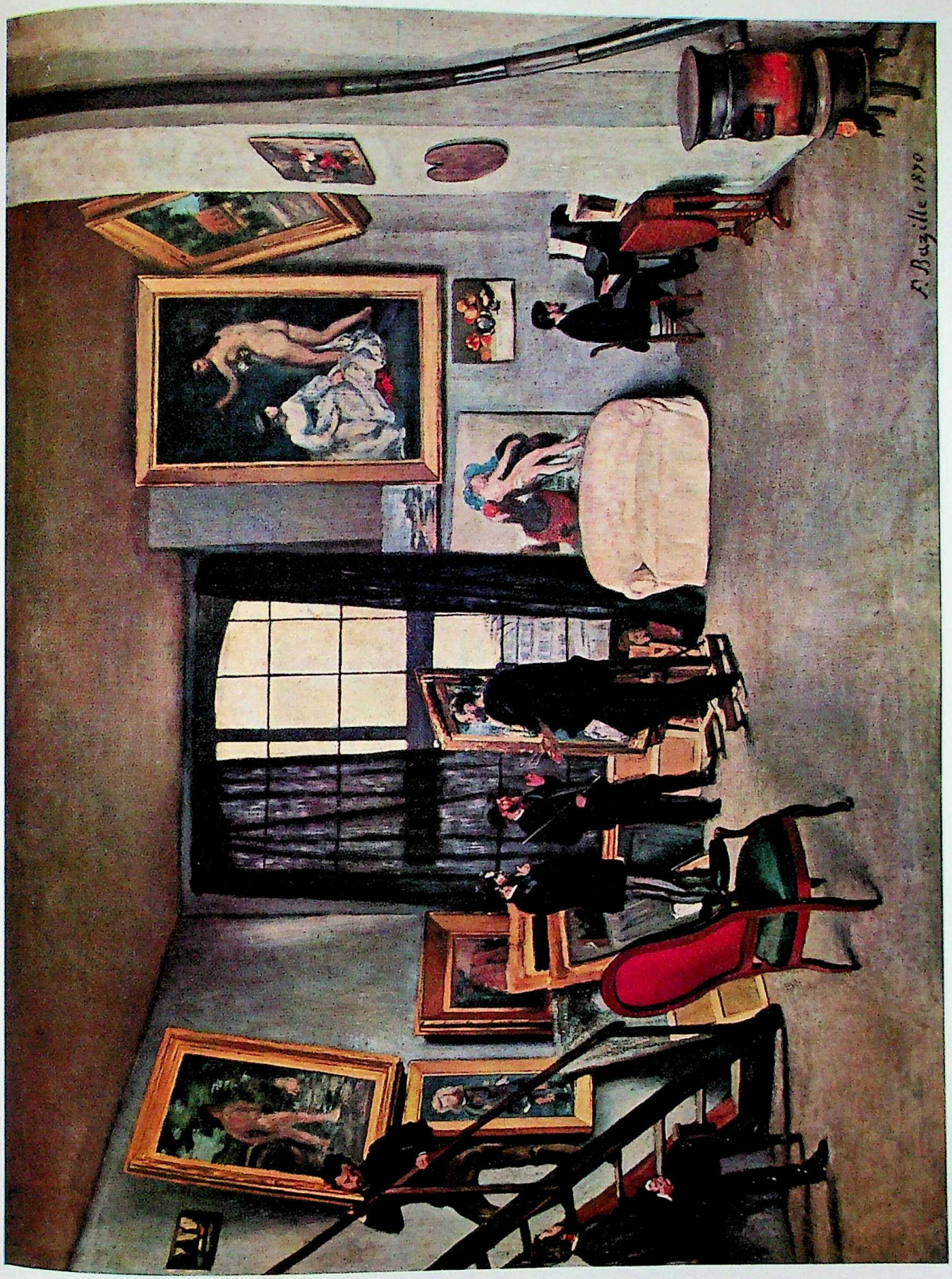


Pl. 417. F. Bazille, The Artist's Studio, Rue de la Condamine. Canvas, 38 7/8 × 47 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 418. C. Monet, Impression—Sunrise. Canvas, 17 3/4 × 21 5/8 in. Paris, Musée Marmottan.

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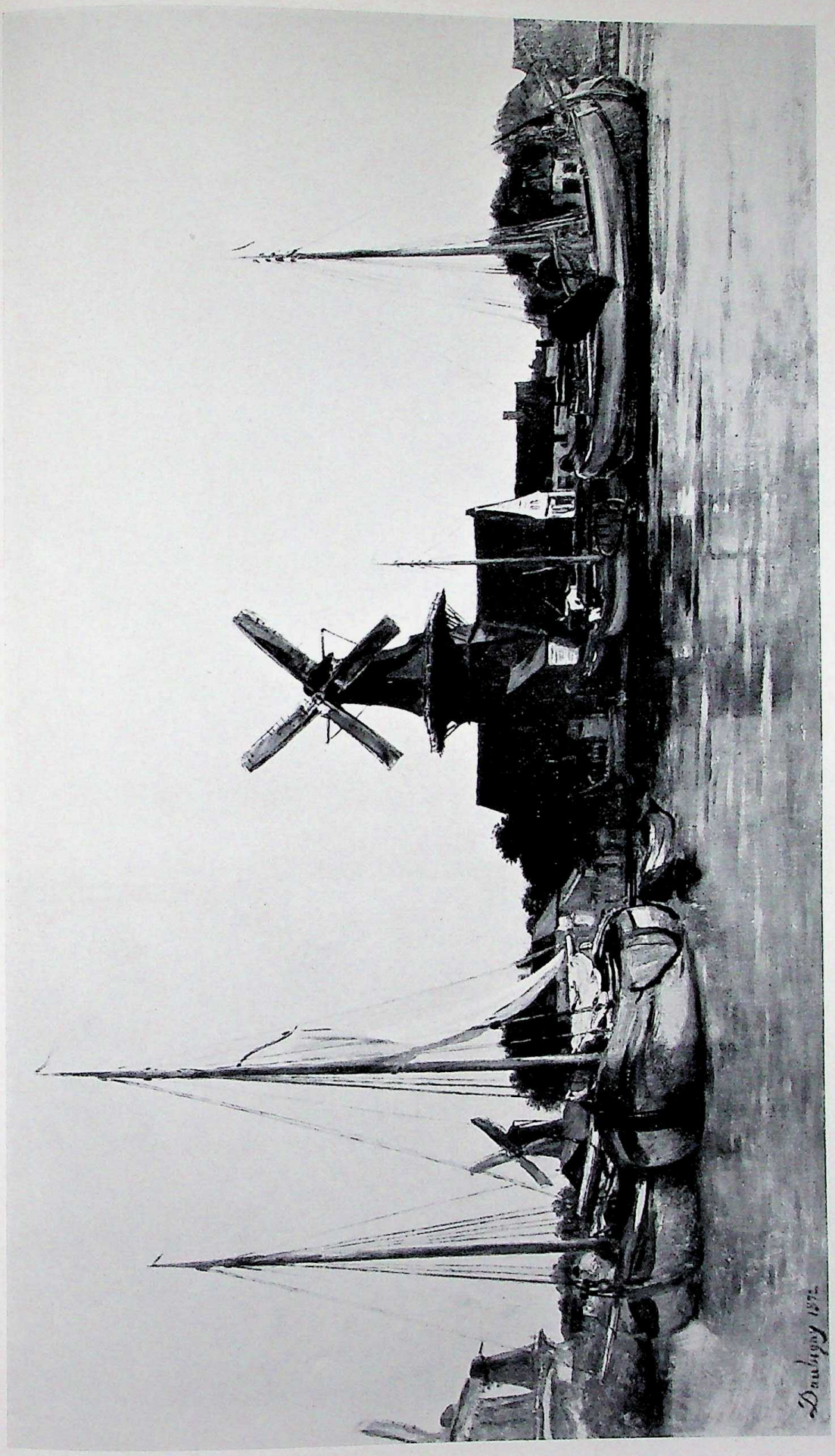


Pl. 419. C.-F. Daubigny, The Mills of Dordrecht. Canvas, 33½×57½ in. Detroit, Institute of Arts.

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Pl. 420. *Left*: E. Degas, La Femme à la Potiche. Canvas, $25^5/_8 \times 21^1/_4$ in. Paris, Louvre. *Right*: F. Bazille, Portrait of Auguste Renoir. Canvas, $24^1/_2 \times 20$ in. Algiers, *Musée des* Beaux-Arts.

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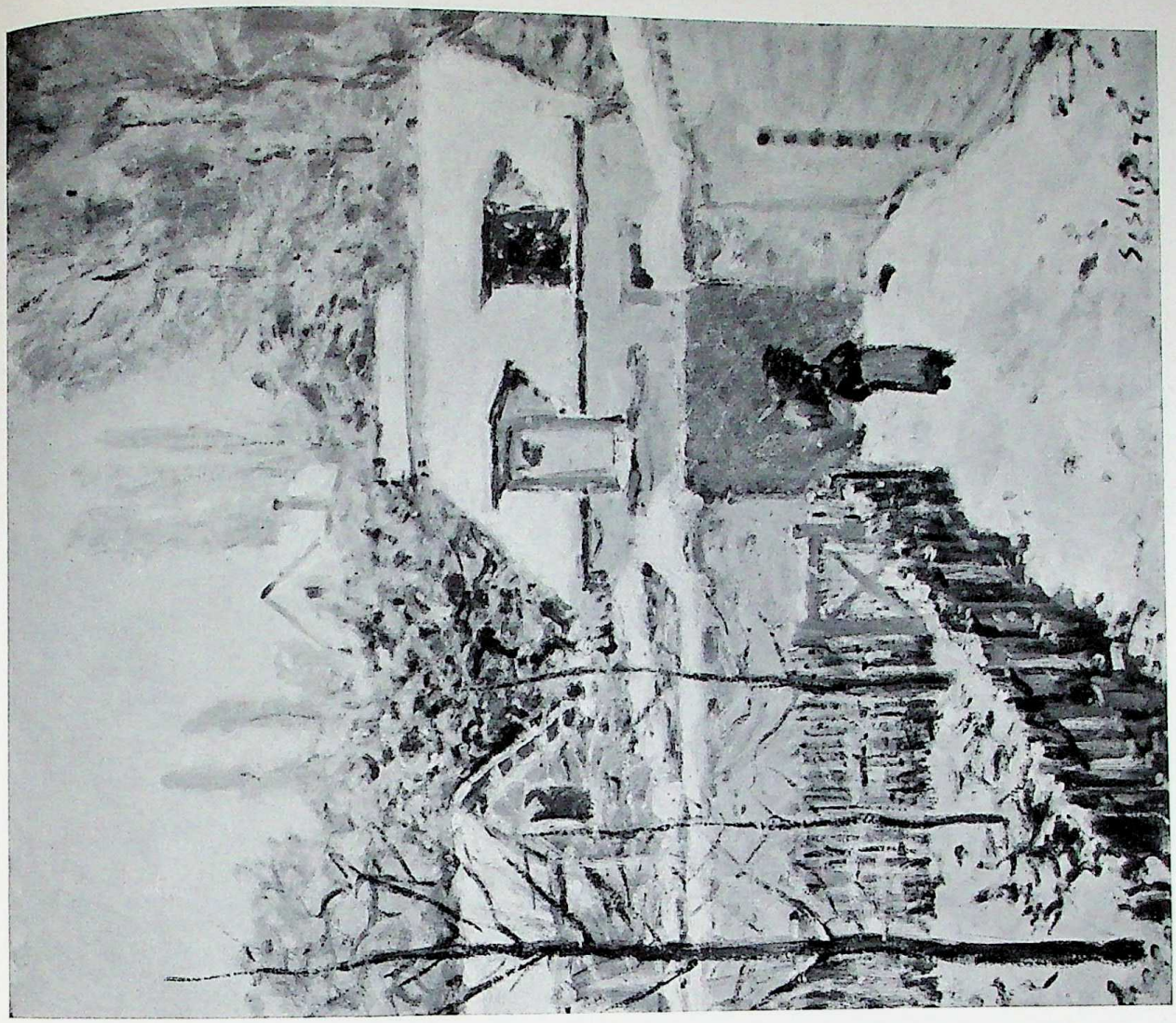

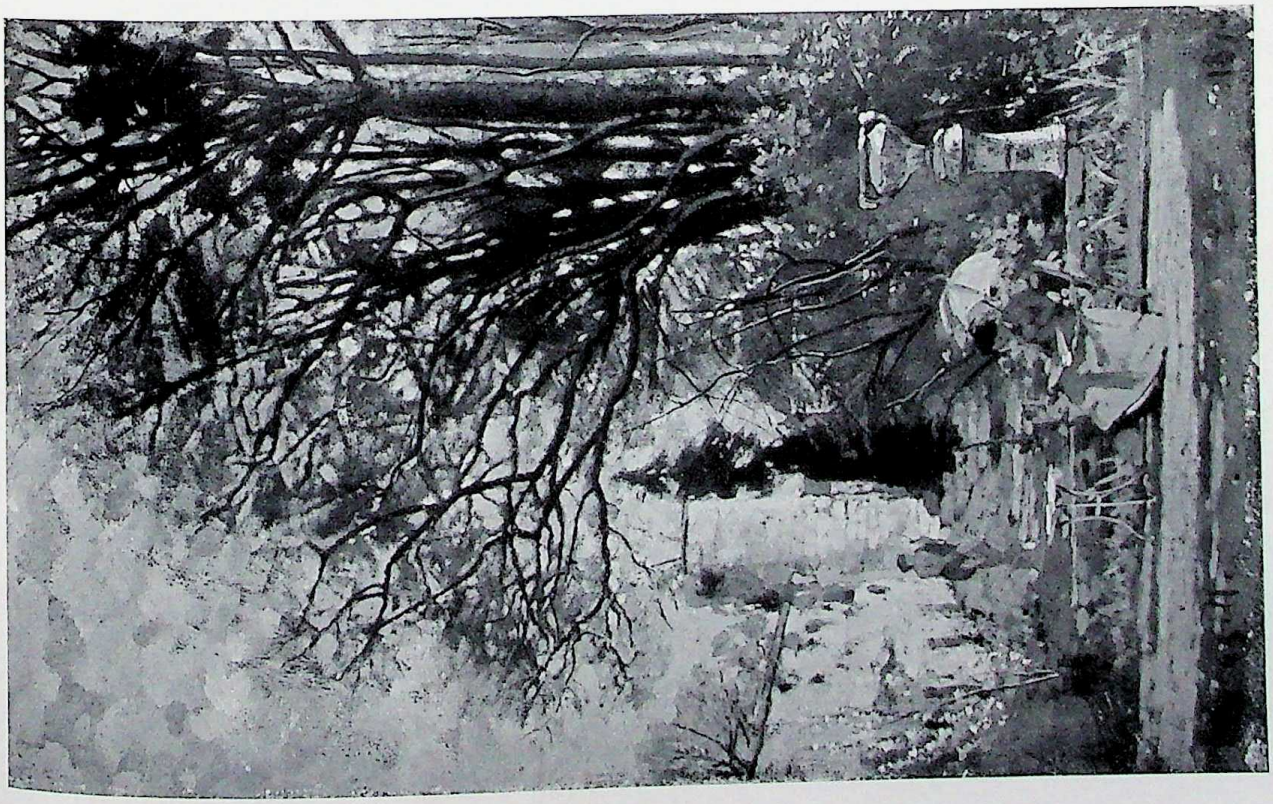

Pl. 421. *Left*: F. Bazille, A Lady with a Parasol Seated in a Garden. Canvas, 16¾×10 in. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum. *Right*: A. Sisley, Snow at Louveciennes. Canvas, 22×18 in. Washington, D.C., Phillips Coll.

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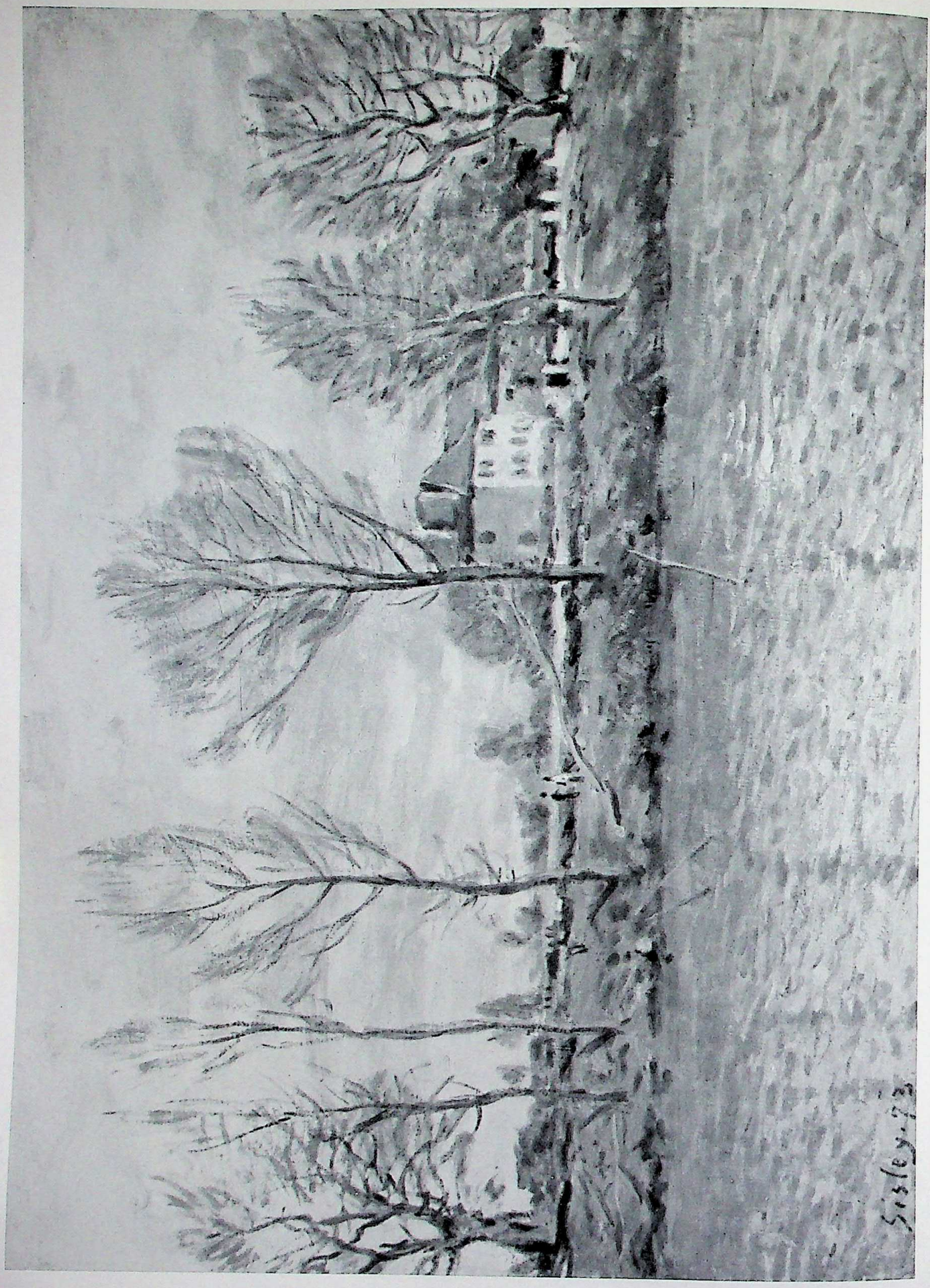


Pl. 422. A. Sisley, L'Île de la Grande Jatte. Canvas, $19^{3}/_{4} \times 25^{5}/_{8}$ in. Paris, Louvre.

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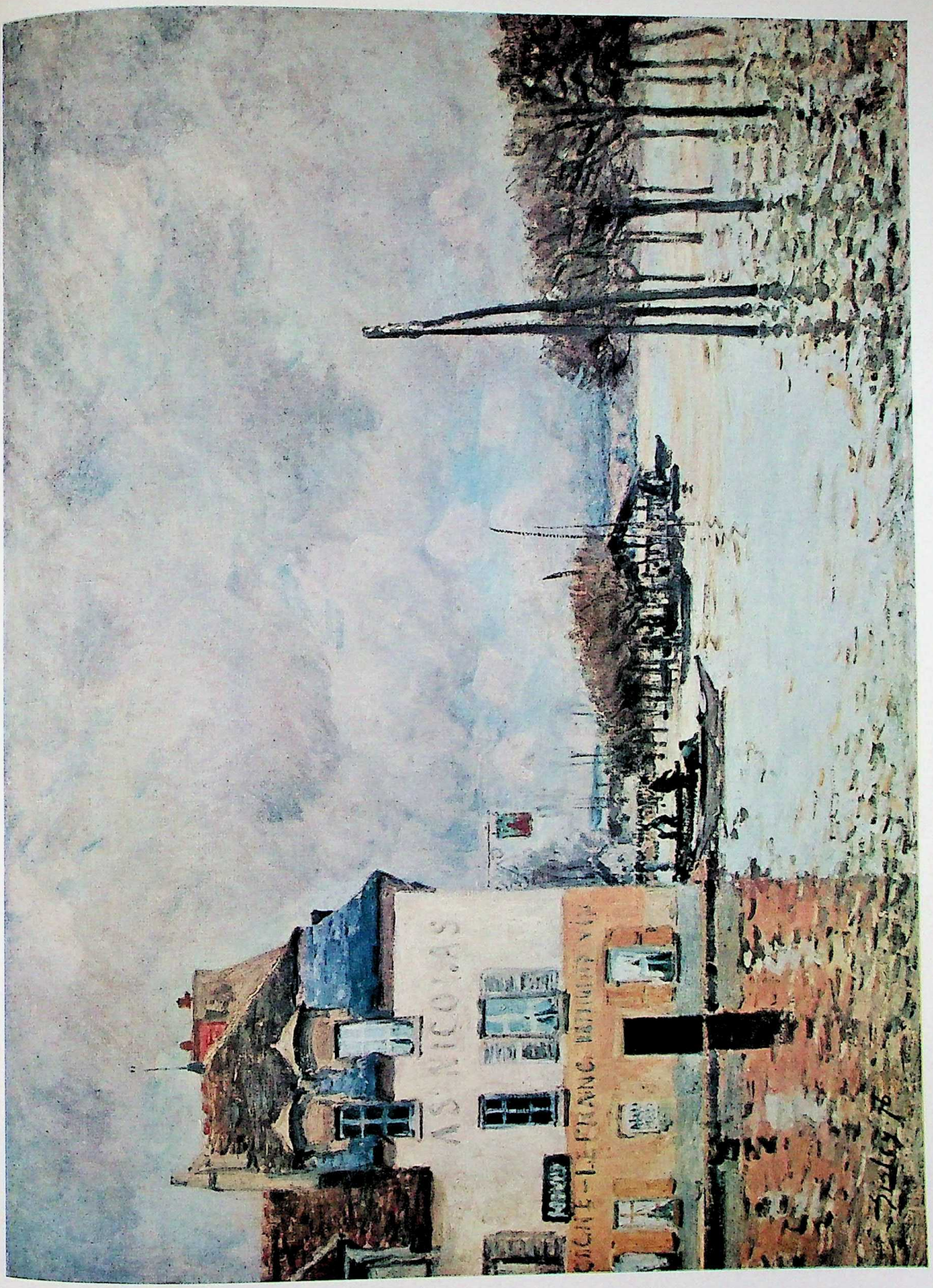

Pl. 423. A. Sisley, Flood at Port-Marly. Canvas, 23 5/8 × 31 7/8 in. Paris, Louvre.

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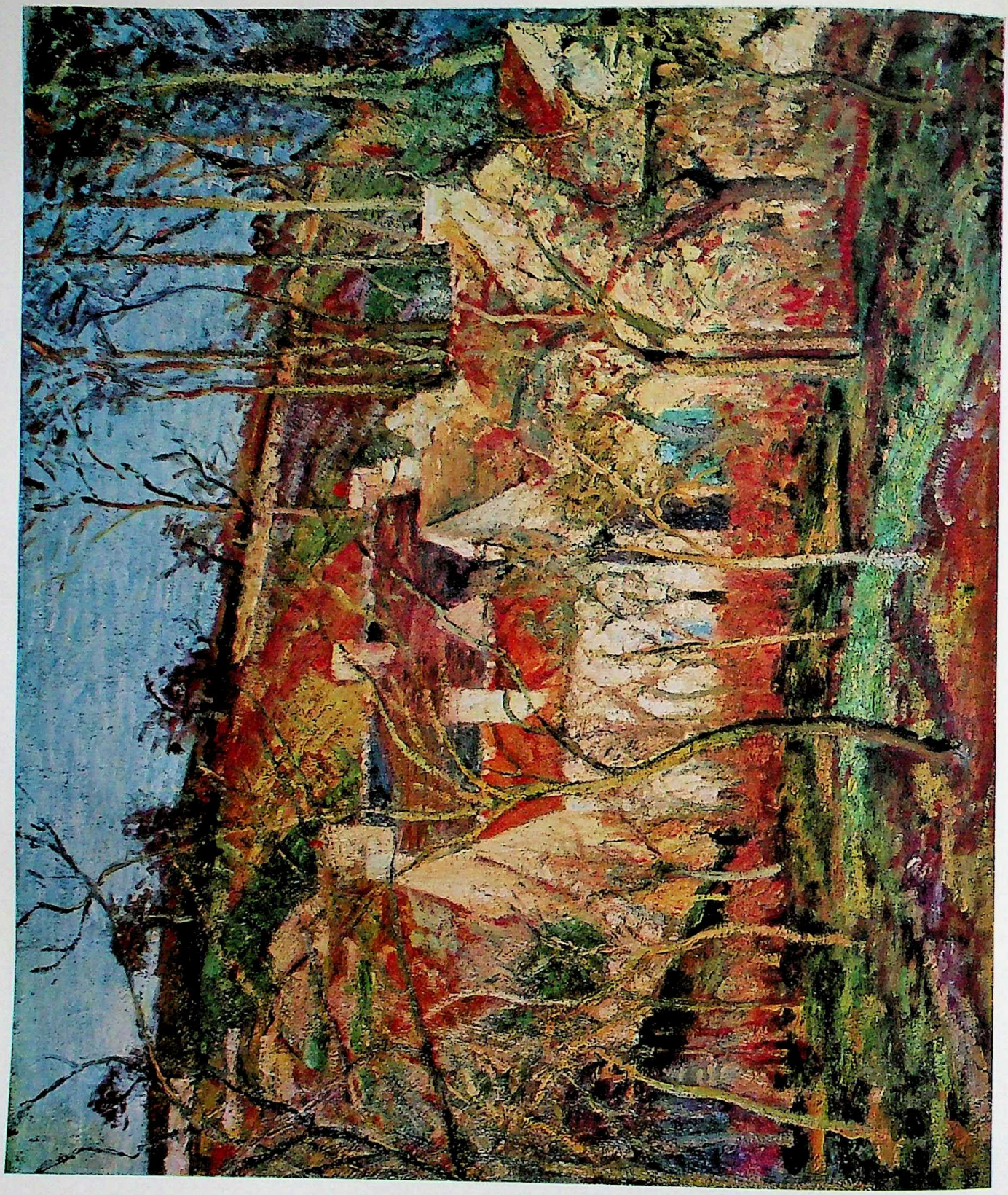

Pl. 424. C. Pissarro, The Red Roofs. Canvas, 20 7/8 × 25 1/4 in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 425. C. Pissarro, Entrance to the Village of Voisins. Canvas, 18 3/8 × 22 in. Paris, Louvre.

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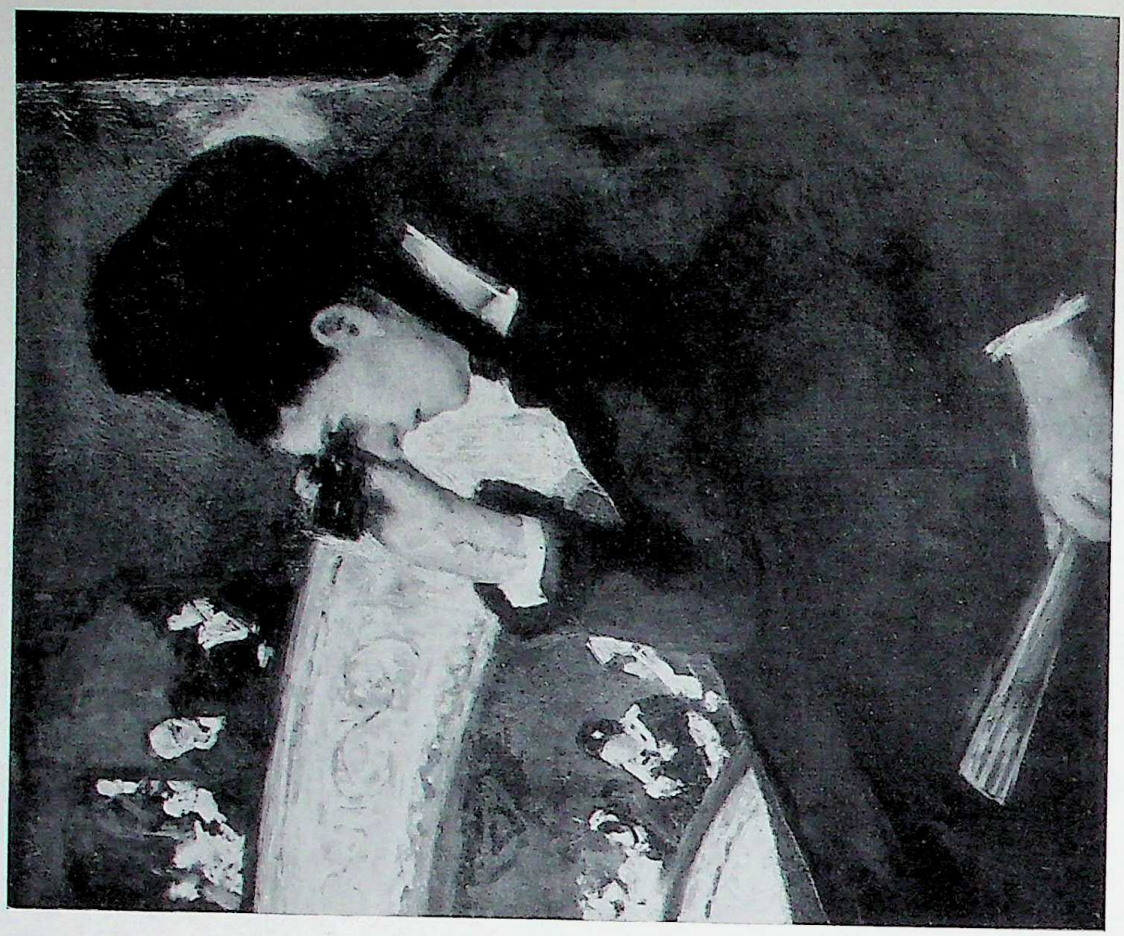

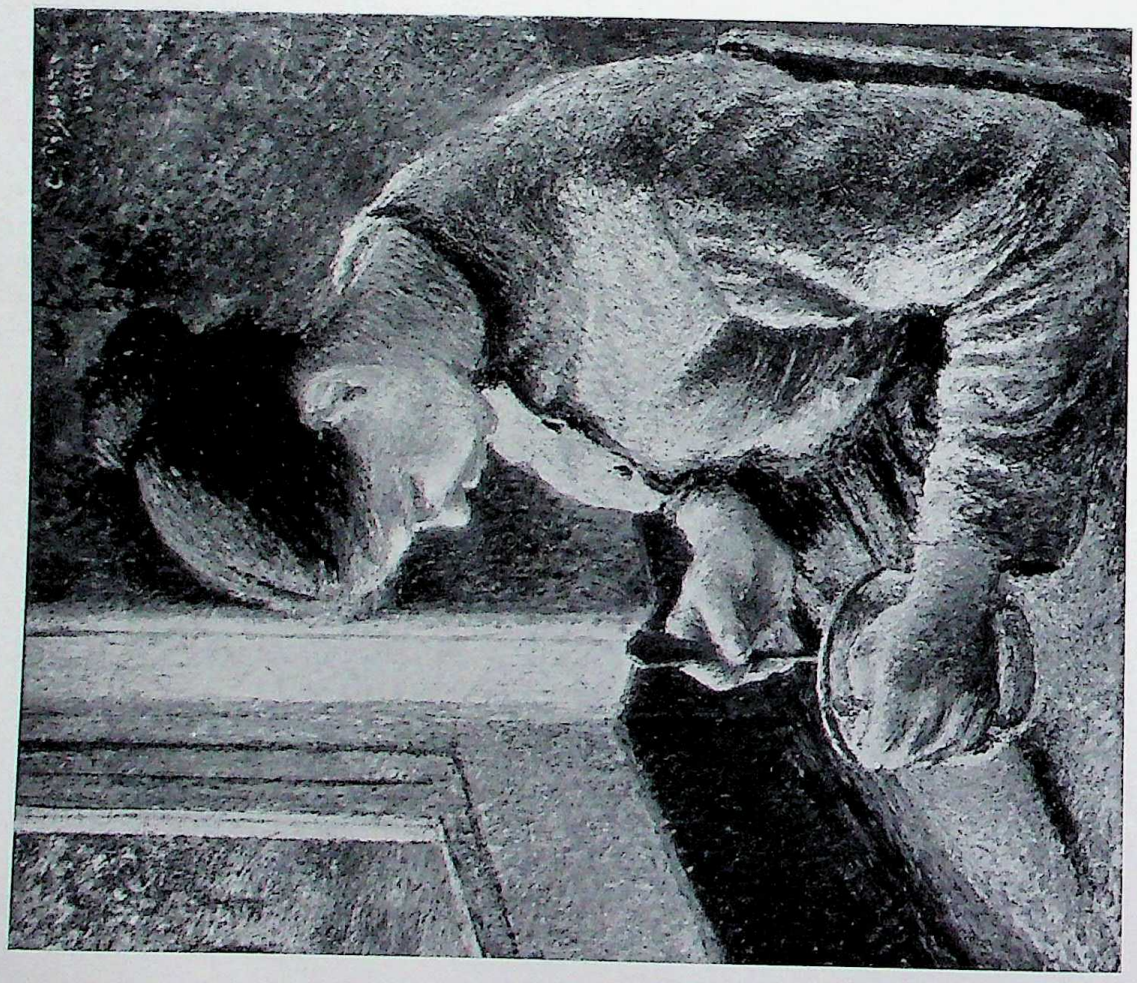

Pl. 426. *Left*: C. Pissarro, The Café au Lait. Canvas, $25^{1}/_{8} \times 21^{3}/_{8}$ in. Chicago, Art Institute. *Right*: M. Cassatt, At the Opera. Canvas, $32^{5}/_{8} \times 26^{1}/_{2}$ in. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.*

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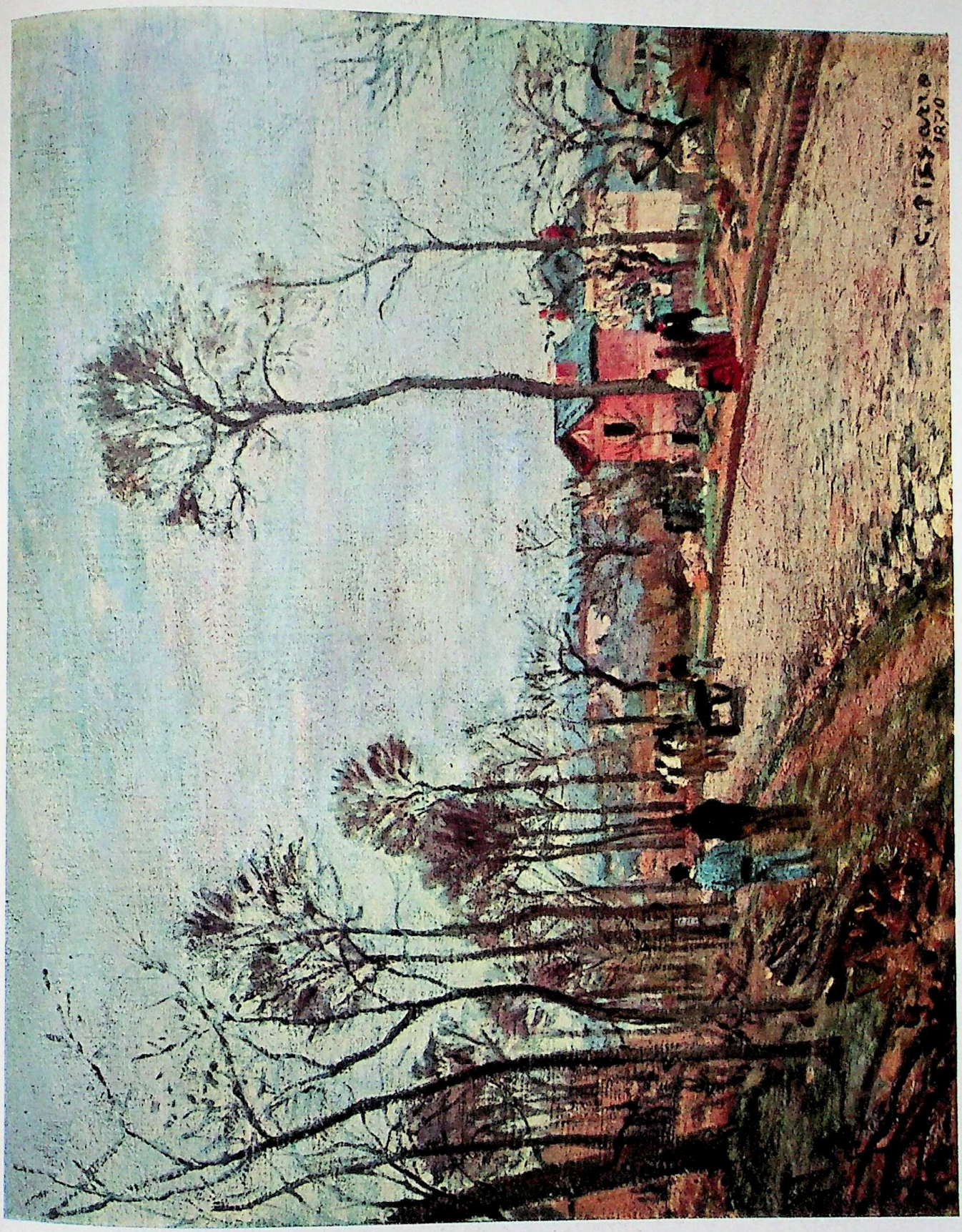

Pl. 427. C. Pissarro, The Road to Louveciennes. Canvas, 17¾×21¼ in. Paris, Louvre.

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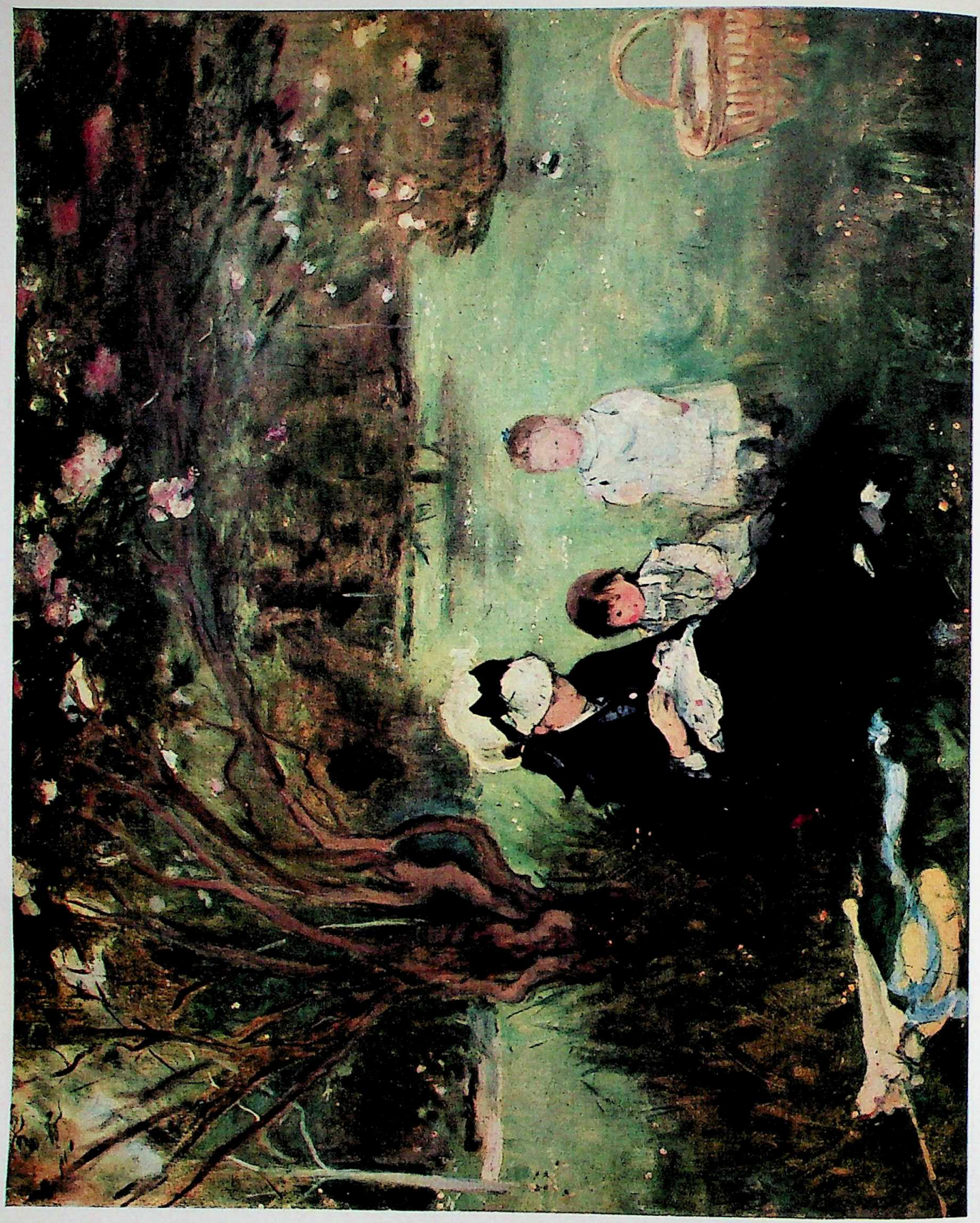

Pl. 428. B. Morisot, Under the Lilacs at Maurecourt. Canvas, $19^{3}/_{4} \times 25^{5}/_{8}$ in. Paris, private coll.

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Pl. 429. B. Morisot, Seascape, Isle of Wight. Canvas, 14 1/8×18 7/8 in. Paris, private coll.

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Pl. 430. A. Guillaumin, The Bridge of Louis-Philippe, Paris. Canvas, 18×23¾ in. Washington, D.C., National Gallery.

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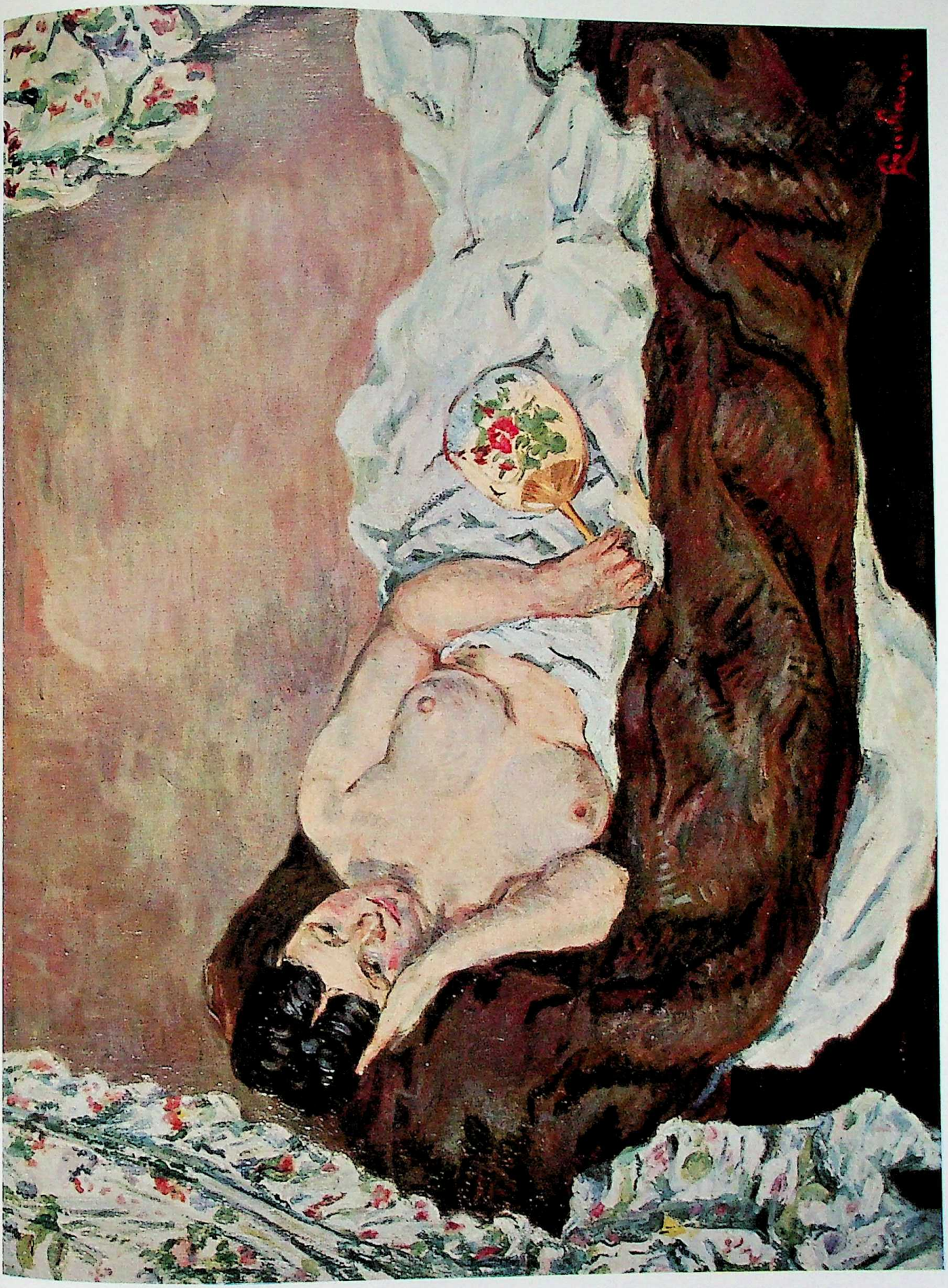

Pl. 431. A. Guillaumin, Reclining Nude. Canvas, $19^{1}/_{4} \times 25^{5}/_{8}$ in. Paris, Louvre.

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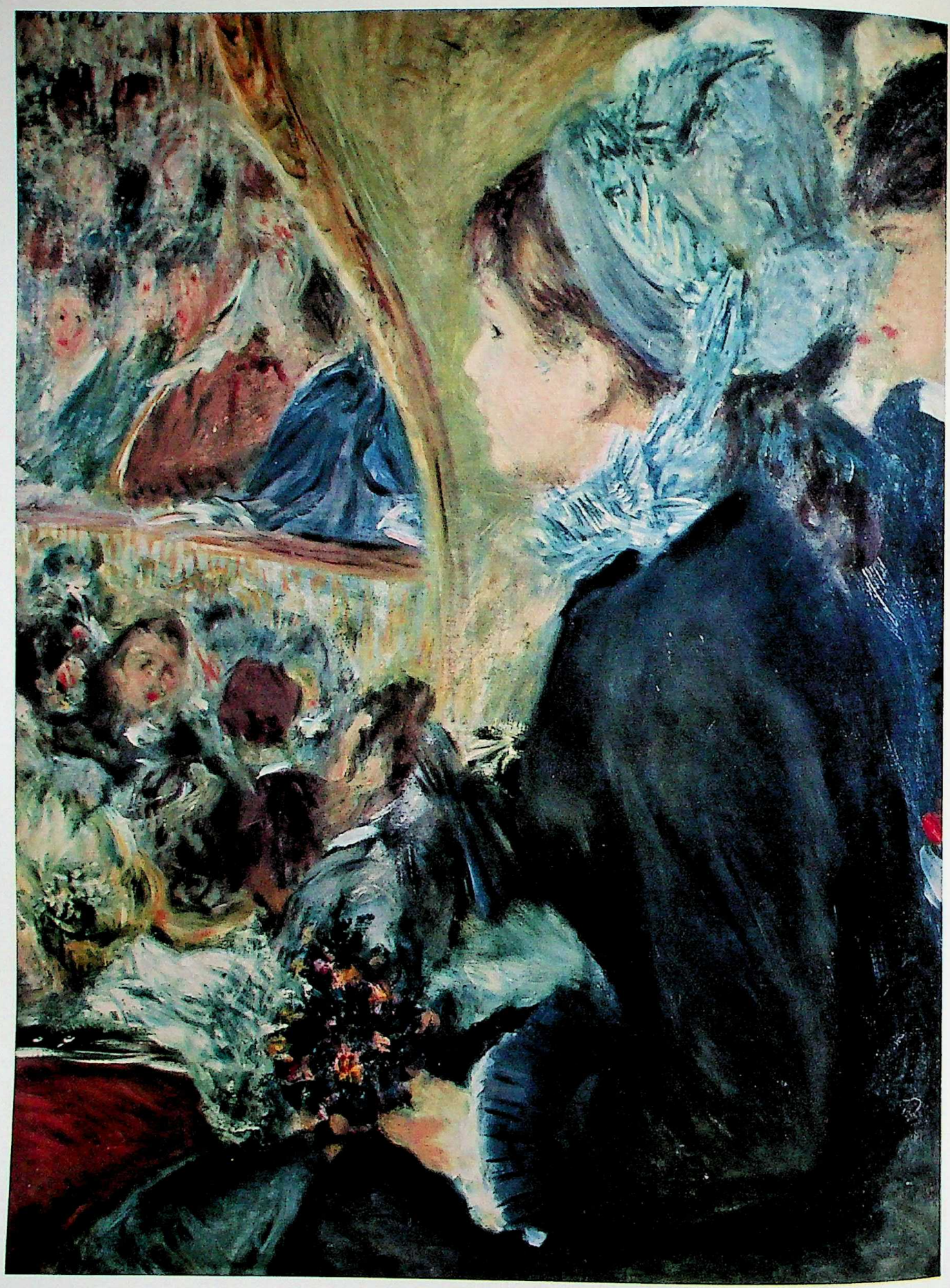

Pl. 432. A. Renoir. La Première Sortie. Canvas, $25^{5}/_{8} \times 19^{3}/_{4}$ in. London, National Gallery.

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Pl. 433. E. Manet, The Balcony. Canvas, 5 ft., 7¾ in. × 4 ft., 1¼ in. Paris, Louvre.

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Pl. 434. E. Degas. *Left*: Spanish dancer. Bronze, ht., 17 3/8 in. *Right*: Dancer. Bronze with fabric added; ht., 38 5/8 in. *Both, Paris, Louvre.*

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Pl. 435. H. de Toulouse-Lautrec, At the Moulin-Rouge. Canvas, 4 ft., 3/8 in. × 4 ft., 7 1/4 in. Chicago, Art Institute.

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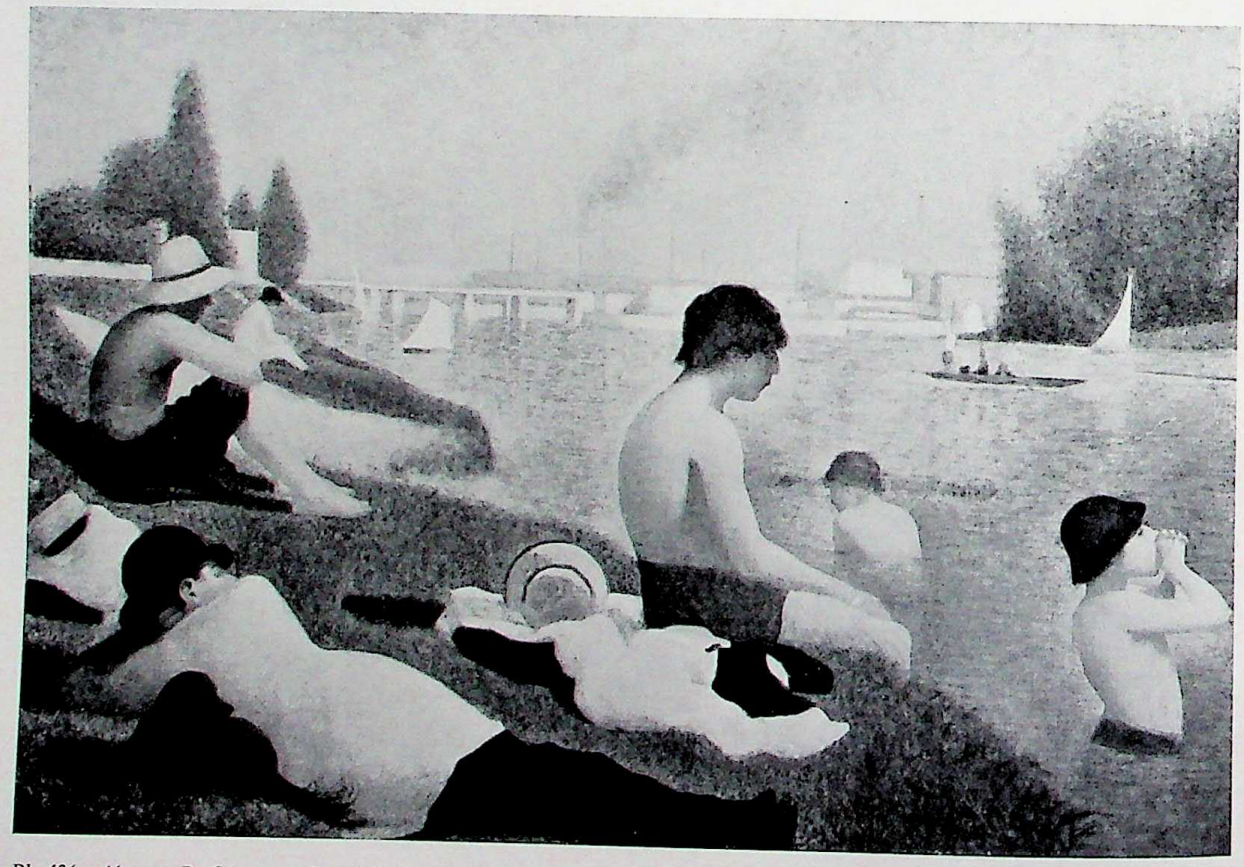

Pl. 436. *Above*: P. Cézanne, Le Château Noir. Canvas, 28 3/4 × 36 1/4 in. Winterthur, Switzerland, Reinhart Coll. *Below*: G. Seurat, Bathers. Canvas, 6 ft., 7 in. × 9 ft., 10 1/2 in. London, National Gallery.

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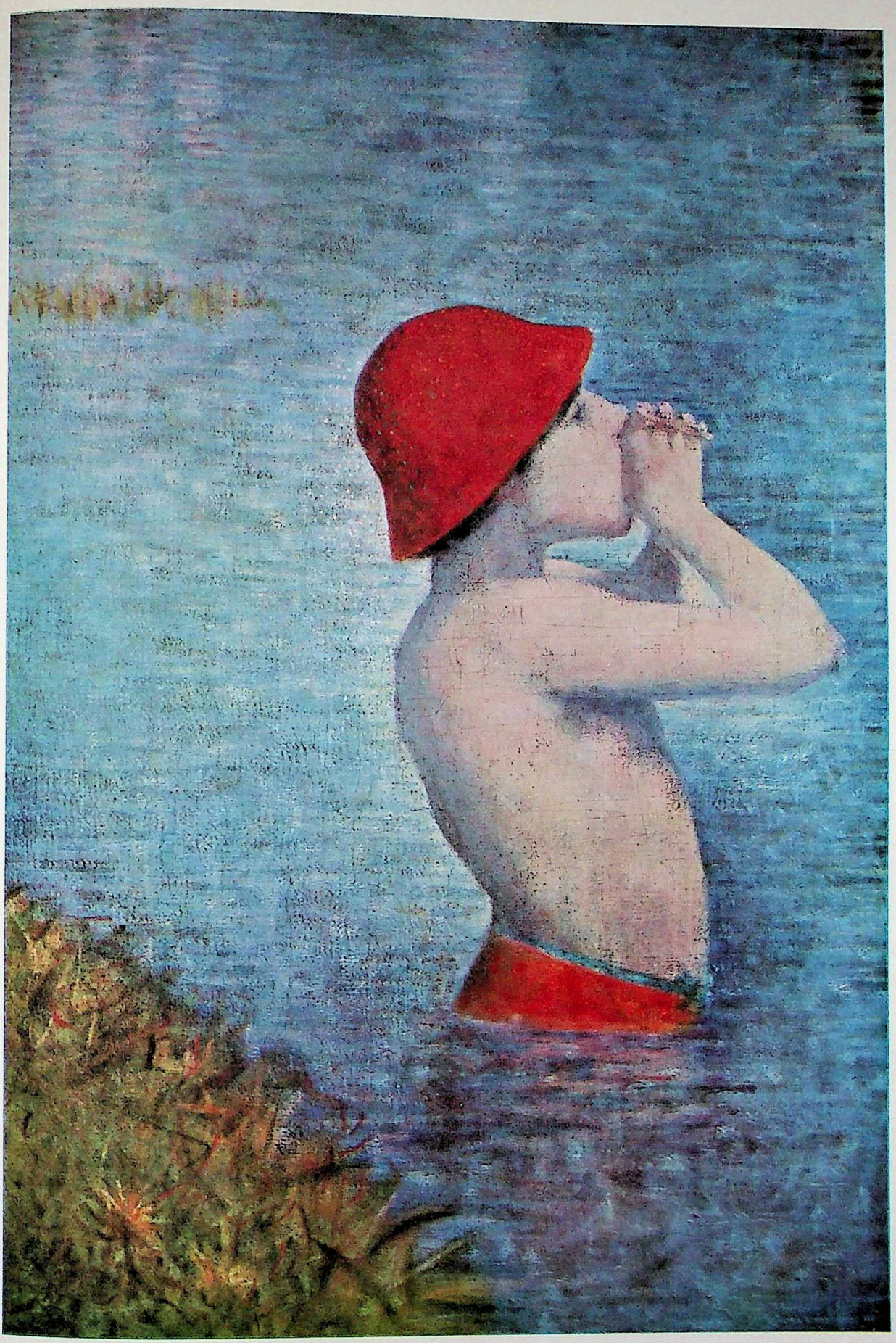

Pl. 437. G. Seurat, Bathers, detail of PL. 436 (*below*).

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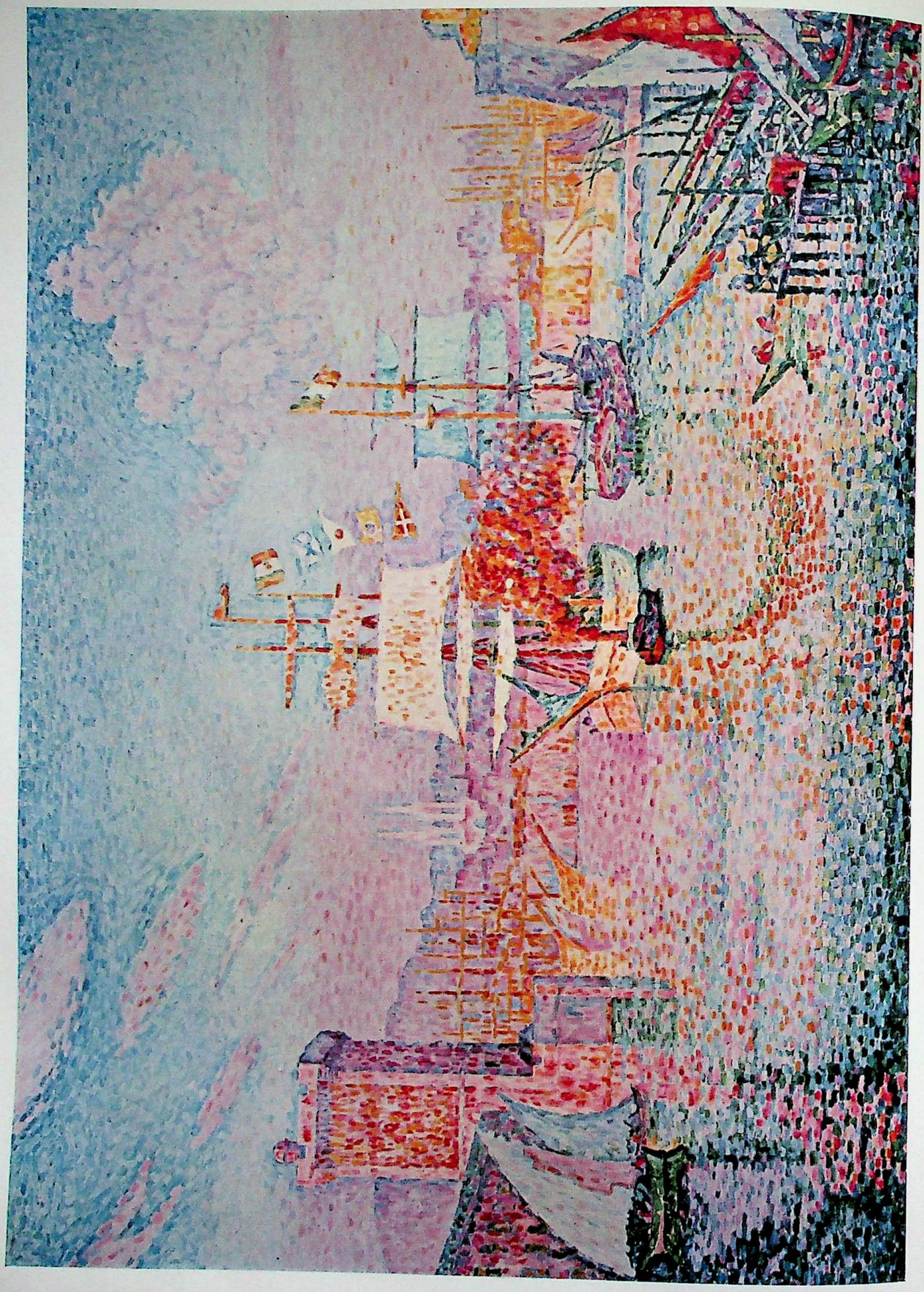

Pl. 438. P. Signac, Entrance to the Port of Marseilles. Canvas, 3 ft., 10 1/8 in. × 5 ft., 3 3/4 in. Paris, Musée d'Art Moderne.

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Pl. 439. E. Boudin, Ships at Le Havre. Canvas, $10^5/_8 \times 13^3/_4$ in. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

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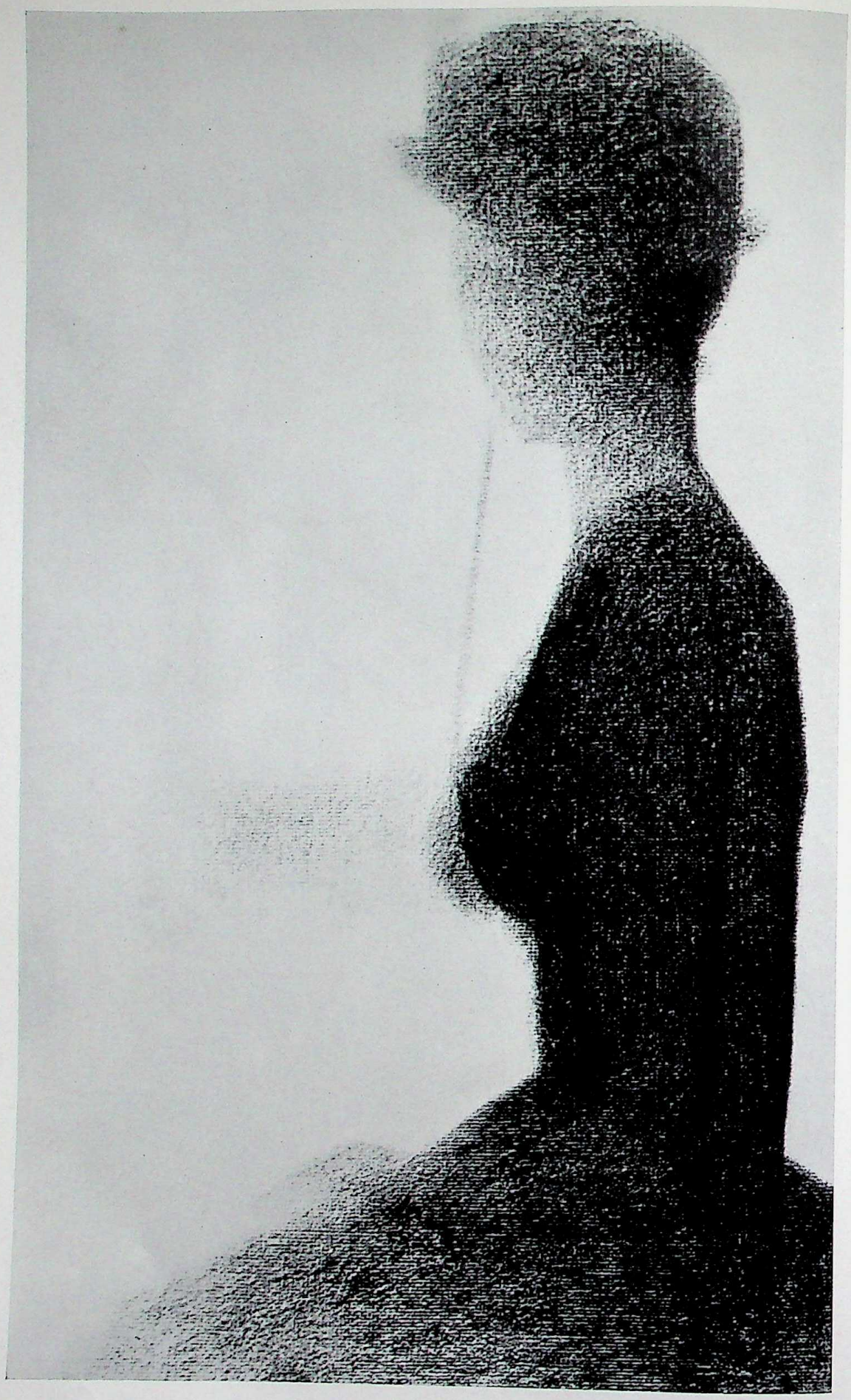

Pl. 440. G. Seurat, Seated Woman. Conté crayon, $18^{7}/_{8} \times 12^{1}/_{8}$ in. New York, Museum of Modern Art.

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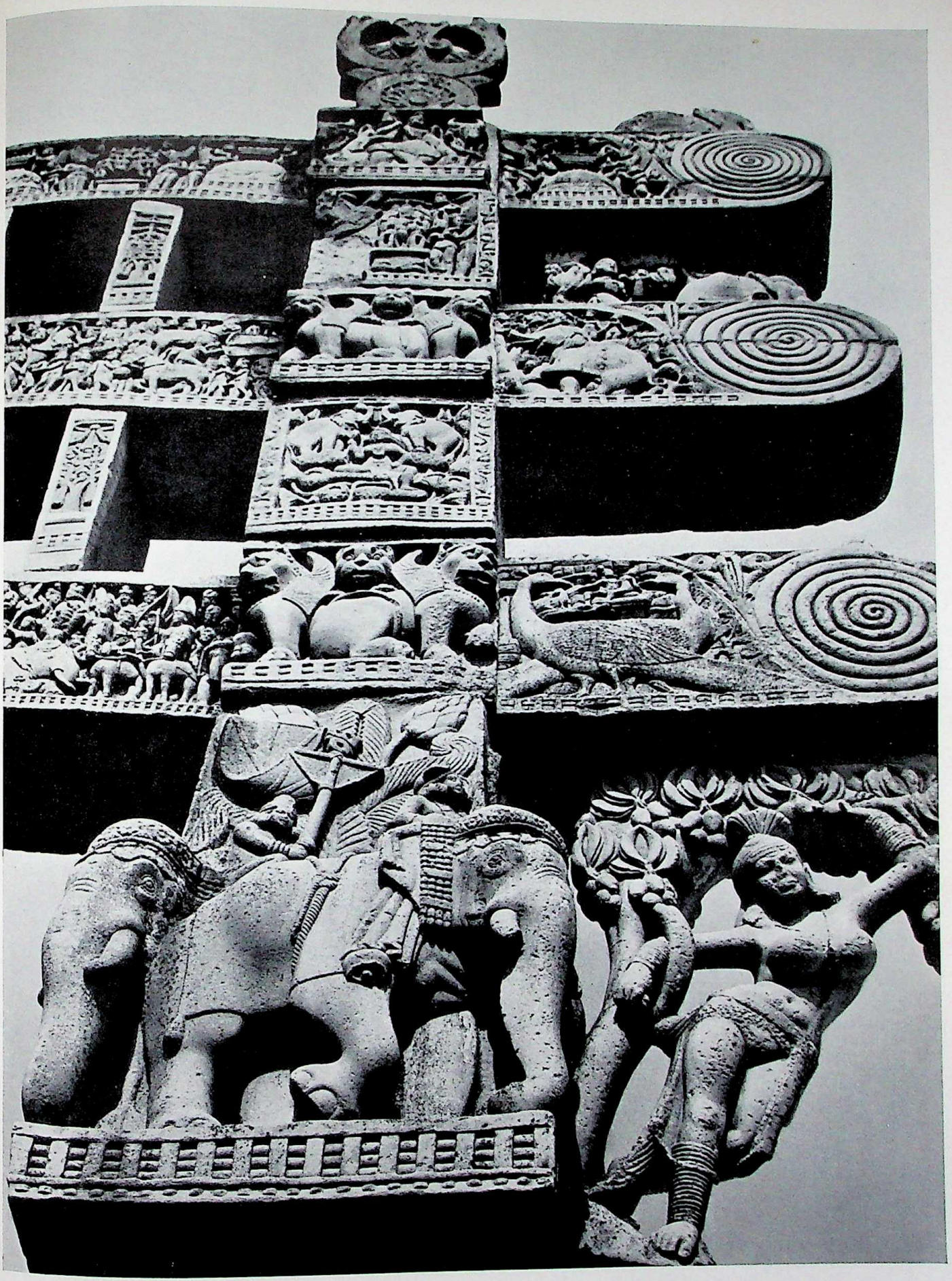

Pl. 441. Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, Stupa I, detail of east gate, 1st cent. B.C.

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Pl. 442. Worship of the Bo tree, architrave fragment, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 1st cent. B.C. Red sandstone, 11 3/4 × 46 1/2 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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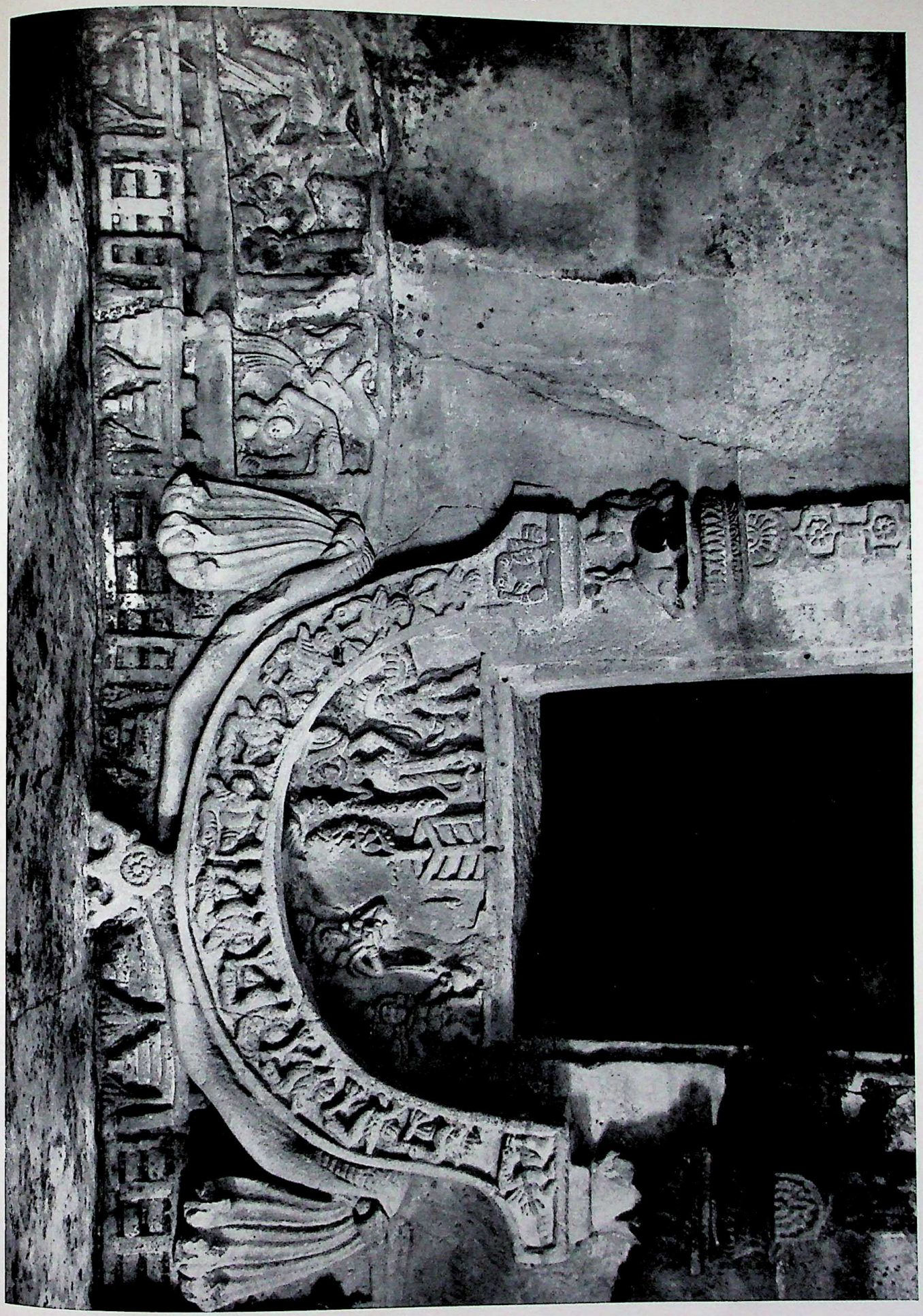

Pl. 443. Khandagiri, Orissa, Ananta Gumphā, detail of the veranda reliefs, 25 B.C.–A.D. 25.

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Pl. 444. Chowry bearer, from Didarganj, near Patna, Bihar, ca. 1st cent. B.C. (?). Sandstone, ht., 5 ft., 3 in. Patna, Museum.

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Pl. 445. Chaitya slab with representation of a stupa, from Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh, 2d cent. Stone. Madras, Government Museum.

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Pl. 446. Head of the goddess Pārvatī, from Ramnagar (anc. Ahichchhatra), Uttar Pradesh, ca. 5th cent. (?). Terra cotta, ht., 4¼ in. *Property of the Government of India.*

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Pl. 447. *Left:* Head with turban, from Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, ca. early Ist cent. Reddish sandstone, ht., 11¼ in. Sanchi, Archaeological Museum. *Right:* Head of a nobleman wearing a turban, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. Ist–3d cent. Pink sandstone, ht., 16⅞ in. Mathura (Muttra), Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 448. Architectural fragment with representation of a stupa, from Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh, ca. 3d cent. (?). Limestone, 57 7/8 × 34 1/4 in. Nagarjunakonda, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 449. The Adoration of the Three Gems, from the monastery of Loriyan Tangai, Pakistan, ca. 2d cent. Schist, ht., ca. 17 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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Pl. 450. Yakshi with a parrot and cage, detail of railing from Bhuteshar, near Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 2d cent. Mottled red sandstone, ht., 4 ft., 7 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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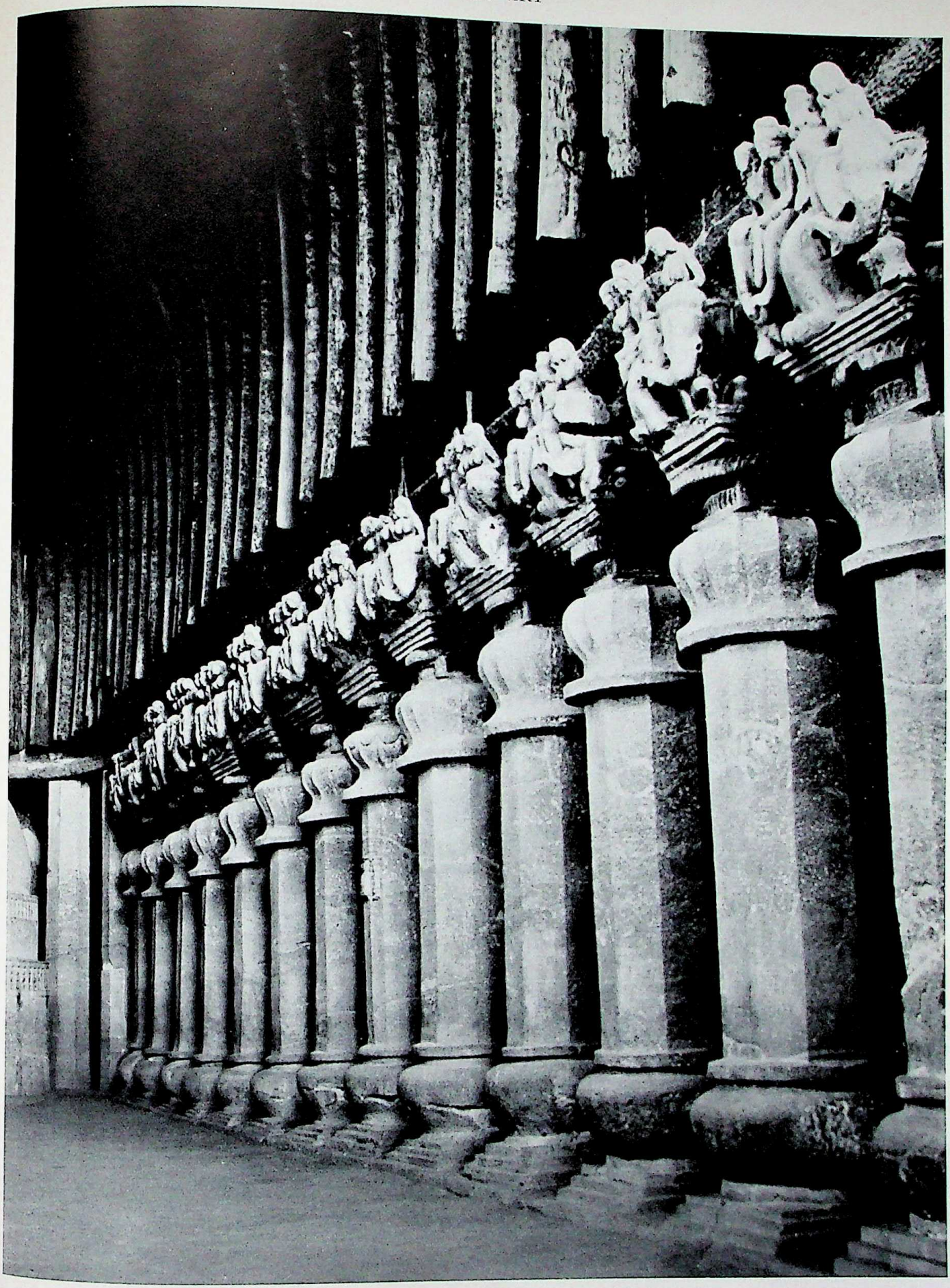

Pl. 451. Karli, Bombay, interior of the chaitya hall, ca. 2d cent.

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Pl. 452. Buddha preaching the First Sermon, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, 5th cent. Sandstone, ht., 5 ft., 3 in. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 453. Standing Buddha, detail, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 6th cent. Stone. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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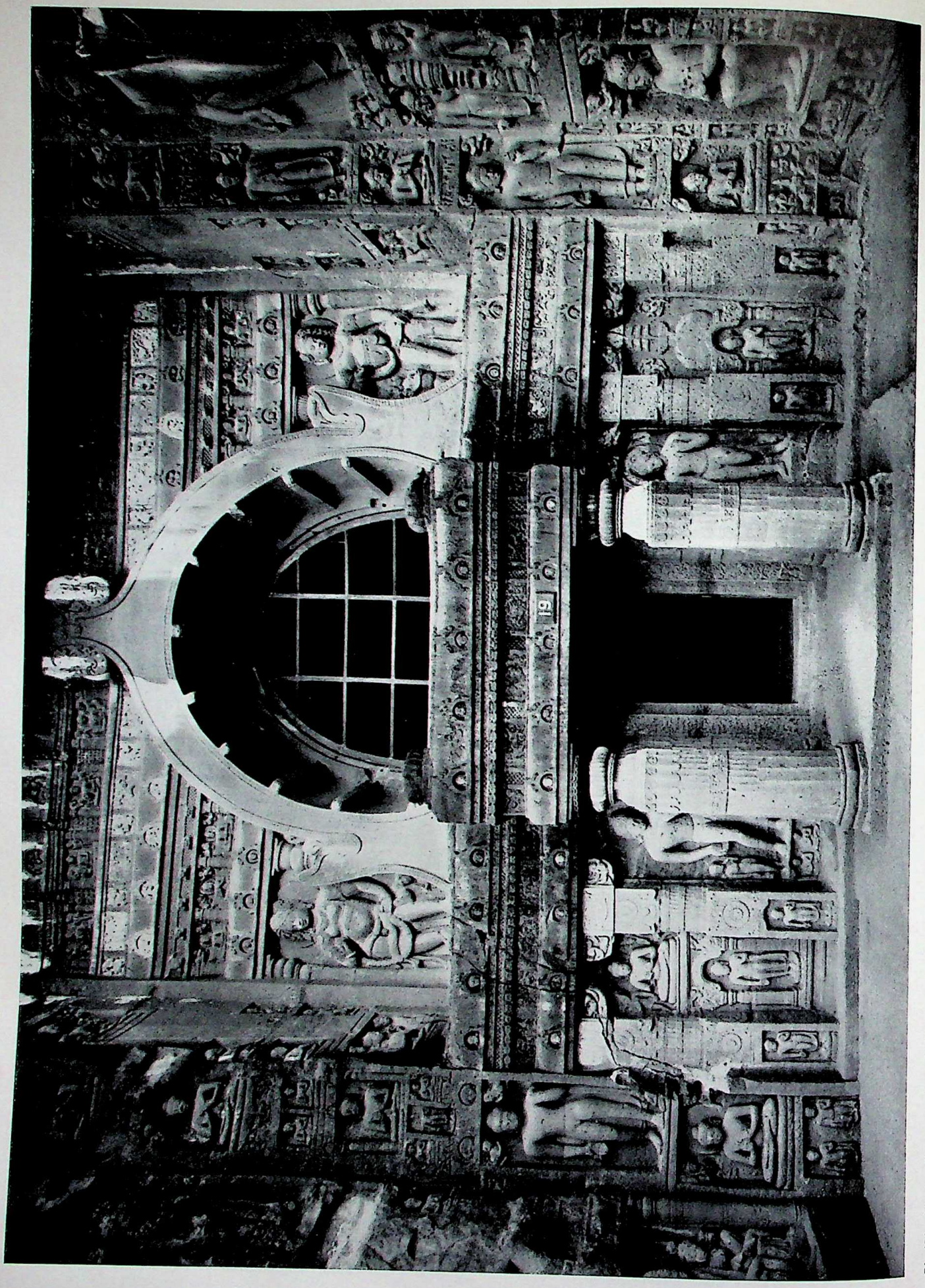

Pl. 454. Ajanta, Bombay, Cave XIX, façade of the chaitya hall, ca. 6th cent.

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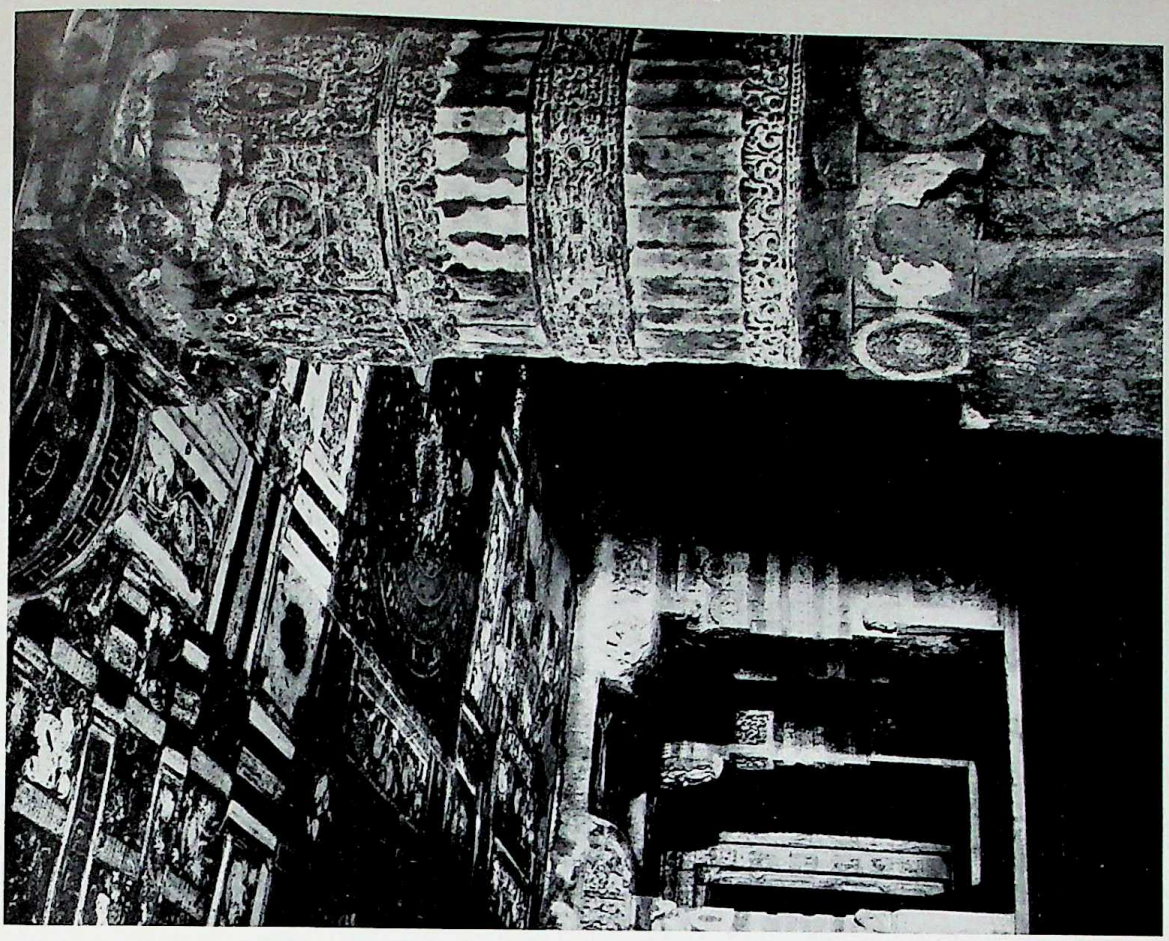

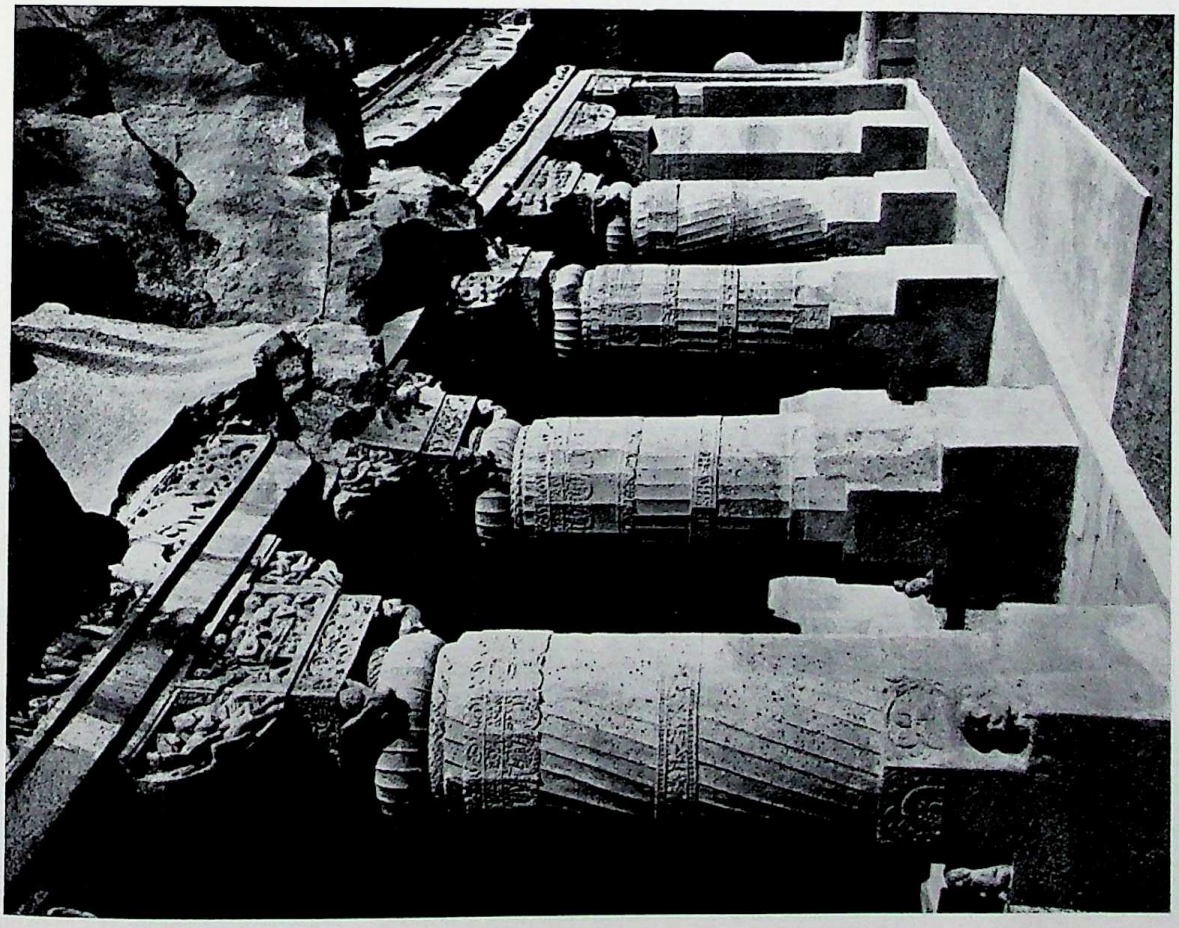

Pl. 455. Ajanta, Bombay, Cave I, two views, ca. 6th cent.

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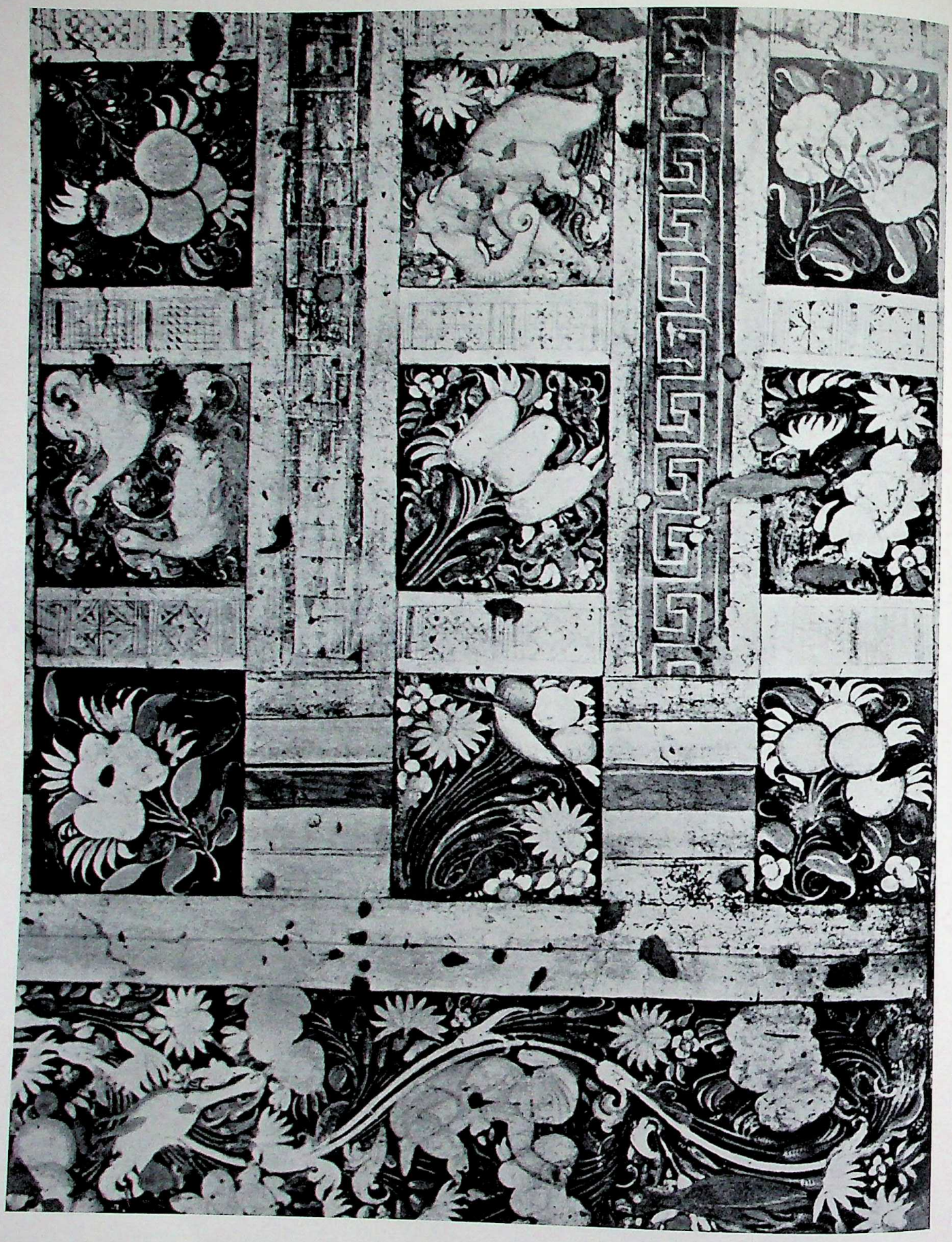

Pl. 456. Ajanta, Bombay, Cave I, detail of ceiling decoration, ca. 6th cent. (cf. I, pl. 41).

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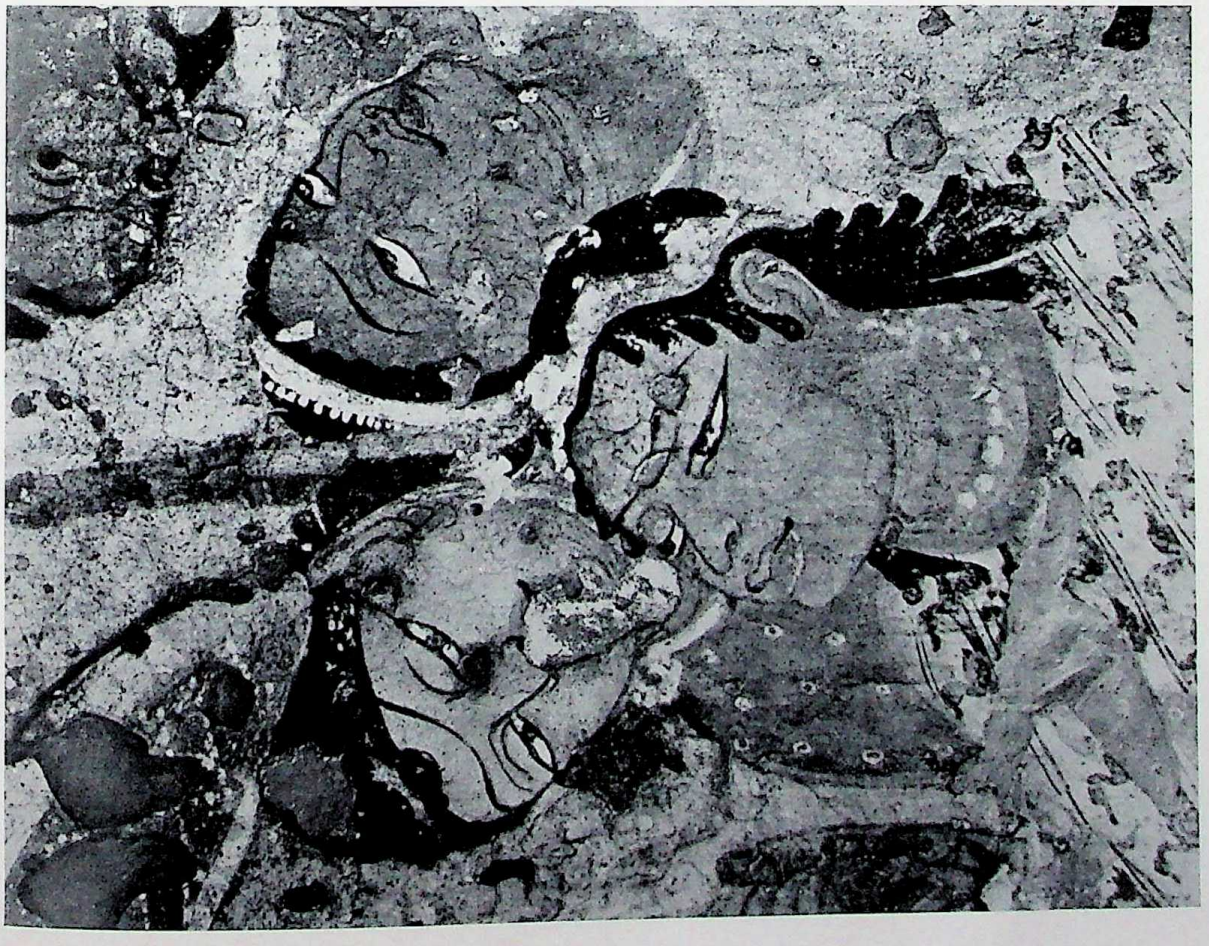

Pl. 457. Ajanta, Bombay, wall paintings, ca. 6th cent. *Left*: Cave I, female figures, detail. *Right*: Cave XVII, an apsaras, detail.

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Pl. 458. Viṣṇu releases the elephant, in the Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) temple, Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh, 6th-7th cent. Stone.

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Pl. 459. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, in the Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāra) temple, Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh, 6th–7th cent. Stone.

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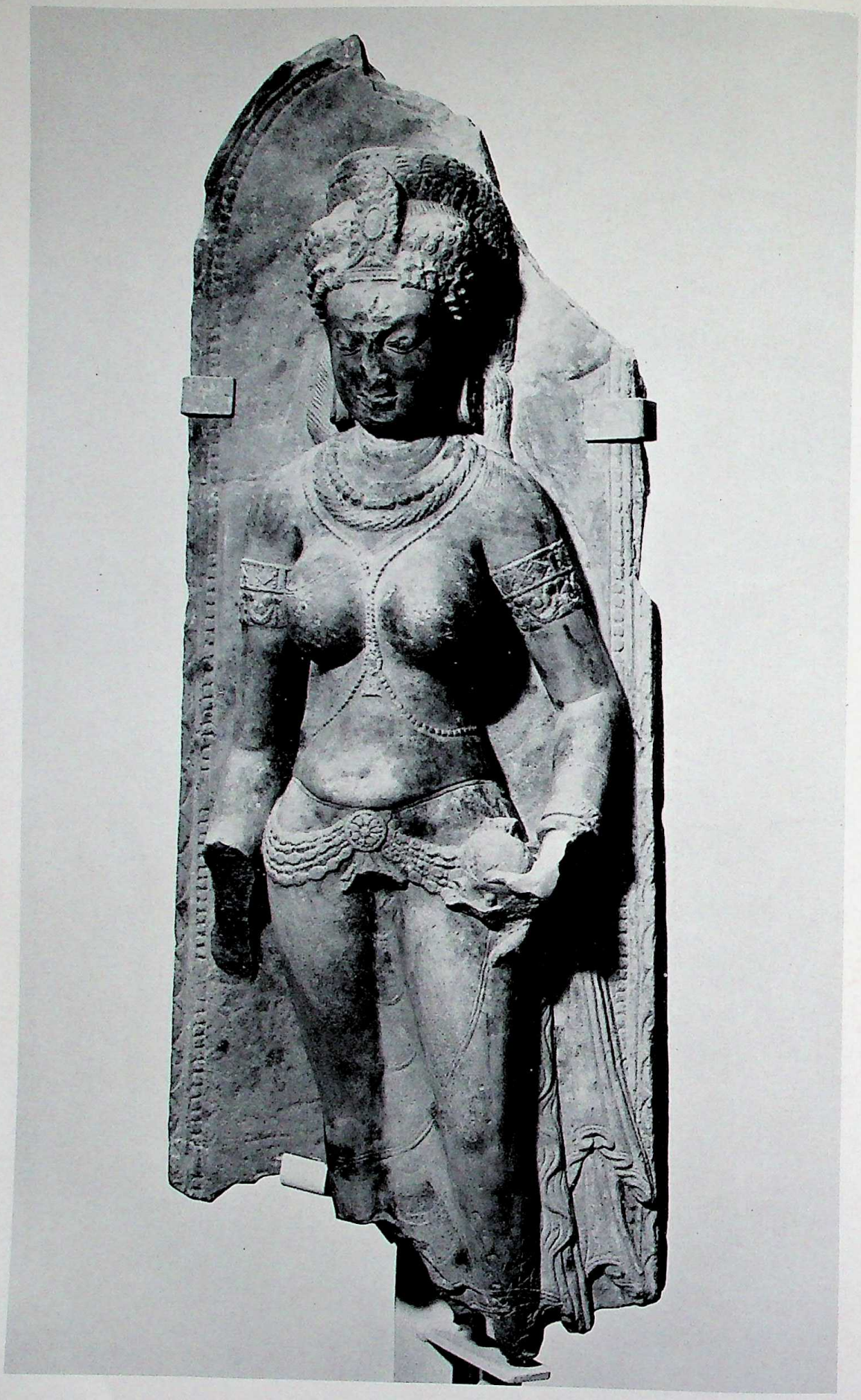

Pl. 460. Representation of Śrī (?), from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 6th cent. Sandstone, ht., 40½ in. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 461. Vajrasattva, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 8th–9th cent. (?). Sandstone, ht., 4 ft., 7 7/8 in. Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 462. Sculptures from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 9th cent. Sandstone, ht., 46½ in. *Left*: Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, with the gift-bestowing gesture, holding a lotus stem. *Right*: Buddha preaching the First Sermon. Both, Sarnath, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 463. Fragment of an image of Viṣṇu, from Avantipur, Kashmir, second half of 9th cent. Black basalt, ht., 14 5/8 in. Srinagar, Sri Pratap Singh Museum.

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Pl. 464. Mamallapuram, Madras, detail of the Descent of the Ganges, or "Arjuna's Penance," 7th cent. Rock sculpture.

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Pl. 465. Reliquary, from Bimaran, Afghanistan, 1st cent. B.C. (?). Gold repoussé inlaid with rubies; ht., 2 3/4 in. London, British Museum.

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Pl. 466. Cornice of an *āyaka* pillar, detail, with mythological scene and *mithuna* couples, from Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh, ca. 3d cent. Limestone; *full size*, 16 1/8 × 57 7/8 in. Nagarjunakonda, Archaeological Museum.

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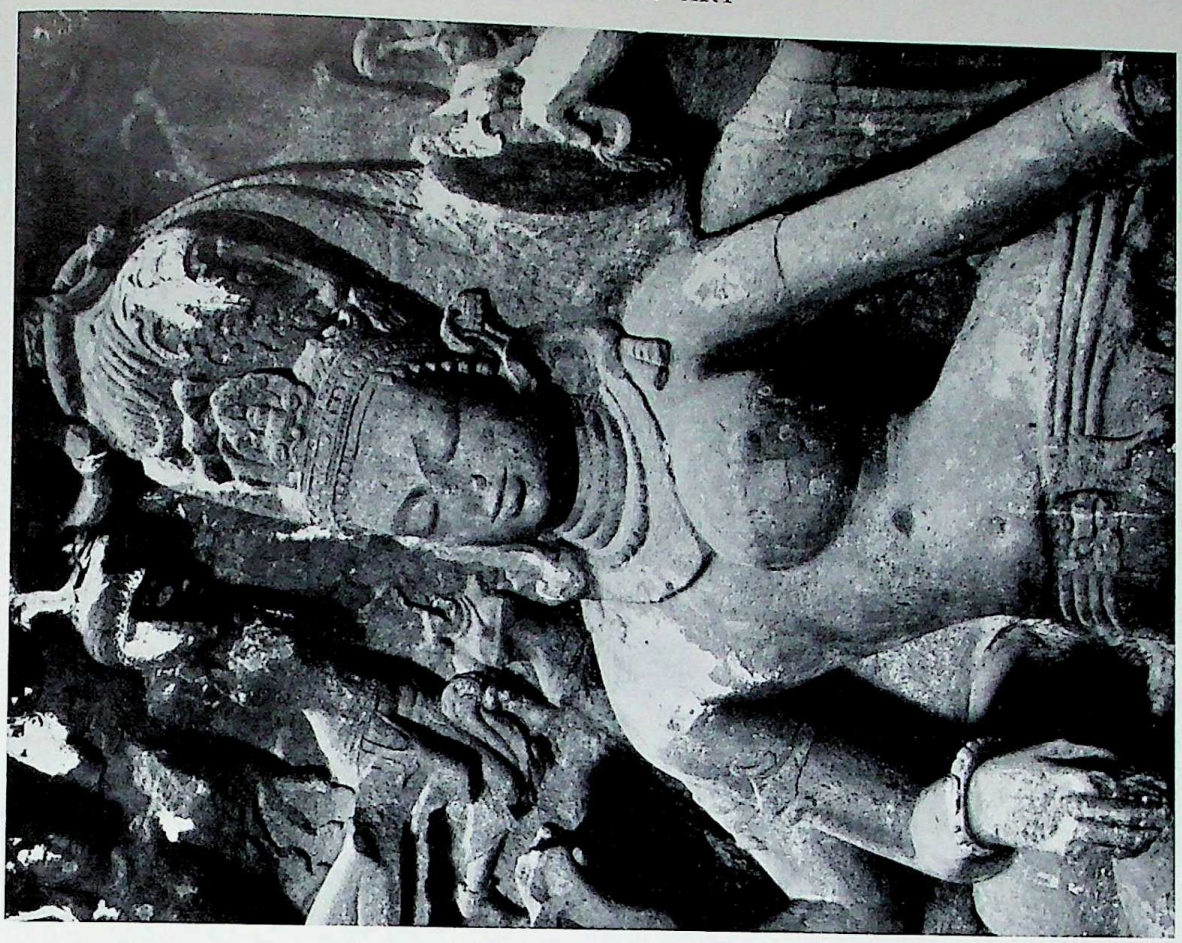

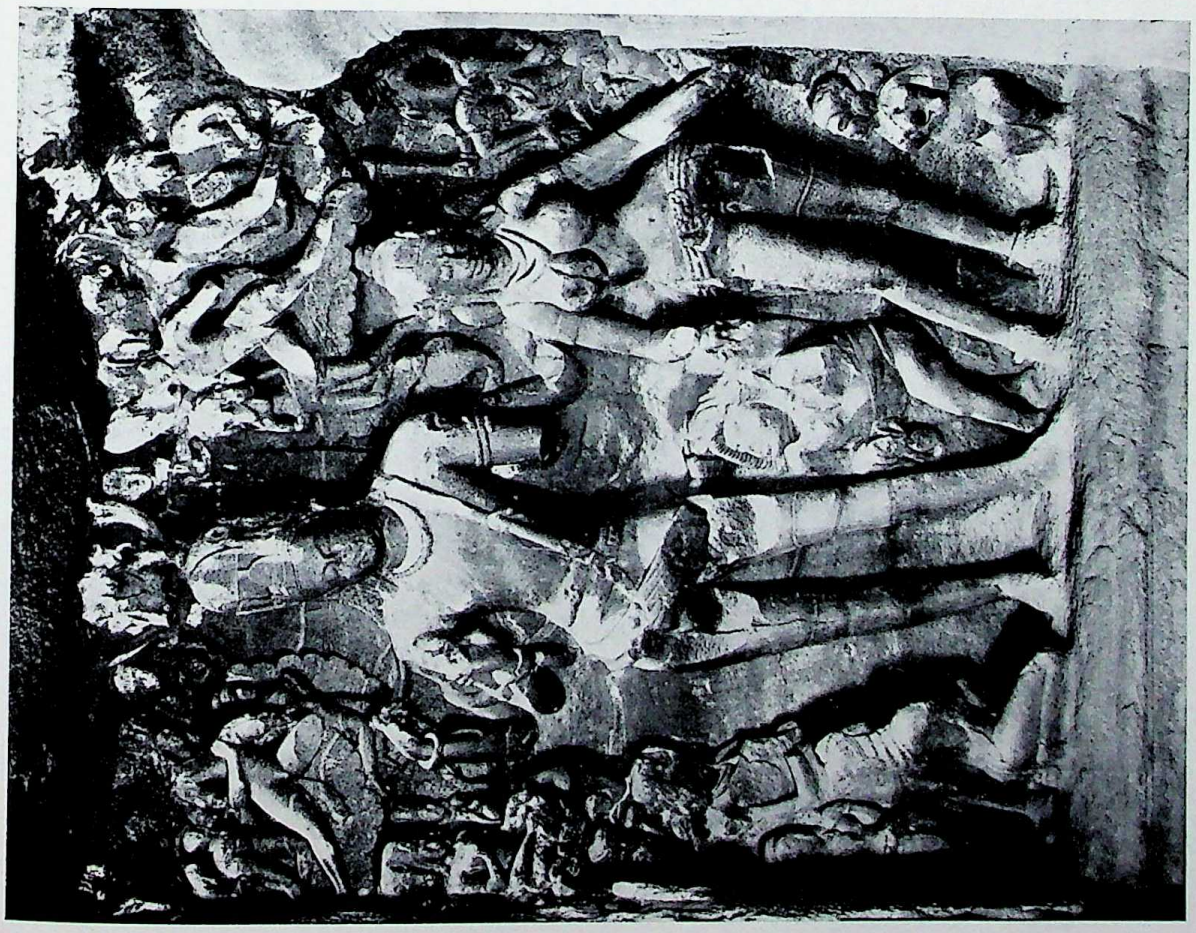

Pl. 467. Rock sculptures, Śiva temple, Elephanta, Bombay, ca. 8th cent. *Left*: Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. *Right*: Ardhanārīśvara, detail.

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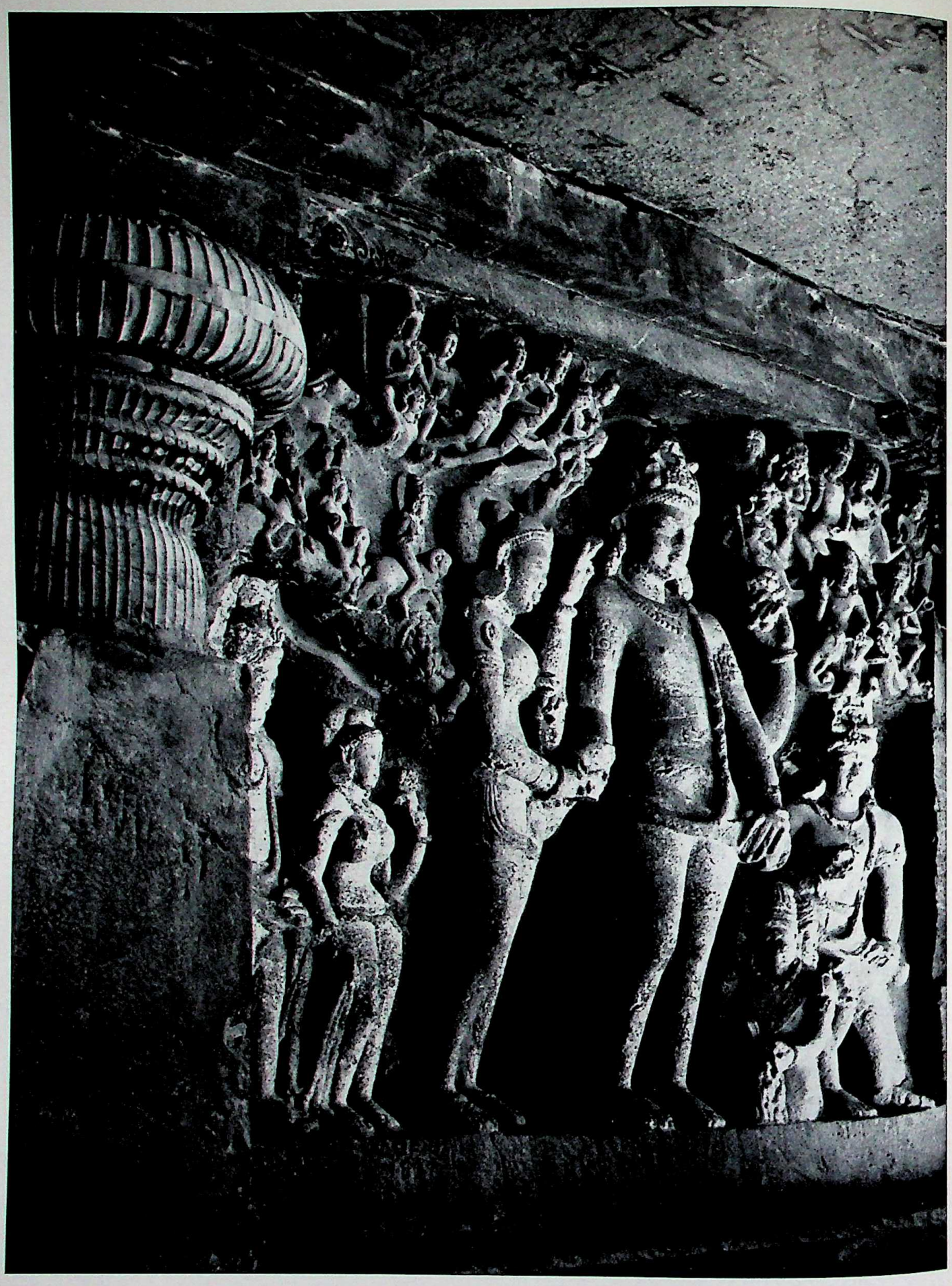

Pl. 468. Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, in Cave XXIX, Ellora, Bombay, late 6th–mid-7th cent.

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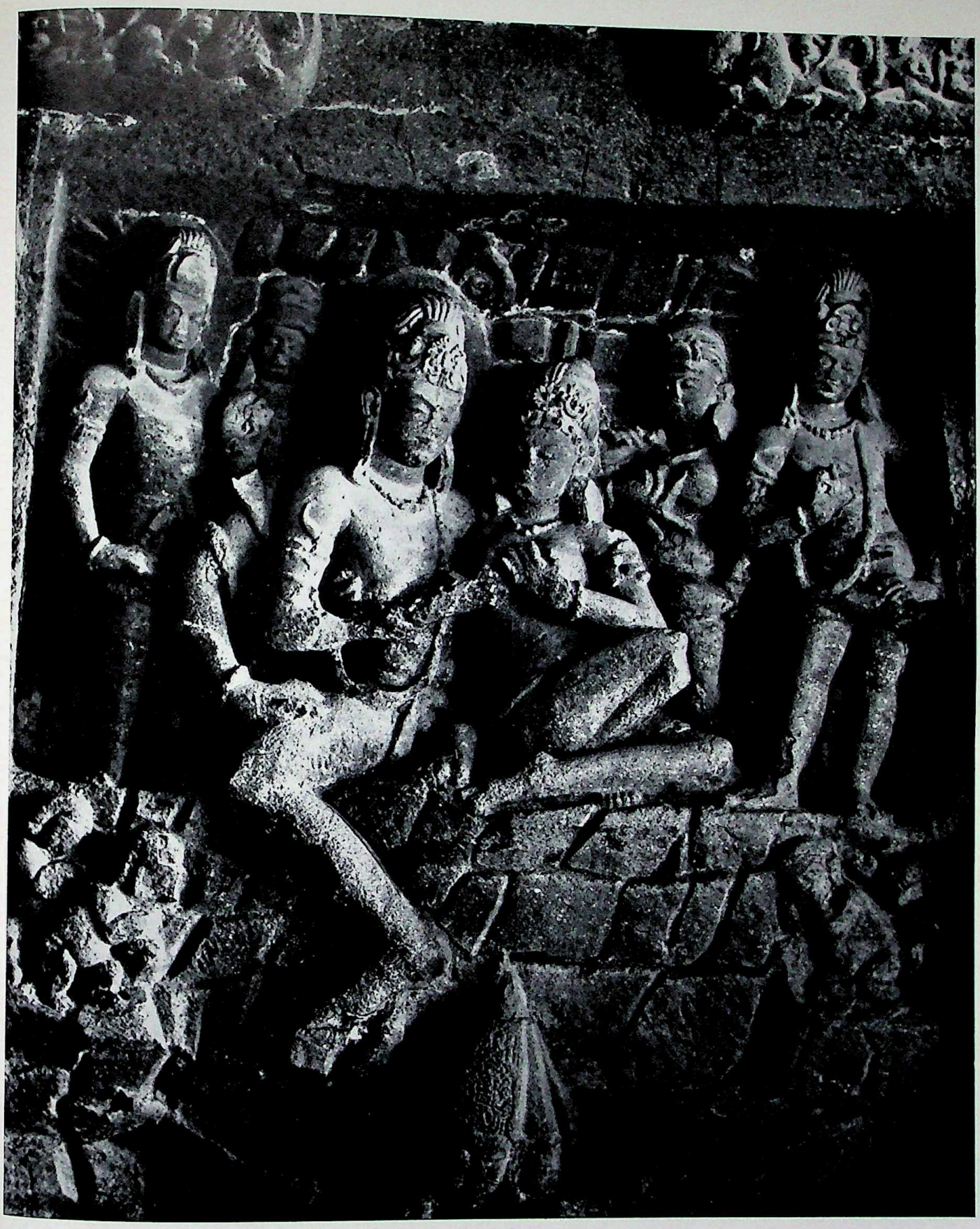

Pl. 469. The demon Rāvaṇa shaking Mt. Kailasa, upper portion, in Cave XXIX, Ellora, Bombay, late 6th–mid-7th cent.

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Pl. 470. Colossal head of Śiva, from Kalyanapura, Rajasthan, ca. 12th cent. (?). Schist, ht., 31 7/8 in. Udaipur, Victoria Hall Museum.

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Pl. 471. Female bust, from the fort of Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 8th–9th cent. Reddish sandstone, ht., 21 1/4 in. New Delhi, National Museum of India.

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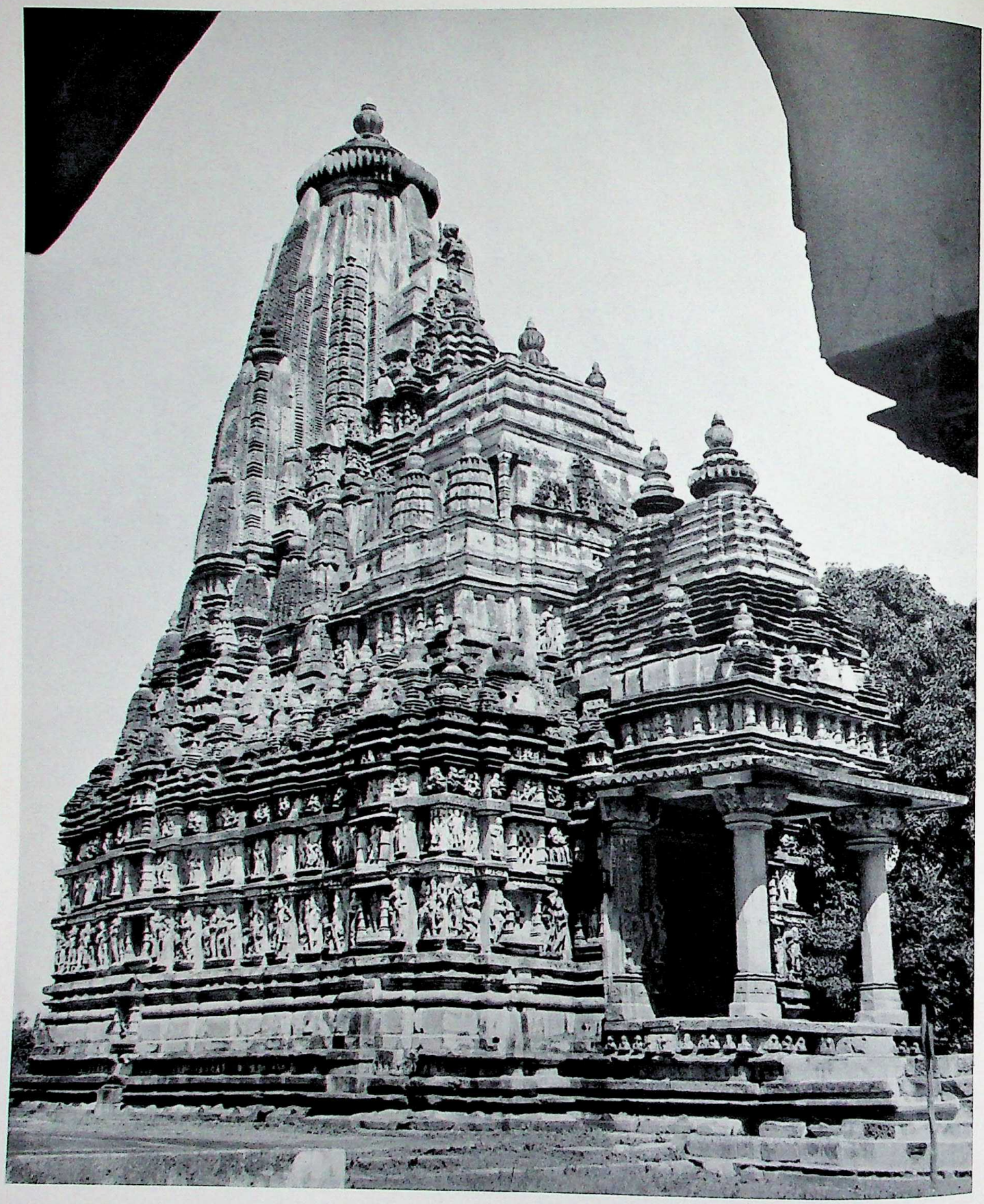

Pl. 472. Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, Pārśvanātha temple, 11th cent.

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Pl. 473. Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple, detail of exterior decoration, ca. 11th cent.

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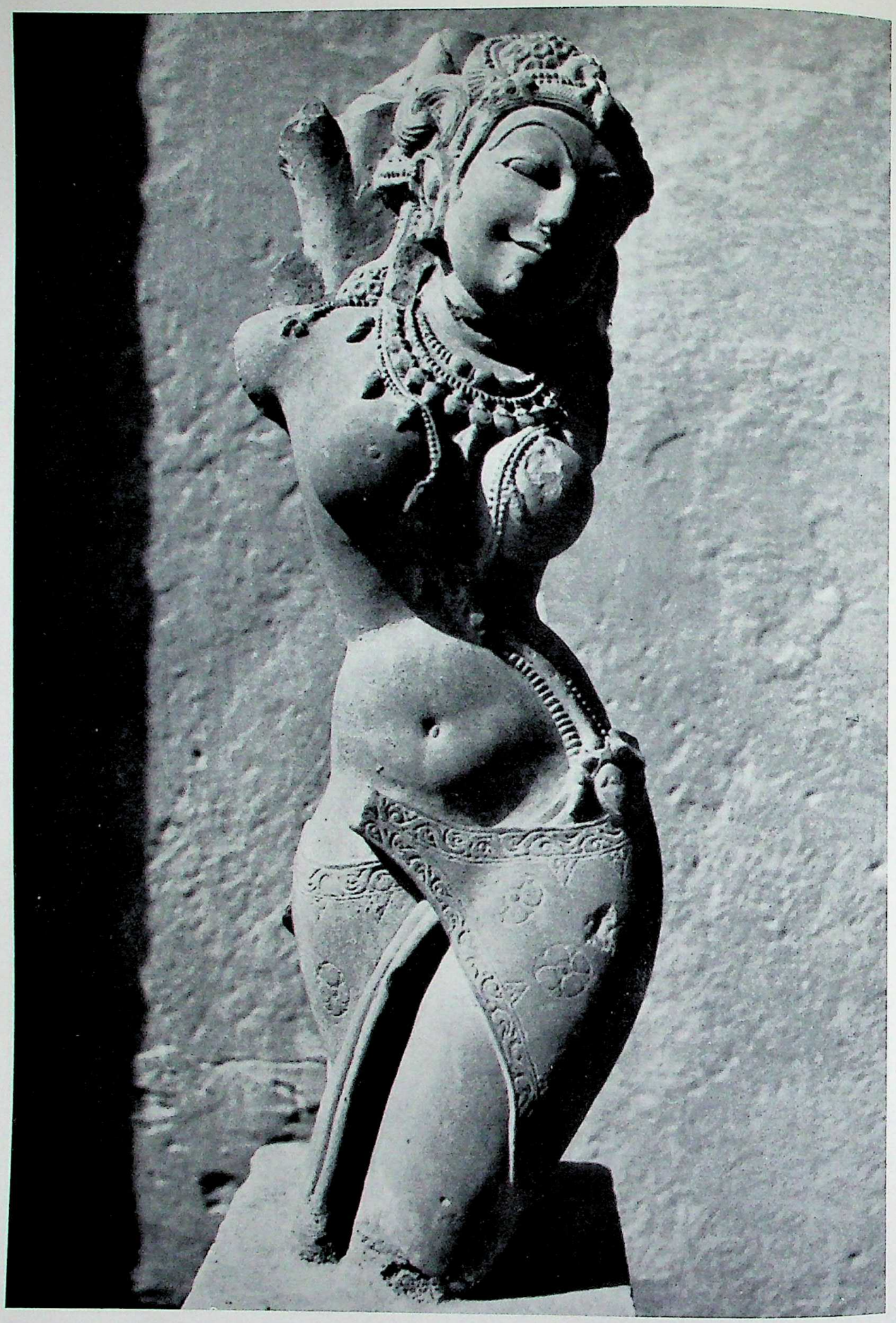

Pl. 474. Tree goddess (*vṛkṣakā*), from Gyaraspur, Madhya Pradesh, 8th–10th cent. Stone, ht., 18 in. Gwalior, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 475. Head of Avalokiteśvara, from Lalitagiri, near Cuttack, Orissa, ca. 8th–9th cent. Stone, ht., 21 5/8 in. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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Pl. 476. Linga with the face of Śiva (*mukhaliṅga*), from Nemad, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 10th cent. Polished black sandstone, ht., 34 1/8 in. Nagpur, Central Museum.

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Pl. 477. Śiva Naṭarāja (Lord of the Dance), from Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 8th–10th cent. Stone, ht., 43 1/8 in. Gwalior, Archaeological Museum.

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Pl. 478. Fragment of a female figure, from Mathura (?), Uttar Pradesh, 6th cent. or later. Sandstone, ht., 30 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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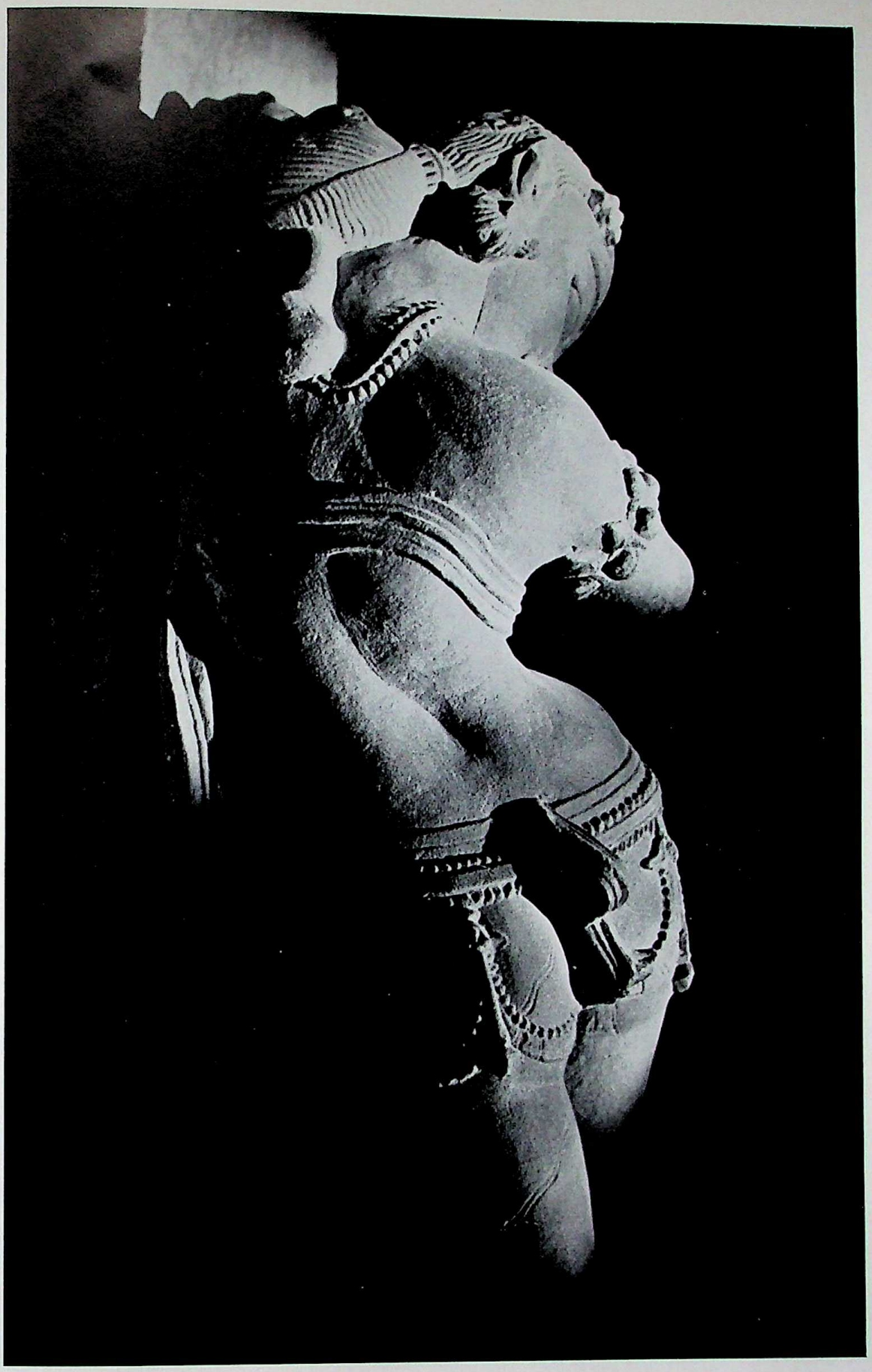

Pl. 479. Female figure, detail of exterior decoration, Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 11th cent. Stone.

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Pl. 480. Bracket sculpture, inscribed "Kārttikeya nursed by Gaṅgā . . .," from Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 11th cent. Reddish sandstone, ht., 3 ft., 5/8 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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Pl. 481. Bracket sculpture, woman with mirror, from Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 11th cent. Reddish sandstone, ht., 3 ft., 1 in. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

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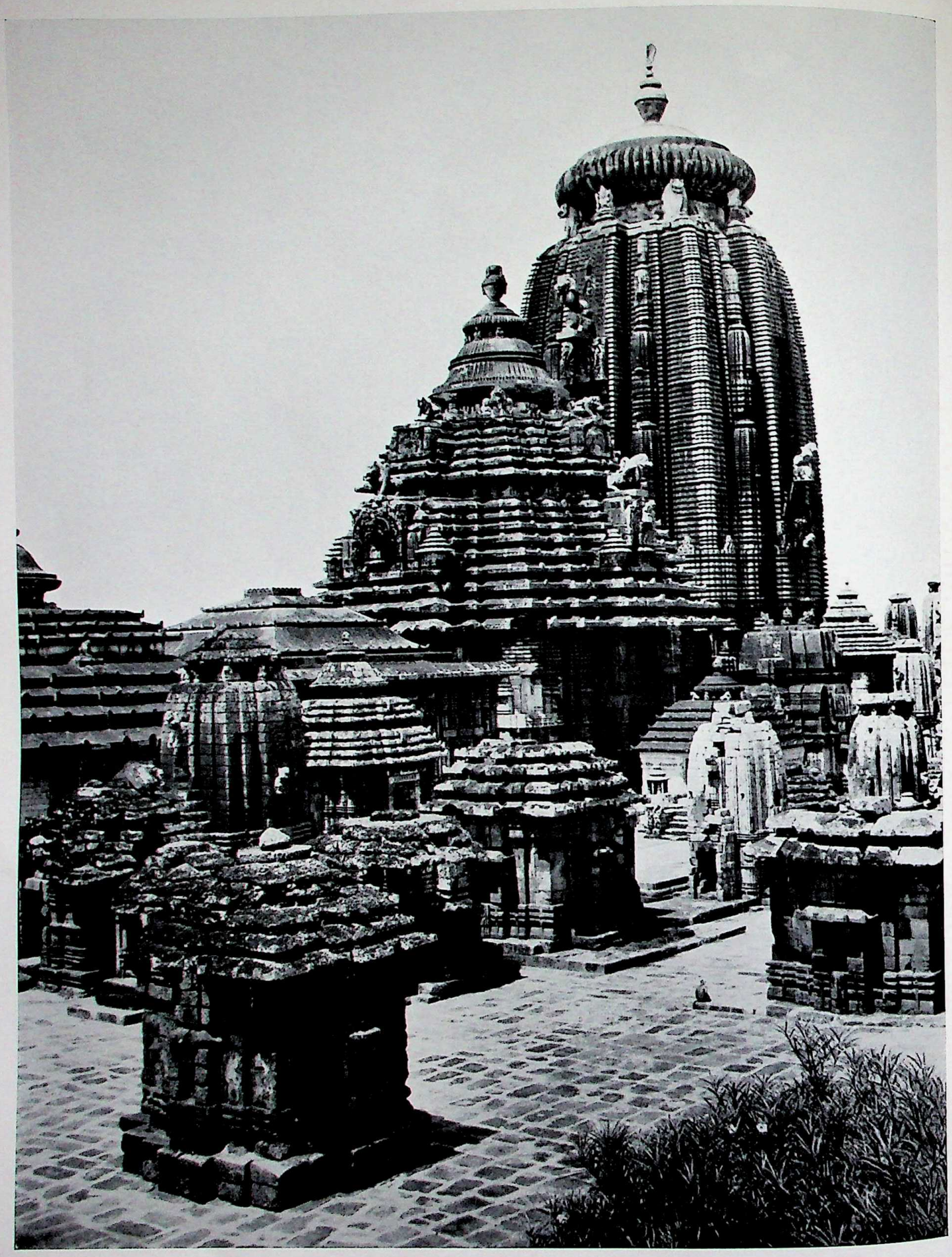

Pl. 482. Bhuvaneshwar, Orissa, Liṅgarāja temple, 11th cent.

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Pl. 483. Modhera, Bombay, Sūrya temple, exterior and interior, 11th cent.

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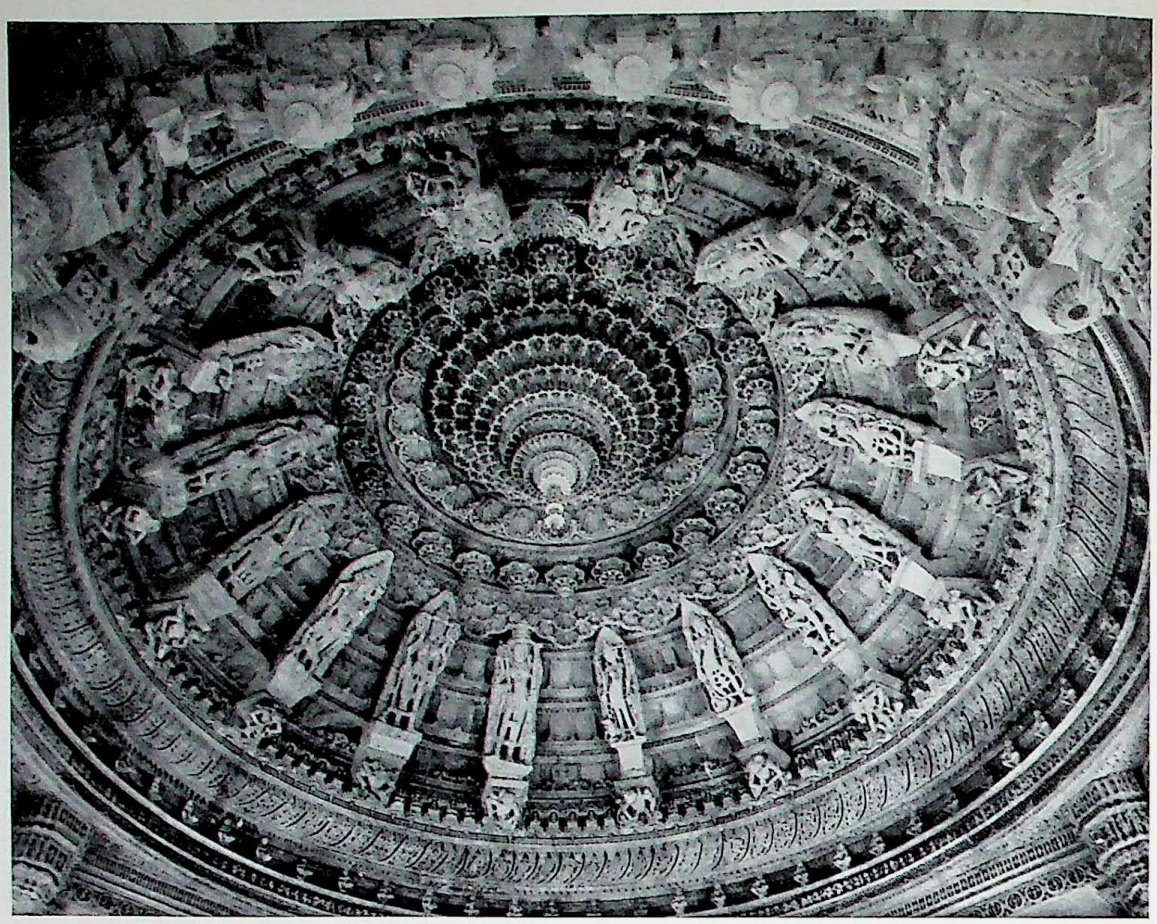

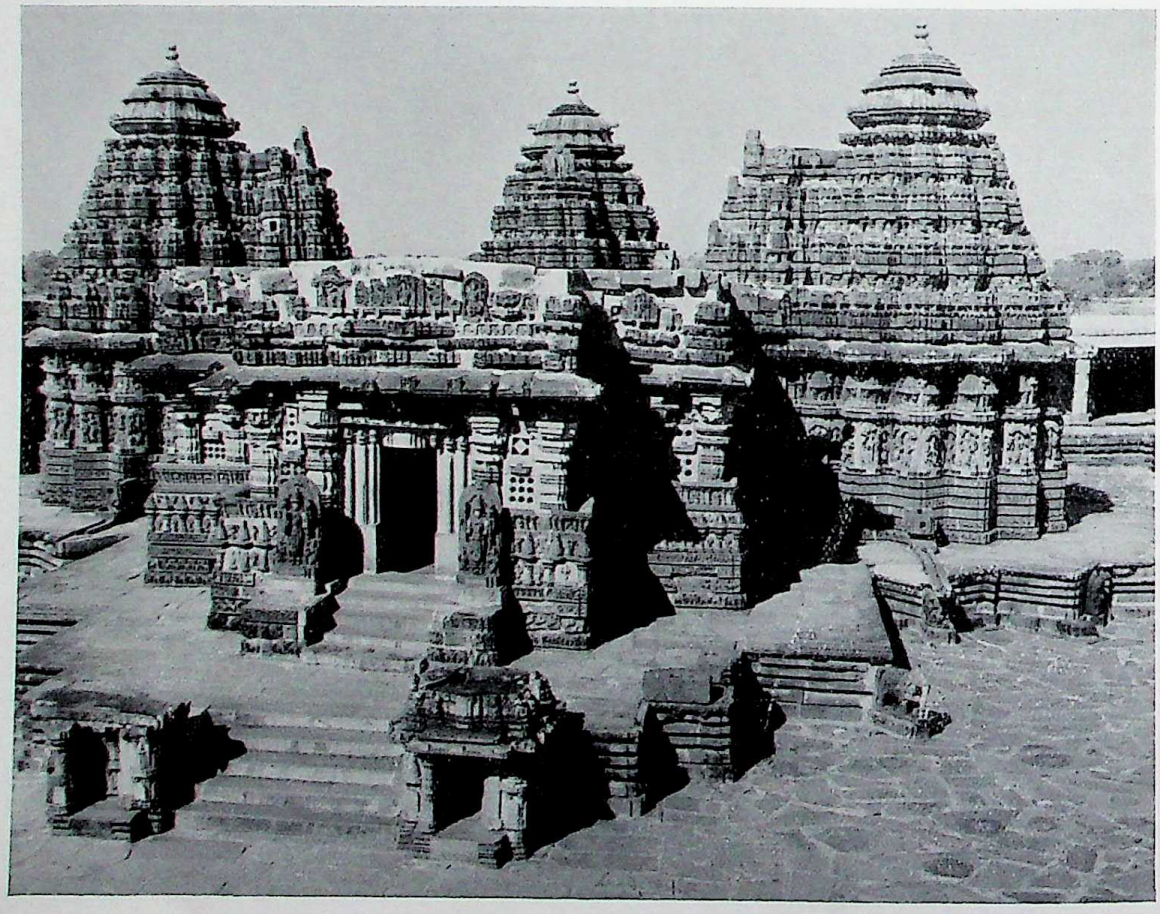

Pl. 484. *Above*: Mt. Abu, Rajasthan, temple of Tejapāla, detail of ceiling, 13th cent. *Below*: Somnathpur, Mysore, Keśava temple, second half of 13th cent.

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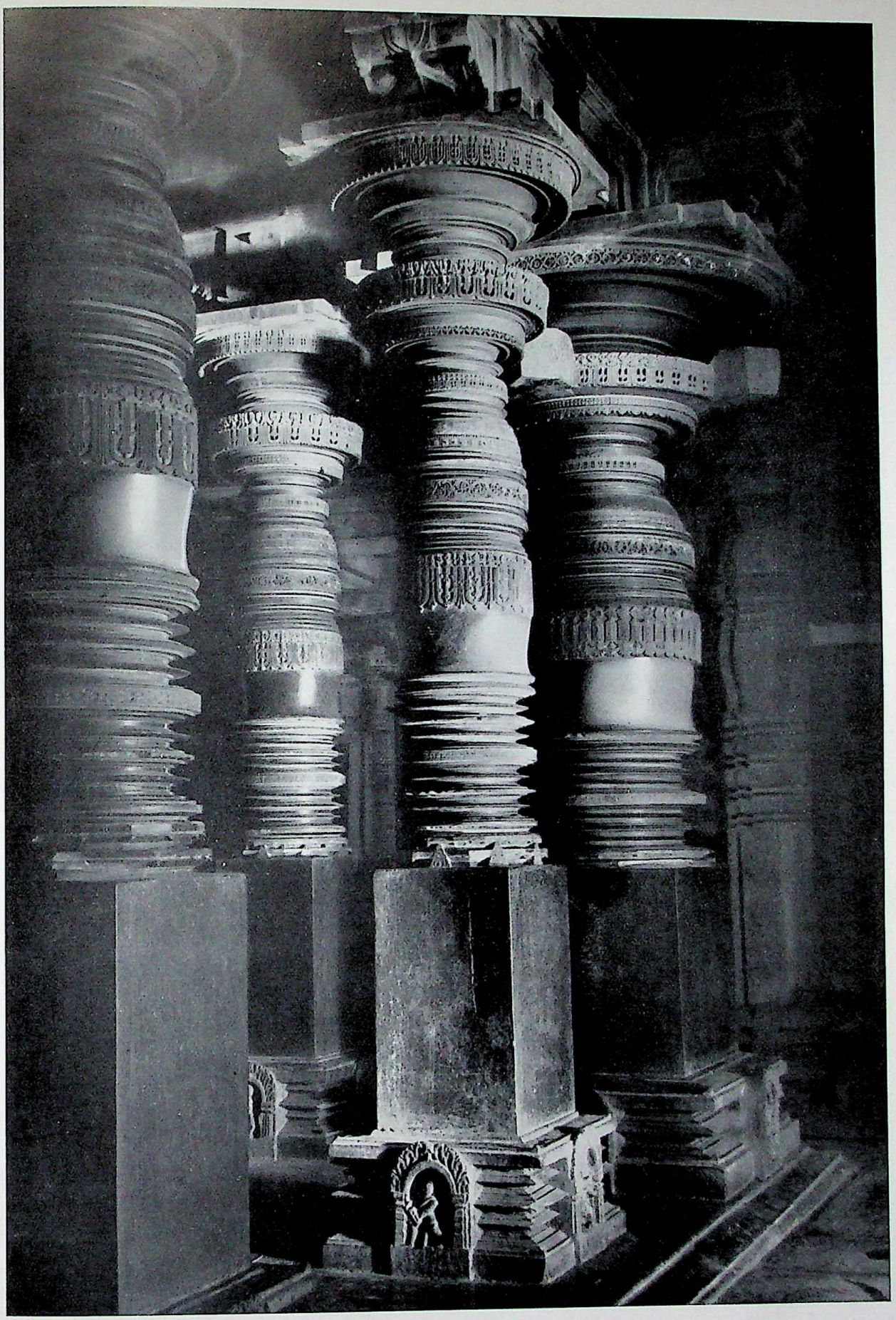

Pl. 485. Halebid, Bombay, pillars of a Jain *basti*, 12th cent.

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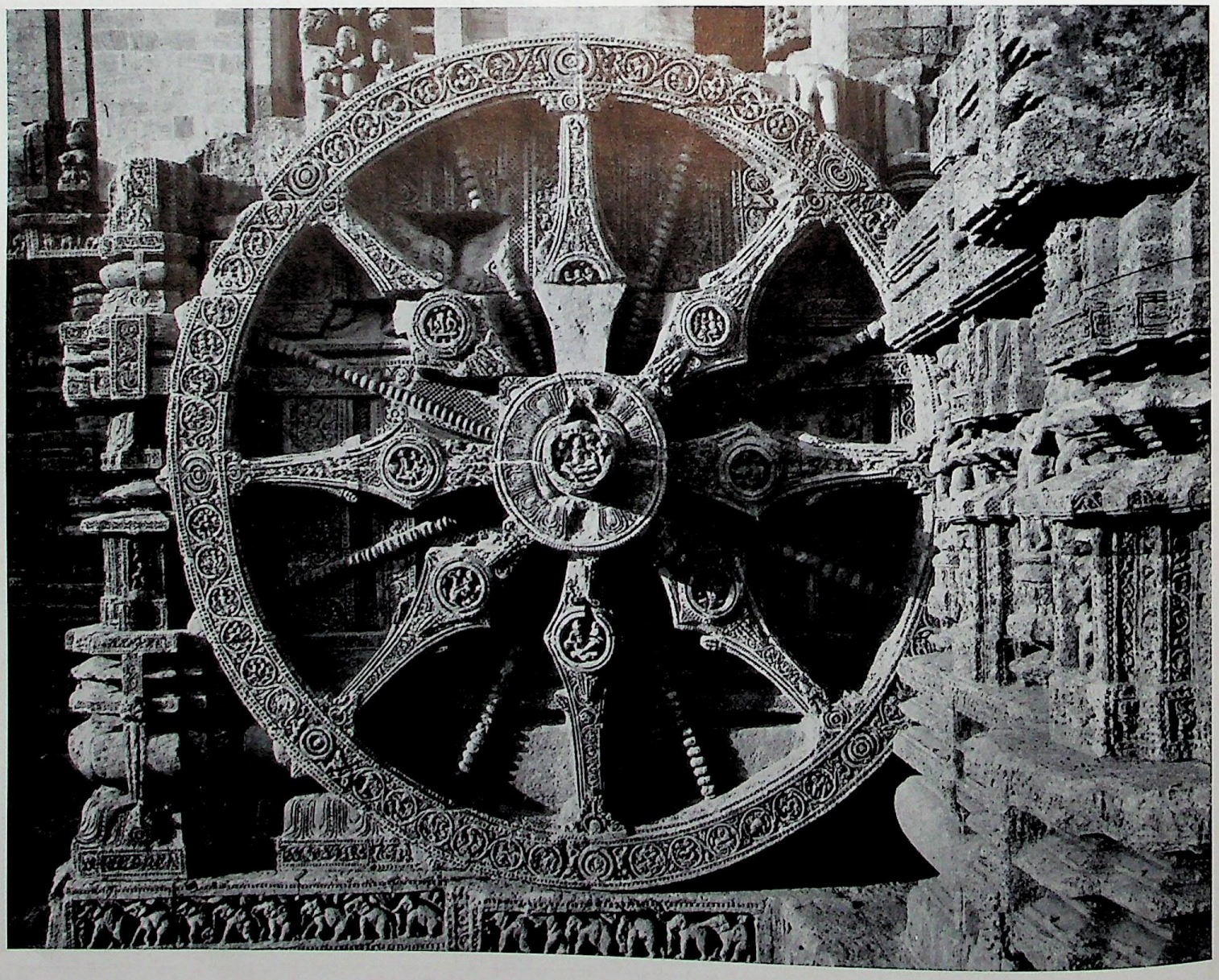

Pl. 486. Konarak, Orissa, Temple of the Sun (Sūrya temple), general view and detail of the exterior, 13th cent.

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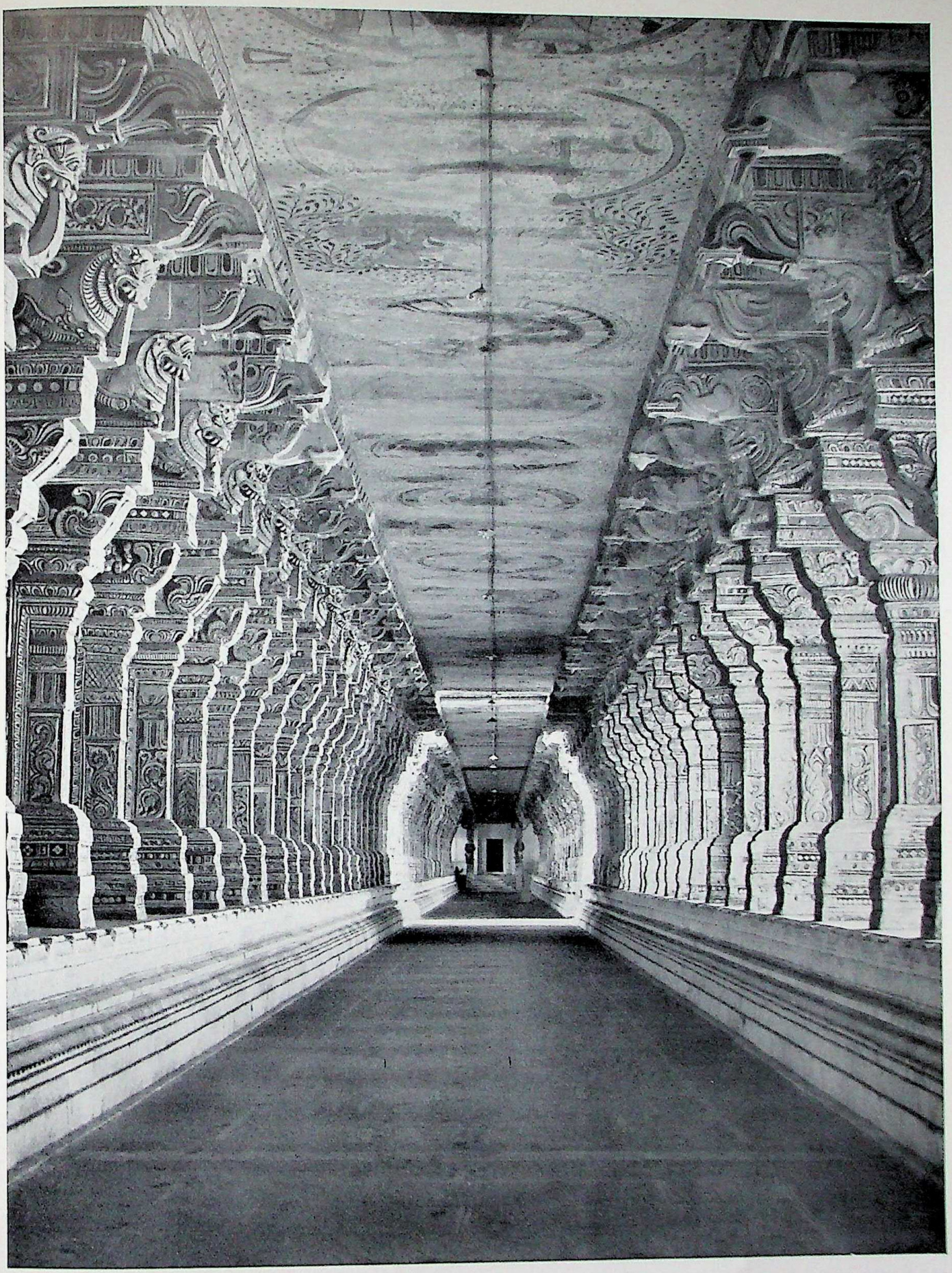

Pl. 487. Rameshwaram, Madras, corridor of the temple, 17th–18th cent.

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Pl. 488. Śiva Naṭarāja (Lord of the Dance), from Kondavittantidal, Madras, ca. 13th cent. Bronze, ht., 37 3/8 in. Madras, Government Museum.

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Pl. 489. The goddess Pārvatī, from Melaperumballam, Madras, ca. 12th–13th cent. Bronze, ht., 35 3/8 in. Madras, Government Museum.

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Pl. 490. The prince Dara Shikoh conversing with ascetics, Moghul school, ca. 1775. Water color, 15×11 1/8 in. New Delhi, National Museum of India.

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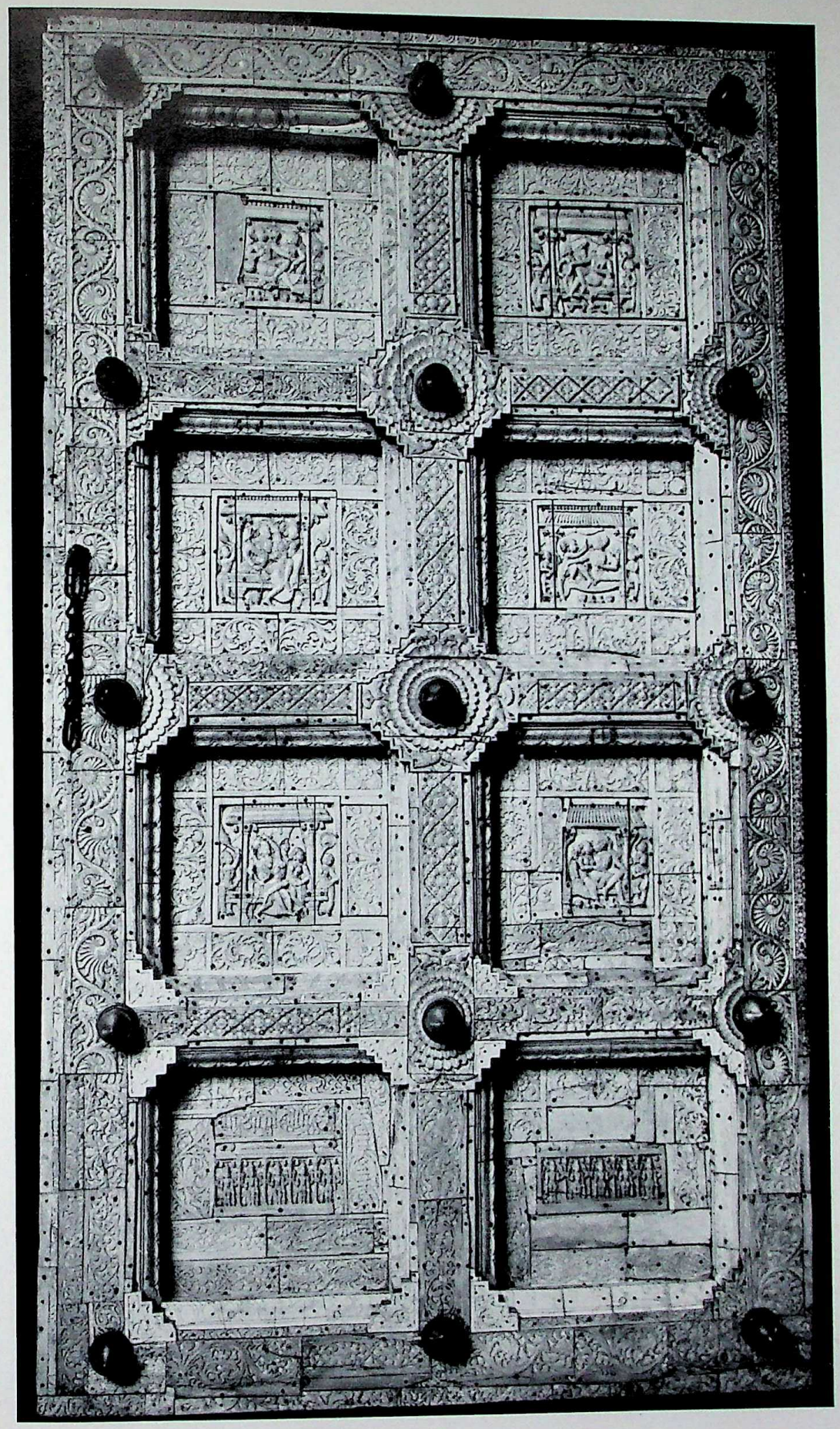

Pl. 491. Mysore, the palace, carved ivory door, 18th cent.

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Pl. 492. Chitor, Rajasthan. *Above*: Partial view of the fort, begun 8th cent. *Below*: The palace of Ratna Singh, ca. 14th cent.

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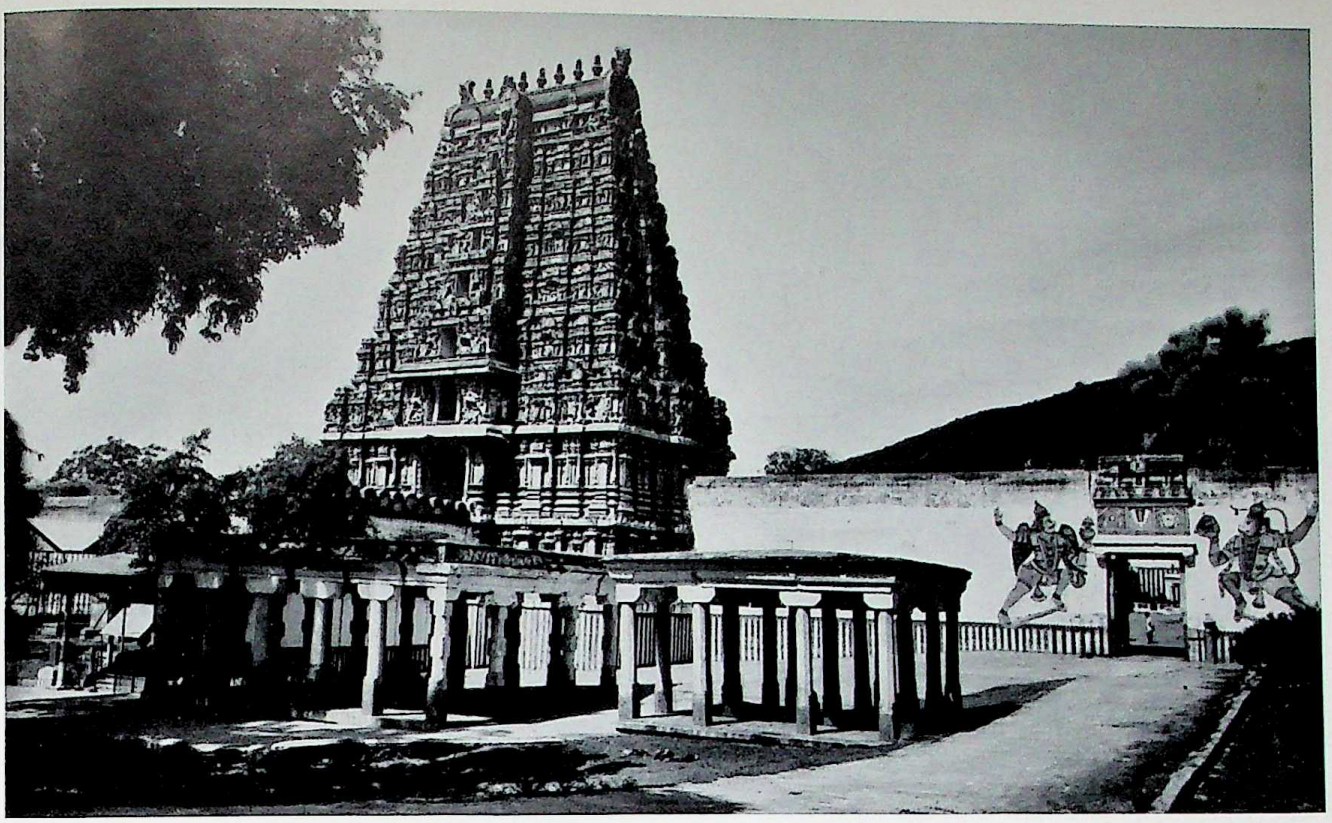

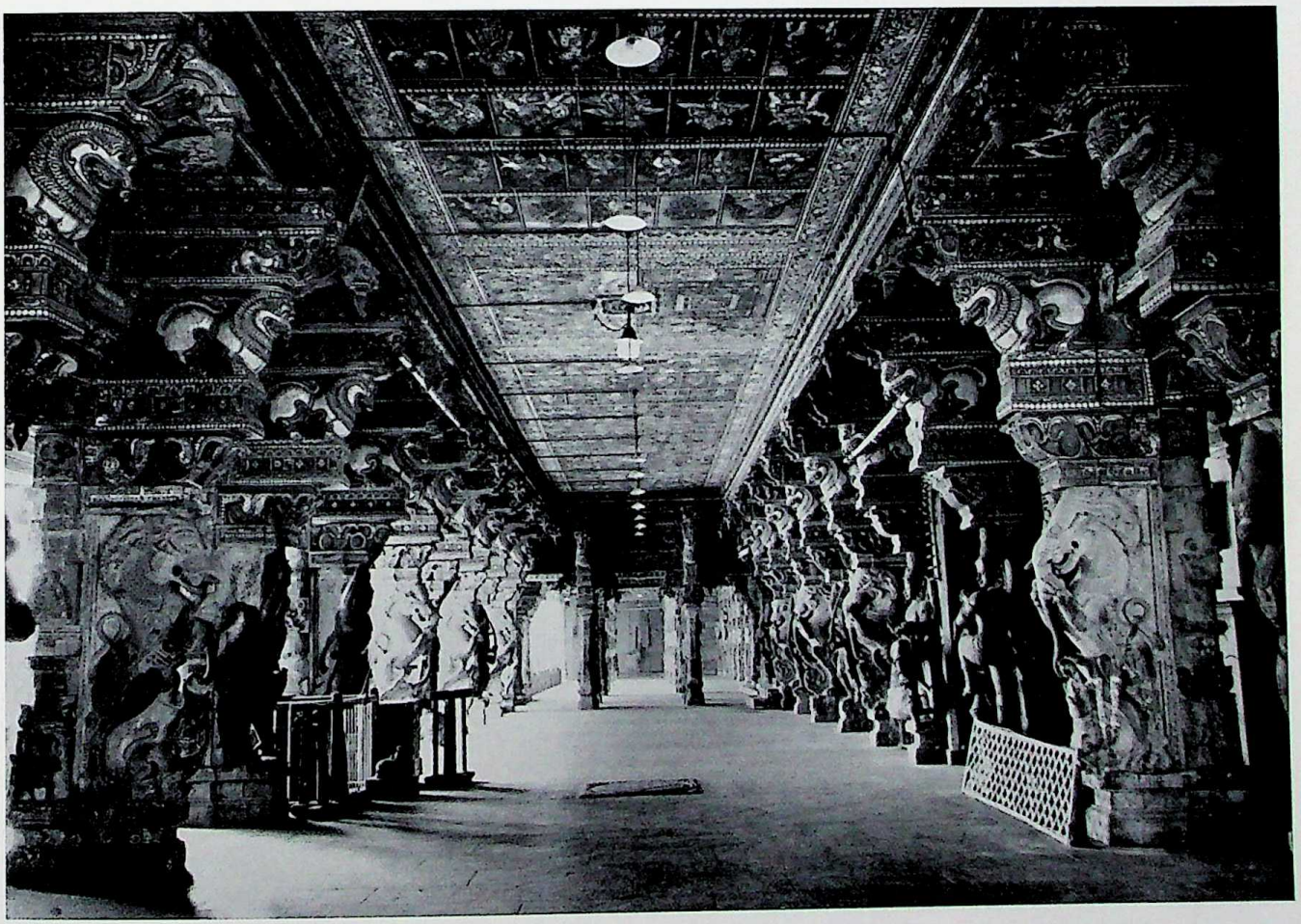

Pl. 493. Madura, Madras. *Above*: Eastern gopura of the Viṣṇu temple at Alagar rock fort, 17th cent. *Below*: Main corridor of the Mīnākṣī temple, 17th cent.

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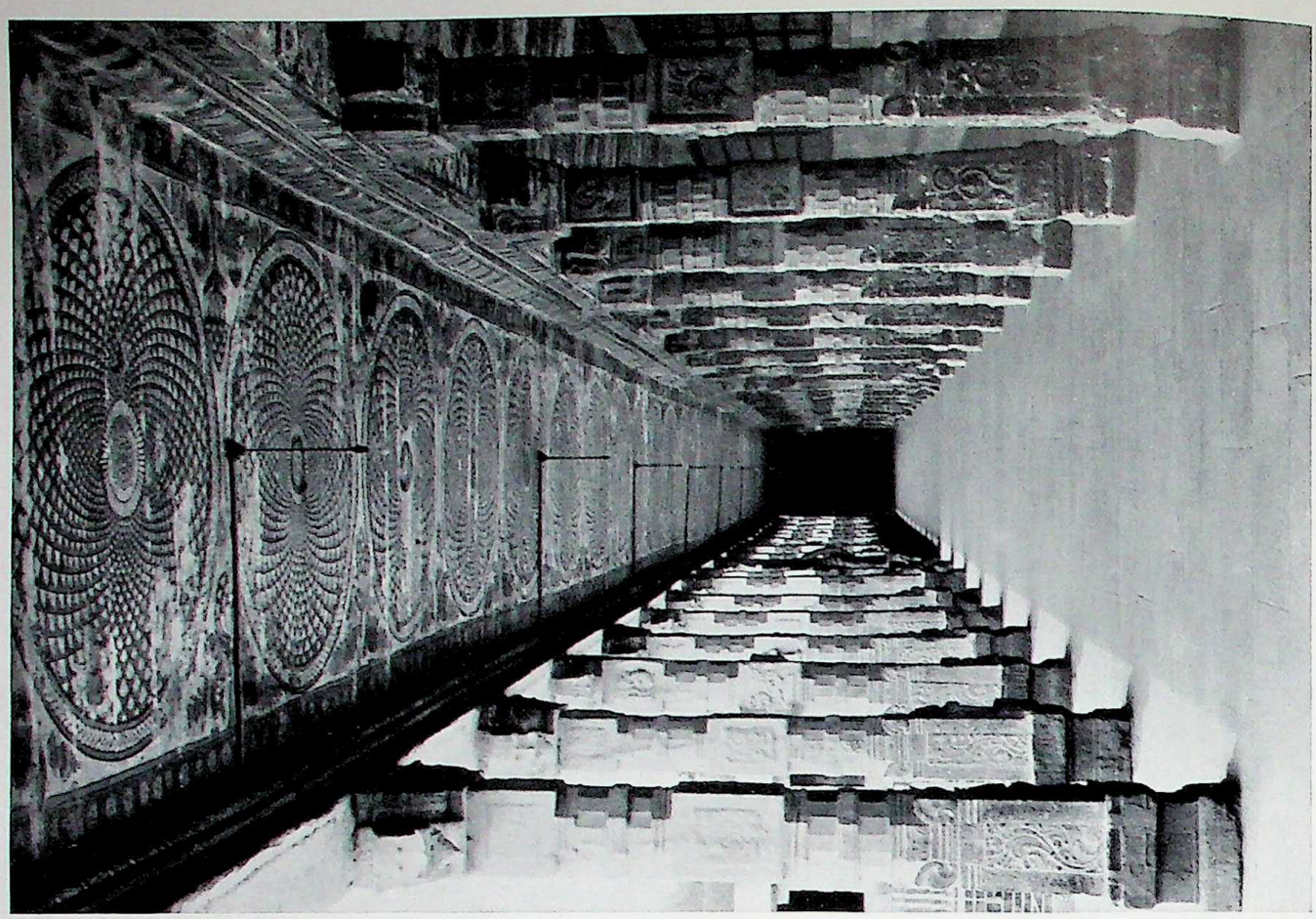

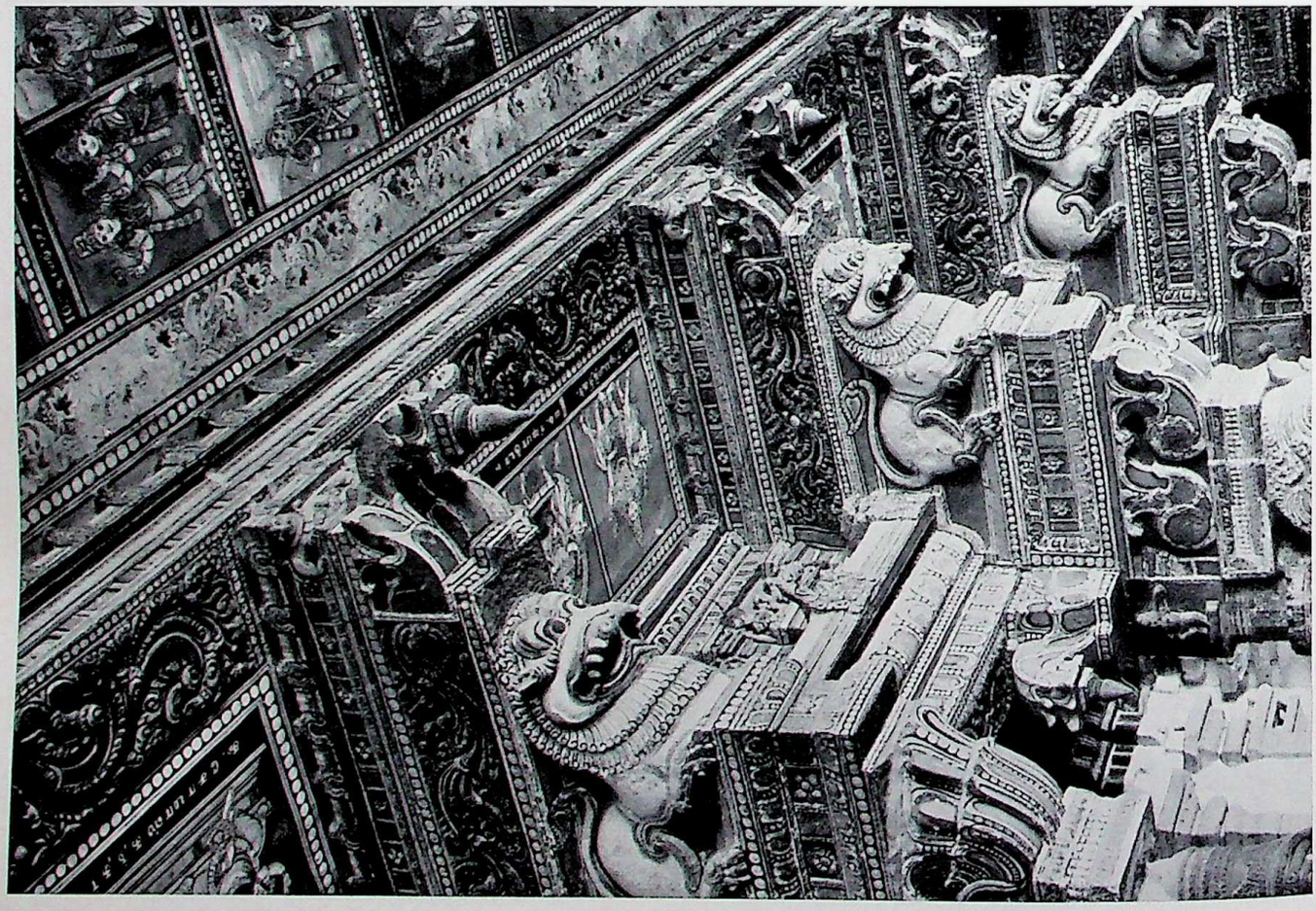

Pl. 494. Madura, Madras, Minākṣi temple, 17th cent. *Left*: Detail of the main corridor (PL. 493). *Right*: Interior view.

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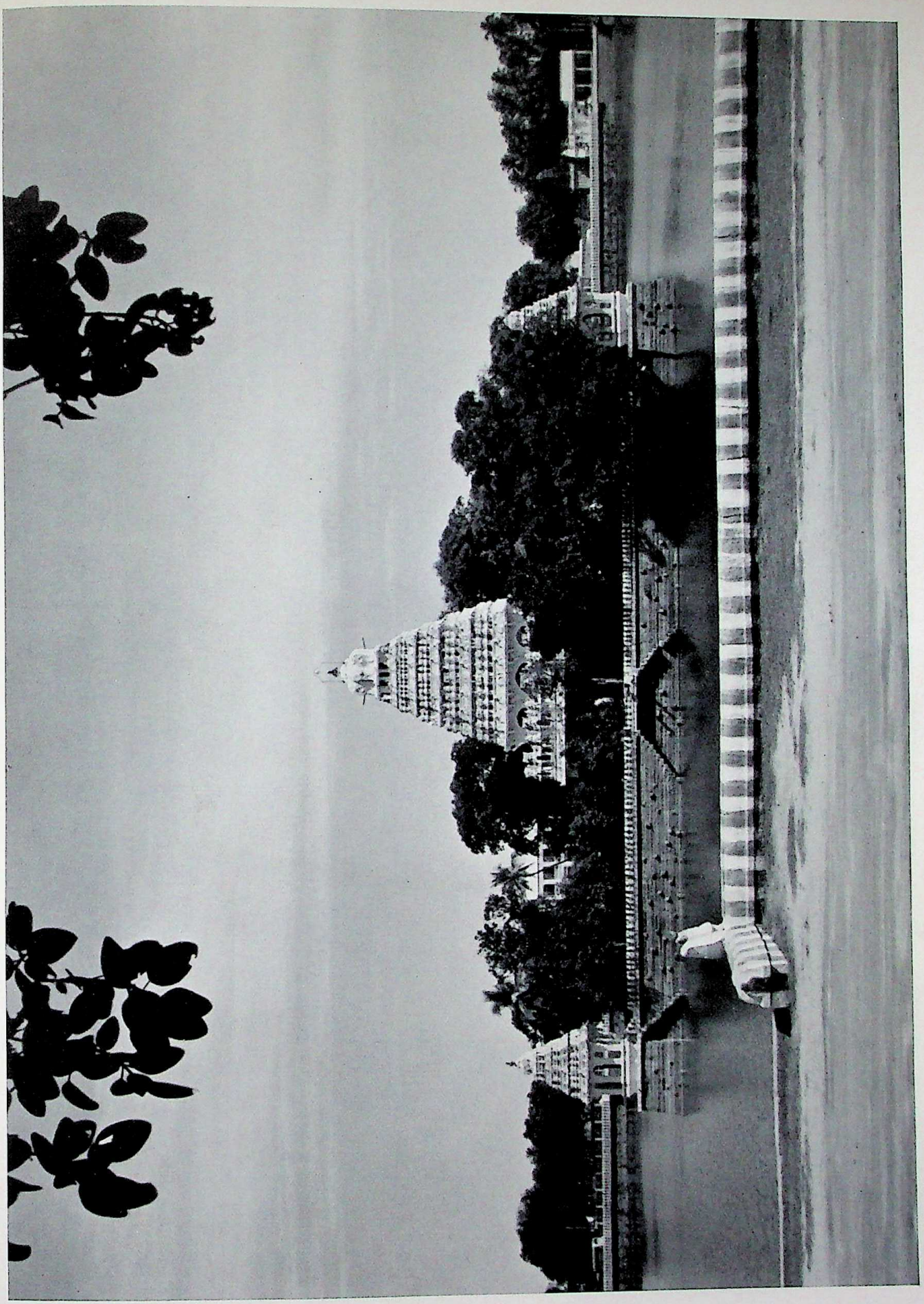

Pl. 495. Madura, Madras, the Teppakulam, or Tank of the Golden Lilies, at the Mīnākṣī temple, 17th cent.

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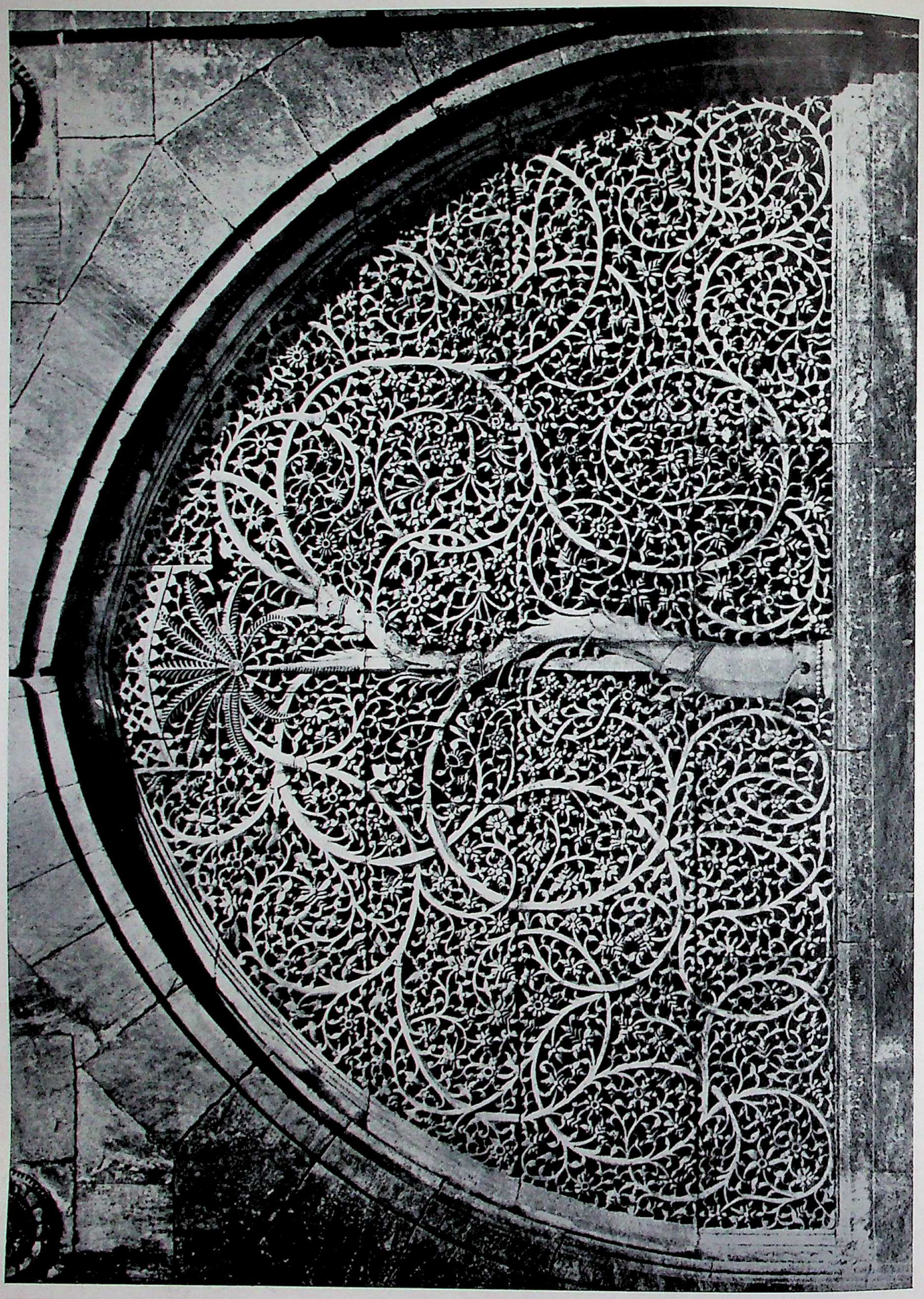

Pl. 496. Ahmadabad, Bombay, Sidi Sayyid mosque, perforated screen, first half of 16th cent.

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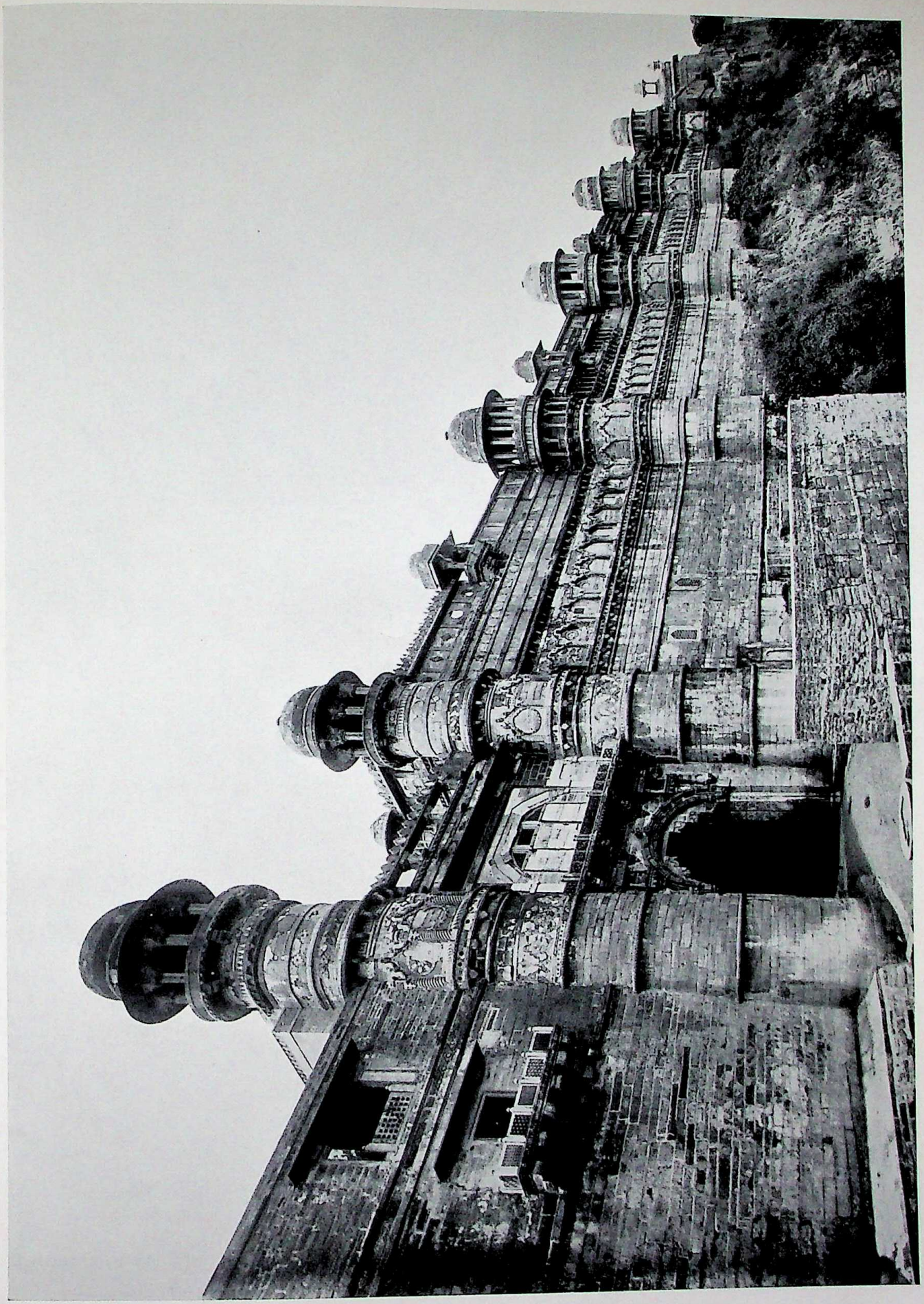

Pl. 497. Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, entrance of the fort, 17th cent.

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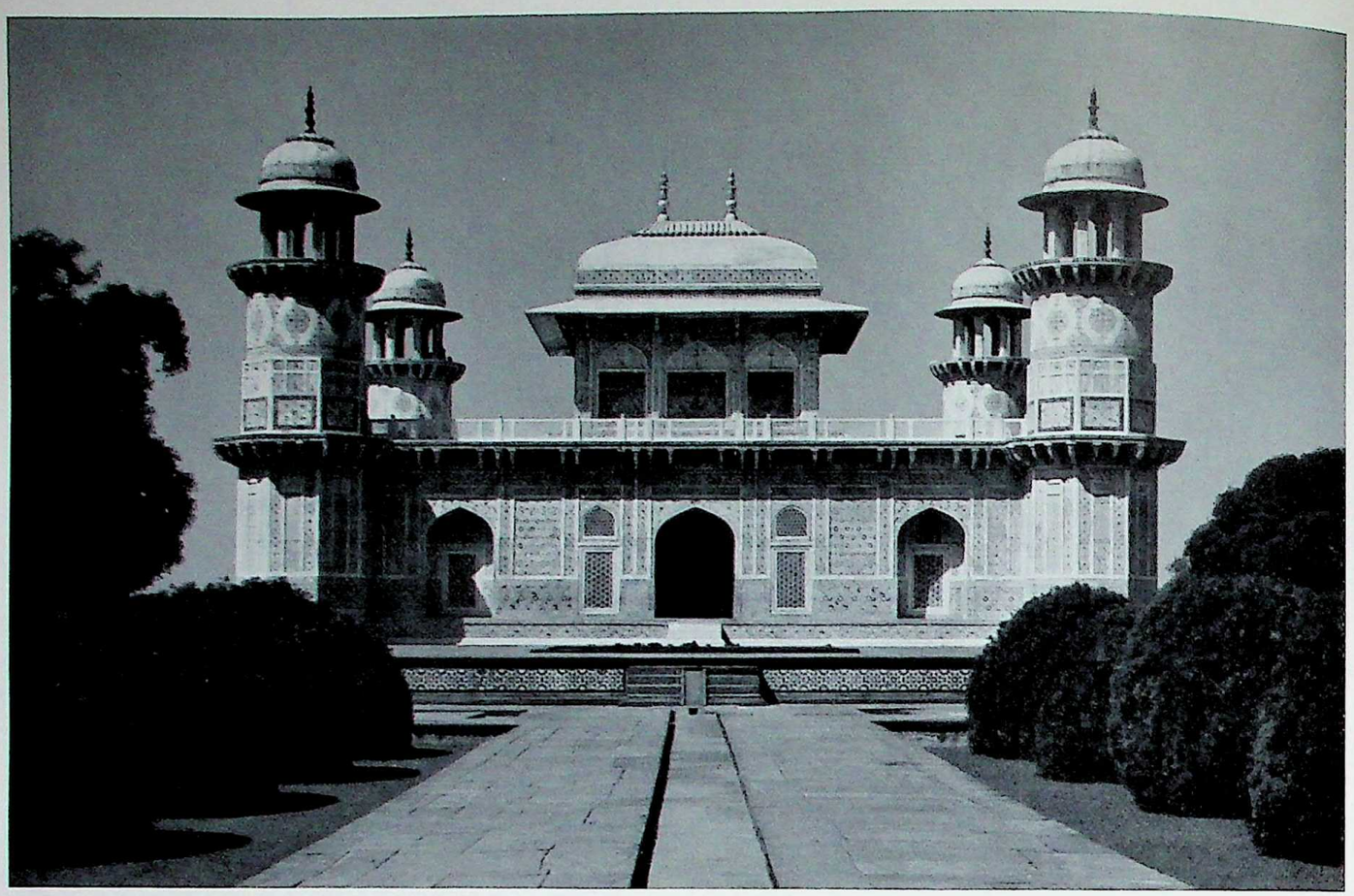

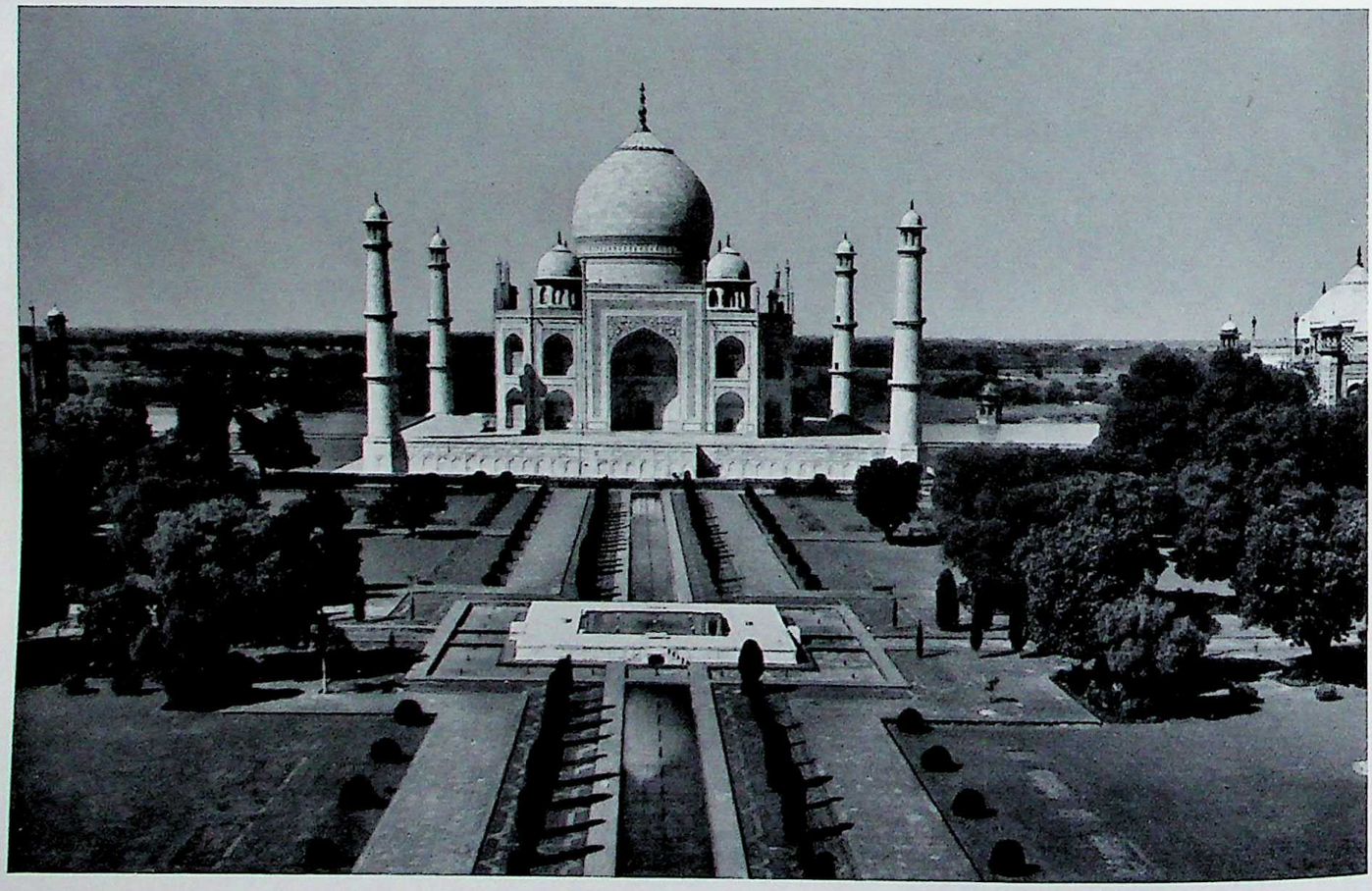

Pl. 498. Agra, Uttar Pradesh. *Above*: The tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, ca. 1628. *Below*: The Taj Mahal, ca. 1634.

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Pl. 499. Sādiqī Mosawir, mullah on a donkey, Moghul school, early 17th cent. Gouache and water color, 6 1/8 × 4 3/4 in. Paris, Musée Guimet.

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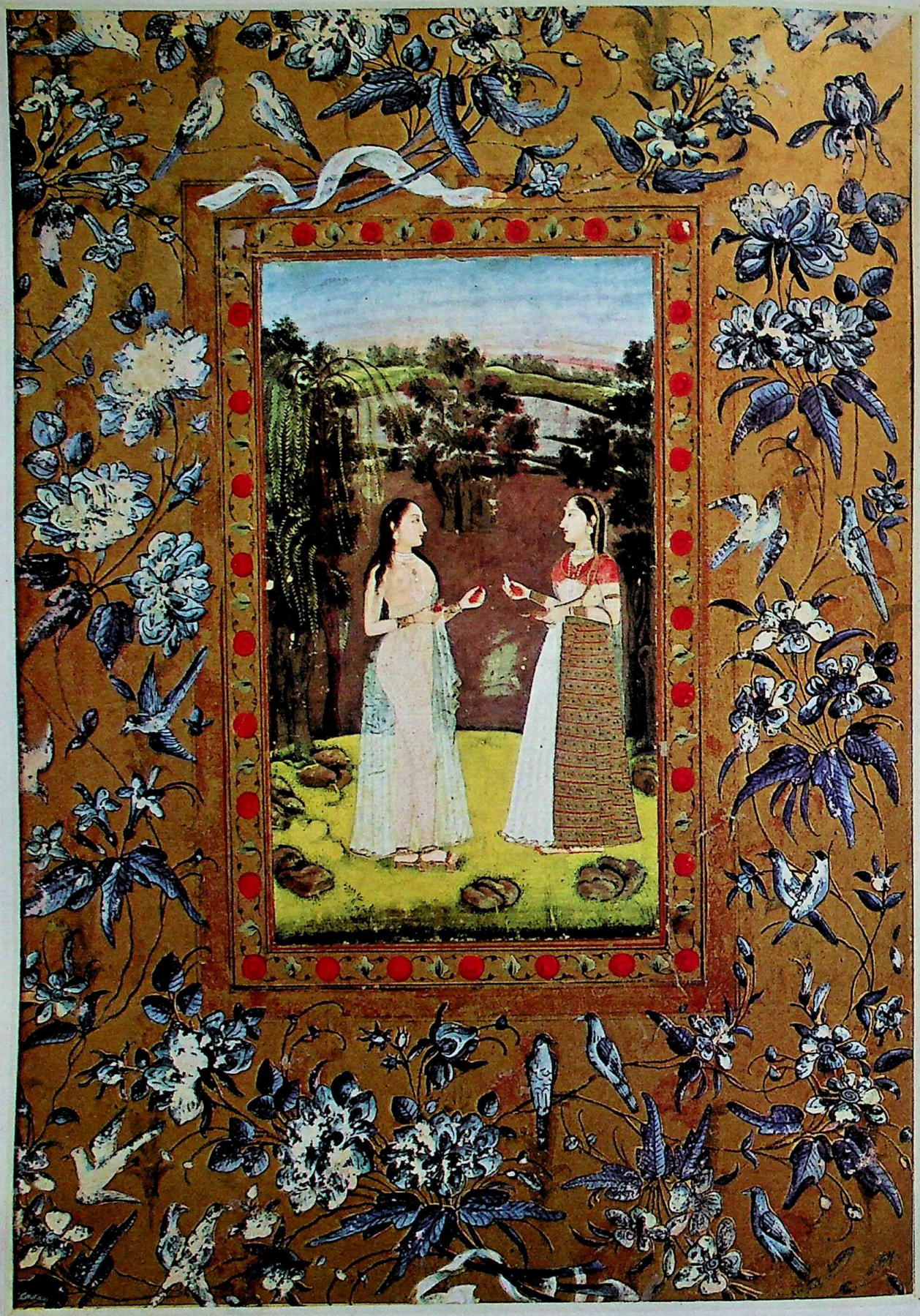

Pl. 500. Princess with an attendant on a terrace, Moghul school, ca. 1725. Water color, 11 3/4 × 7 7/8 in. New Delhi, National Museum of India.

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